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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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THE SEAL OF CIMARRON TERRITORY

The original Seal of Cimarron Territory, reproduced[1] on the front cover of this number of *The Chronicles* was lost more than fifty years ago, leaving its existence only a tradition in Oklahoma history. The last paper bearing an impression of the Seal, a perfect impress on gold leaf, is in the margin of a letter written under the heading, ''Office of Dyke Ballinger, County Attorney, Beaver, Oklahoma,'' as follows:

Beaver, O.T., Aug. 30, 1899

Hon. B. F. Hegler
Guthrie, O. T.

My Dear Sir:

Thinking perhaps you would like to have an impression of the Cimarron Territory Seal I enclose the same, hereto attached.

Very Truly your friend,
Dyke Ballinger

This letter with two other old records bearing an impression of the Seal of Cimarron Territory were given by Judge Ballinger to B. F. Hegler, Clerk of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory, all three now in the collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society.[2] Judge Ballinger soon after writing the above letter brought the *original* Seal itself to give to Mr. Hegler but lost it on the train enroute to Guthrie, and it was never seen again.

The origin of the Seal of Cimarron Territory is a part of the fabulous story of No-Man's-Land. This Panhandle region in Oklahoma far northwest in the state has revealed fossil remains that make the history of the oldest nations on earth young compared to this part of Oklahoma. Here millions of years ago was a vast lake or sea, known to geologists as the Logan Lake, petrified trees of a giant

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[1] The colors shown in the reproduction of the Seal of Cimarron Territory on the outside front cover of this number of *The Chronicles* were chosen arbitrarily in the Editorial Office.

[2] The three papers mentioned here, all bearing an impress of the Seal of Cimarron Territory are: (1) Certificate of Election, dated November 17, 1897, by Wm. B. Ogden, Secretary of the Provisional Territorial Council of Cimarron Territory, certifying to the election of Thos. P. Braidwood as senator for the First Senatorial District in said Territory; (2) Letter of Dyke Ballinger, County Attorney of Beaver County, Oklahoma, dated August 30, 1899, quoted in text above; (3) Quitclaim deed on the form used in Cimarron Territory, beginning "Cimarron Territory, Beaver City, ss."—deed of R. N. Carter to Thos. P. Braidwood. These three papers are accompanied by a letter written by Benj. F. Hegler, dated January 2, 1946 (of Law offices of Hegler, Glass and Shearer, Wichita, Kansas) transmitted to the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, by Judge R. L. Williams on February 17, 1946, and filed in the Editorial Department with other notes on the history of Cimarron Territory.

Dr. Owen G. Chase, elected delegate to Congress by Provisional Government of Cimarron Territory, 1887.

redwood forest and fossil bones of the Dinosaur and other prehistoric animals, evidences of that ancient period, having been found in recent years, in the western part of No-Man's-Land.

This area is approximately 167 miles long, east to west, and 34½ miles wide, north to south. It is bounded on the east by the 100th Meridian in Oklahoma. Colorado and Kansas are on the north; New Mexico is on the west, and Texas, on the south. This Panhandle is the region of high altitude in Oklahoma, the highest point in the state being the Black Mesa (4,978 feet) in the extreme northwestern corner where a monument was erected and dedicated on July 4, 1928. The Beaver River (originally *Rio Nutria*) runs from west to east nearly the whole length of the area whence the name Beaver County given when it was attached to Oklahoma Territory on May 2, 1890. Since 1850, this strip of country had not been a part of any territory or state, Texas having relinquished all claims to land north of Parallel 36° 30′, North Latitude, to the Federal Government. The claims made by many countries to No-Man's-Land, at different times, as well as the story of the Old Santa Fe Trail, are told elsewhere in this issue of *The Chronicles*.

The Ute Indians from the Rocky Mountains came down to this wild country hunting buffalo, and the Kiowa and the Comanche roamed here when the fringe of the western frontier began spreading over this land during the period of the Civil War. The Baca brothers from New Mexico herded thousands of sheep on the range and fought off outlaws who hid out in "Robbers' Roost" in the mountainous region near the Cimarron River. Kit Carson established Fort Nichols in 1865, on the Santa Fe Trail about four miles east of the western boundary to furnish a guard for traffic and travel along the Trail through No-Man's-Land. After the Civil War, former soldiers in the Confederate Army from Texas took up the range cattle business, and before long there were many ranch headquarters and herds of stock grazing on the rich grasses far and wide over the country. Among these ranches were the original 101 Ranch near present Kenton, besides the S-Half Circle, the Anchor D and the CCC ranches.

Soon after the Santa Fe Railroad built its tracks to Dodge City, Kansas, mule-drawn freighters' wagons loaded with supplies beat out a road called the "Jones and Plummer Trail" southwest to Tascoso, a "cow town" on the south side of the Canadian River in the cattle country of the Texas Panhandle. Half way between Dodge City and Tascoso, there was a well known camp ground on this Trail, at the south side of Beaver River where there was plenty of water and rich grass. In 1880, Jim Lane, a freighter on the Jones and Plummer Trail, brought a load of merchandise with his family, and settled in the valley at the crossing on the Beaver. He erected a commodious sod house for that time, and opened a store in one of the rooms, which together with a big corral with high sod walls and a long, sod shed for protection of stock in blizzards and storms furnished accomodations for travelers. Lane's place on the Beaver in No-Man's-Land became well known among freighters, up and down the Trail.

Great interest was aroused in the possibility of free land for homestead settlement in this part of the West through the activities of Captain David L. Payne who was leading the "boomers" south out of Kansas to the Unassigned Lands in Central Indian Territory, beginning in 1880. About this time, the Cherokee Nation started taxing the cattlemen in No-Man's-Land for grazing privileges, claiming the country was not a free range but was a part of the Cherokee Outlet subject to the cattle tax in the Cherokee Nation. Then, followed a ruling in 1882, secured from the Secretary of the Interior that the region was not a part of the Cherokee Outlet but was Public Land. Star mail routes were crossing No-Man's-Land, one north to south—Dodge City to Tascoso—, the other east to west—Camp Supply, Indian Territory to Springer, New Mexico. A post office, called "Beaver City," was established on April 1883, in a sod house near Lane's place, with Peter T. Reep as postmaster.[3] Reep also had a small stock of goods for sale to freighters, but soon sold out his supplies and postmastership to Lane.

Three years later Beaver City and its surrounding region was receiving notice in the newspapers of the Nation. Commissioner of the U. S. Land Office, A. J. Sparks, issued a statement on October 13, 1885, that the lands in No-Man's-Land known as the "Public Domain," sometimes referred to as the "Neutral Strip," were subject to squatters' rights. In February, 1886, Representative James N. Burnes of Missouri, introduced a bill in Congress to establish and organize this region as "the Territory of Cimarron, secure the public lands therein to actual settlers, removed unlawful inclosures, and for other purposes." This bill was never enacted into law but the possibilities of the measure before Congress were exciting. Out of Wichita, the "boomingest of all boom towns" in Kansas, came E. R. Reiman, who had served as a surveyor with Payne's "boomers," and Will Waddle, who with others had organized the Beaver City Townsite Company, announcing that the "Neutral Strip" was subject to Homestead entry. They arrived at Beaver City out of Wichita on March 6, 1886, and proceeded to lay out a townsite, persuading Jim Lane to give up his good 160-acre claim for a reserve of two blocks in the town. This was marked "Lane's Reserve" on the survey plat. Business enterprises came to the new town, and some frame buildings and more sod houses were erected along the streets of the platted survey. There were Thomas Braidwood's hardware store, Hunter's boot and saddle shop, several stores, a drug store, lumber yards, saloon, grocery, and pride of the town,

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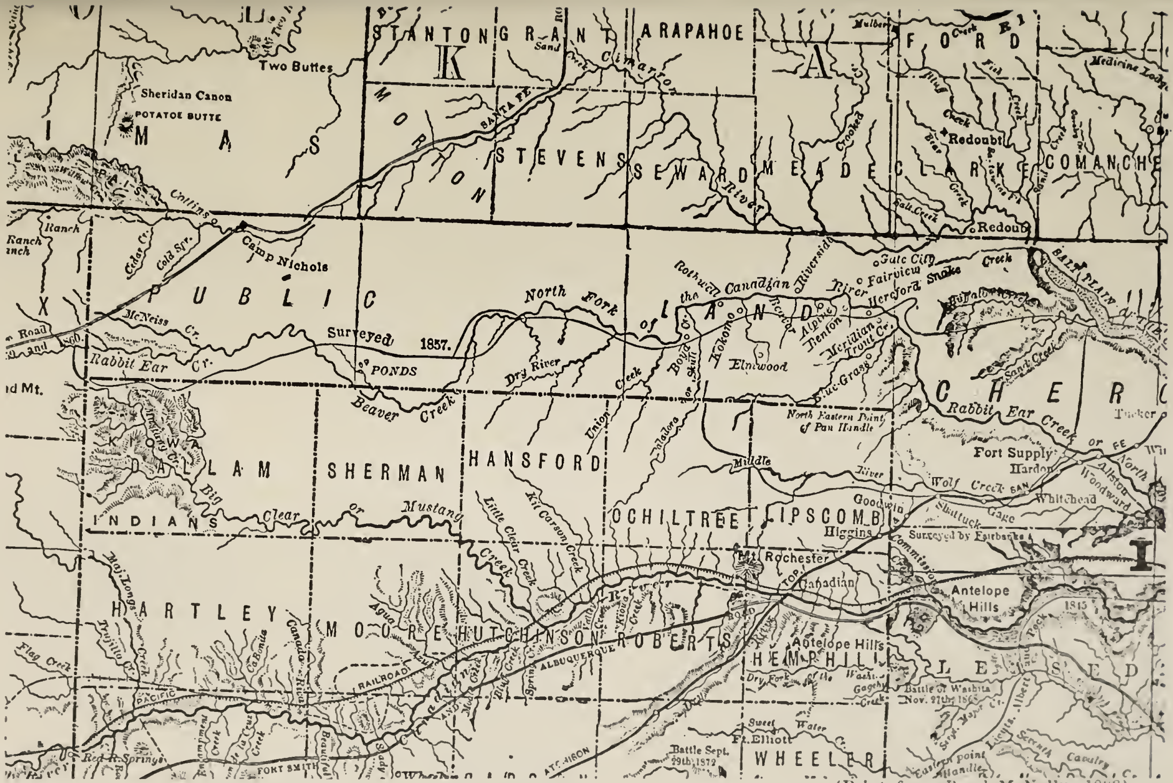
[3] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 237.



(Print from Rand McNally, 1888)

Public Land or No-Man's-Land Strip on map of 1888, counties in Texas south and in Kansas north. Site of Camp Nichols is in error; site should be southwest on Santa Fe Trail, just east of New Mexico line.

Dr. O. G. Chase's two-story opera house. Dr. Chase in his enthusiasm as a promoter for the organization of a territorial government secured a newspaper for Beaver City, the *Territorial Advocate* established by E. E. Eldridge. A school was opened in a sod schoolhouse in the fall of 1886. A Methodist, the Reverend Robert Allen, and a Presbyterian, the Reverend R. M. Overstreet, held church services to good-sized congregations.

Settlers seeking free homesteads lured by glowing advertisements in newspapers of Kansas and other states had begun making their way to this southwestern Public Domain late in 1885. By the end of 1886, nearly 3,000 had arrived and staked homestead claims, most of them in the eastern part where Beaver City with its population of some 600 was the leading center, the first "boom town" in Oklahoma history. Five other towns with post offices had been established: Gate City, Benton, Blue Grass, Optima and Carizo,[4] the latter far west in the ranch country near the Black Mesa. The settlers were a generally quiet, law-abiding people, observing regulated conduct yet having no government. There were no laws, no courts, no land offices in this unorganized Public Land belonging to the Federal government, making the situation of the settlers in No-Man's-Land unique,—no other like it recorded in American history.

The cattlemen who had had their ranch houses and grazed their cattle over No-Man's Land for many years were at first friendly and welcomed the homesteaders. But when they began seeing thousands of settlers in dugouts and soddies over the landscape, they grew alarmed knowing that this meant eventually the close of the cattle range. Some of the ranchmen believed that the country was a part of the Cherokee Outlet and not Public Domain. Therefore they made no effort to keep their herds from overruning the fields of the newcomers. Trouble arose in some instances between the cattlemen and the settlers, and the antagonisms between the two groups repeated the pattern of history found elsewhere on the Western Frontier.

A lawless element soon appeared on the scene, the principal troublemakers being "claim jumpers," locally called "road trotters." A "road trotter," generally on horseback, would suddenly appear at a settler's soddie, stating that he had made a previous claim to the location which he would relinquish only for a payment in money. The settler would have to give the sum named to hold the claim or else leave the premises. Outlaw gangs were known to have taken up abode in hide-outs over the country. These and other lawless men hung around the saloons in some of the more notorious new

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[4] Gate City was the second post office in the Neutral Strip, established April 13, 1886. Benton, Blue Grass, Optima and Carizo (now Kenton) were established in September, 1886.—*Ibld.*

towns including Sod Town and Netural City. In the midst of the growing menace, vigilance committees were organized by settlers in different parts of the country that were effective in keeping law and order for a time.

Discussion of the plight of the settlers in the Neutral Strip, led by Dr. O. G. Chase, Jim Lane and others, resulted in a public meeting of fifty men at Beaver City on August 26, 1886, to consider the formation of a government. After a long debate, all present at this meeting pledged themselves to observe and carry out six rules in holding their claims to homesteads. One of the rules aimed at ''road trotters'' gave a ''Claims Committee'' the right to adopt ''measures sufficiently severe to force compliance.'' Success of the rules led to another meeting at Beaver City on October 16, presided over by Dr. Chase, in which the ''Claims Committee'' was organized as the ''Respective Claim Board,'' with elected officers—president, vice president, secretary and treasurer. An important action of this meeting related to ''Cimarron Territory'':

> To enable us to consolidate our strength, and know the wants of the people of the whole territory, it was also suggested and hereby agreed upon that the entire population of Cimarron Territory turn out on February 22, 1887, and hold elections in their respective neighborhoods as near in conformity to law as possible, electing in each representative district three representatives, who shall meet in Beaver City on the 4th day of March, 1887, as a Territorial Council.

The elections were held, and the newly elected councillors met in the sod schoolhouse at Beaver City on March 4, 1887. One of the first acts created a ''Judicial Committee'' to take over the duties of the ''Respective Claims Board'' and to be responsible for the ''machinery of Justice'' for the whole territory.

It was at the March 4th meeting that the Seal of Cimarron Territory was first seen, said to have been designed, ordered made and brought to the meeting by Thomas Braidwood, who owned the hardware store in Beaver City. There were no funds to carry on the new government but securing a seal was very important for use on all official documents of the Territory. It was paid for by collection according to a resolution of a meeting of the Legislative Council found in the *Journal* of Cimarron Territory:[5]

> A motion was then made to reimburse Chase and Ogden $7.00 for Territorial Seal and $5.00 for this book of records. This old book being selected in lieu of the new book ordered for that purpose which Chase and Ogden shall retain for the $6.00 they paid for it. Whereupon Bughee paid $.50; Hubbard $1.50; Rogers $.50; Joy $.50; Eiklor $.50; Nicholas $1.00; Black $.50; Livly $1.50; Weir $.50; Hunter $.50; Payne $1.00; Braidwood $.50; McClung $1.00 chgd., Chase $1.00/ $11.00.

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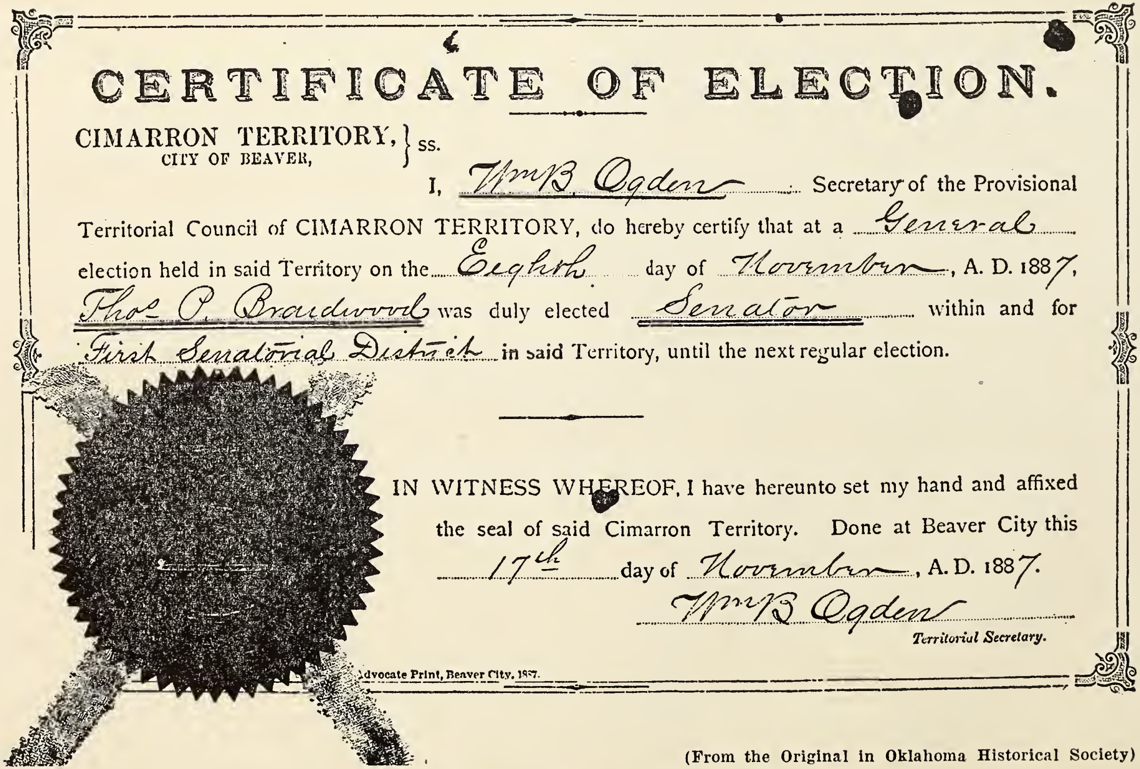
[5] Copy of the original Resolution received by the Editor through the kindness of Mr. Nolan McWhirter, Curator of the Panhandle Museum, Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell, Oklahoma, where the *Journal* or original record book of Cimarron Territory is preserved.



CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION.

CIMARRON TERRITORY,
CITY OF BEAVER, } ss.

I, Wm B. Ogden Secretary of the Provisional Territorial Council of CIMARRON TERRITORY, do hereby certify that at a General election held in said Territory on the Eighth day of November, A. D. 1887, Thos P. Braidwood was duly elected Senator within and for First Senatorial District in said Territory, until the next regular election.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said Cimarron Territory. Done at Beaver City this 17th day of November, A. D. 1887.

Wm B Ogden
Territorial Secretary.

Advocate Print, Beaver City, 1887.

(From the Original in Oklahoma Historical Society)

Certificate of Election, Cimarron Territory, 1887

It was reported that the Territorial Council adopted the laws of Colorado for Cimarron Territory but no one ever knew what the law was in any instance because there were no funds to purchase the Colorado Statutes. At a second general election held on November 8, 1887, nine councillors and fourteen delegates to the Territorial Council were elected. Dr. Owen G. Chase was elected as the territorial delegate to Washington, and his son-in-law, W. B. Ogden, was elected to serve as territorial secretary. The Council met on December 5, 1887, in Dr. Chase's opera house at Beaver City, with the second floor curtained across in two sections as meeting places for the two branches of the legislature. Dr. Chase went to Washington during the Congressional session but returned in the spring of 1888 unsuccessful in his efforts to secure the organization of the proposed Territory of Cimarron.

In the meantime, another group of settlers dissatisfied with the recent election returns in No-Man's-Land held a convention at Rothwell, a new town about eight miles west of Beaver City, in July, 1887, under the leadership of the Reverend R. M. Overstreet, Dr. Chase's rival. The convention elected John Dale as a delegate to appear before Congress in Washington. Thus, the following winter there were two rival delegates in the capital city working for the organization of Cimarron Territory. Dale, also, was unsuccessful in this but he did secure the establishment of several new post offices in the Neutral Strip.[6]

At the meeting of the Legislative Council at Beaver City in December, 1888, the Judicial Committee presented the draft for "An Act to Organize the Territory of Cimarron," which was adopted by the Council on December 21. This document, or "Organic Act," provided for the organization of executive, legislative and judicial departments; and further that the act be voted on for approval or disapproval by the *bona fide* residents of the Territory. The Council during this session divided the Territory into seven counties from east to west: Benton, Beaver, Shade, Springer, Turner, Kilgore and Sunset.

The Council convened at Beaver City in a three day meeting, in March, 1889, which proved to be the last session. Many of the members did not appear for people in the proposed Cimarron Territory were having a hard time with very little food and fuel. The meeting principally discussed the coming election to be held on April 23 when the people were to vote on the "Organic Act" for the Territory of Cimarron, which had already been approved by the Council. The last day of the session the signatures of the Council members were attached to and the impression of the Seal of Cimarron Territory was made on this unique document.

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[6] Post offices established in 1887, included Hardesty, Lockwood, Ivanhoe, Tiffany, Meridian; 1888, included Buffalo, Clear Lake, Collins, Elmwood, Garland, Grand Valley, Hereford, Lansing, Mineral City, Paladora.—Shirk, *op. cit.*

The election on April 23, 1889, was not held. The day before—Monday—saw the run of April 22, 1889, by homestead seekers into the Unassigned Lands in the central part of the Indian Territory, under official proclamation issued recently by President Benjamin Harrison. Fully two-thirds of the some 14,000 population of the Neutral Strip had left by the summer of 1889, many of them taking homesteads in the new country opened by Congressional law. Dr. Owen G. Chase had also gone away to make his home in Colorado.

Thomas Braidwood was serving as the last Secretary of Cimarron Territory, the keeper of its Great Seal. When Dr. Chase left off his duties as delegate, L. M. Hubbard, a settler from Ohio living near Gate City, who in some way bore the title of ''Attorney General of Cimarron Territory,'' went to Washington in the winter of 1889-90 to further territorial organization.[7]

The dreams and hopes of many were in a measure realized when the Act that provided the organization of the Territory of Oklahoma was passed by Congress and Approved by the President on May 2, 1890, attached the Public Land—old No-Man's-Land—as County Seven to the new Territory. In August, 1889, the name ''Beaver County'' was chosen by the voters living in County Seven. Seventeen years later, Old Beaver County was divided into three counties in the state of Oklahoma as they are today—Beaver, Texas and Cimarron.

The only original records of much of this history of No-Man's-Land are a few rare, old papers bearing the impress of the Seal of Cimarron Territory.

—*The Editor*

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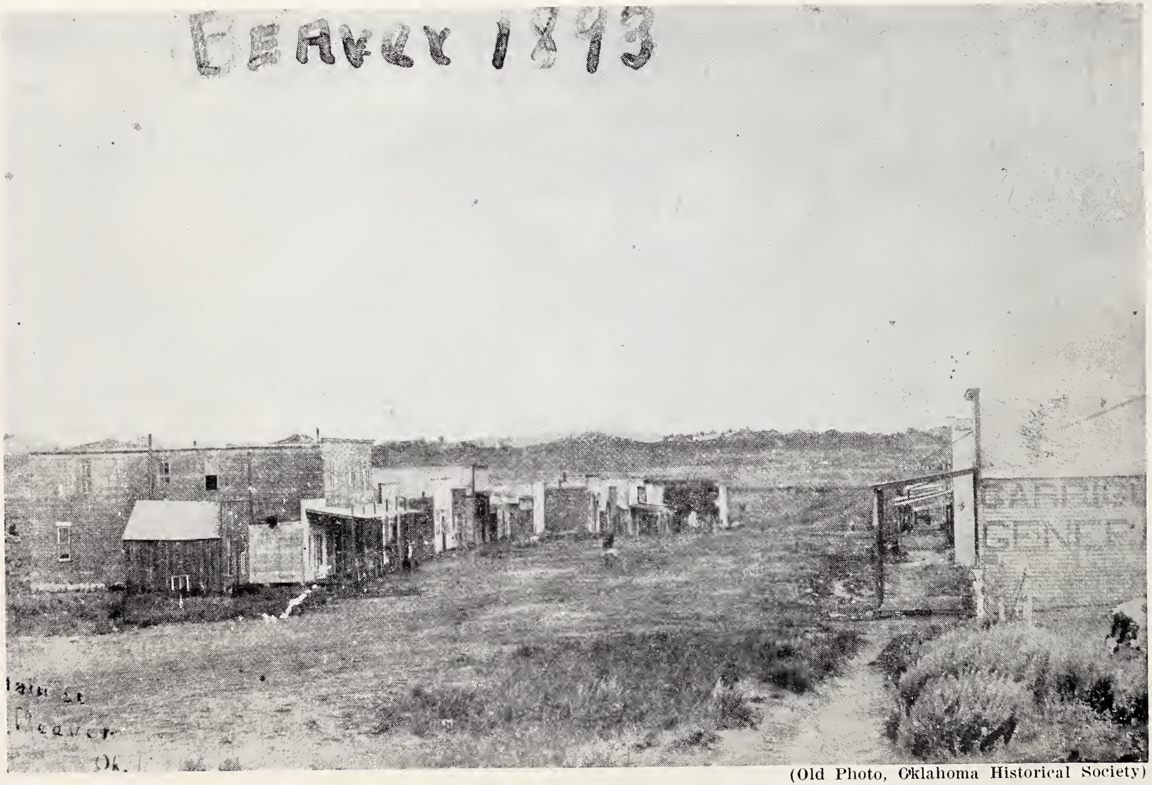
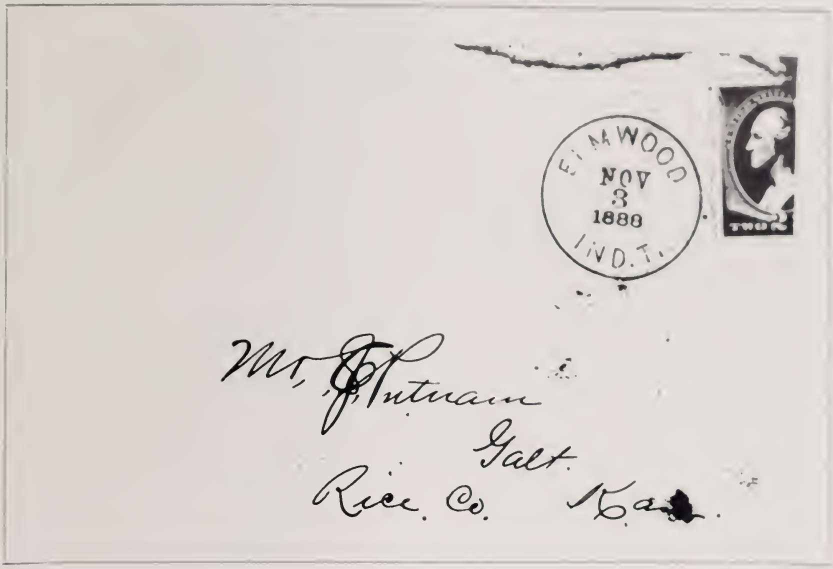
[7] Readings on the history of No-Man's-Land include articles in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*—"No Man's Land" (Vol. IV, 1926) by Elmer E. Brown; "The Abortive Territory of Cimarron" (Vol. XXIII, 1945) and "The Squatters in No Man's Land" (Vol. XXVI, 1948) by Oscar A. Kinchen; "A History of Cimarron County" (Vol. XXXI, 1953) by William E. Baker. Books—George Rainey, *No Man's Land* (Enid, 1937) and Carl Coke Rister, *No Man's Land* (Norman, 1948).



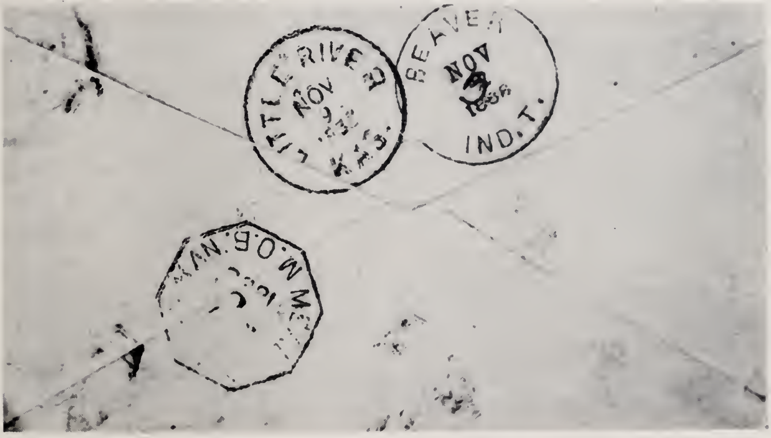
(Old Photo, Oklahoma Historical Society)

BEAVER CITY, IN OLD BEAVER COUNTY



(Shirk, Philatelic Collection)

Old envelope postmarked from Elmwood, Indian Territory, 1888, A town in the Neutral Strip.



Reverse side of old envelope from Elmwood, postmarked at Beaver City, Indian Territory, 1888.

THE HISTORY OF NO-MAN'S-LAND, OR OLD BEAVER COUNTY

By Morris L. Wardell

Researchers and students of history of the Oklahoma Panhandle have long been familiar with the article, "The History of No-Man's Land, or Old Beaver County," by Morris L. Wardell, that was published in the first issue of *Chronicles of Oklahoma* in January, 1921. Since the publication of Dr. Wardell's article thirty-six years ago, it has remained a source for the story of No-Man's-Land, and its author became one of Oklahoma's leading historians and educators through his more than thirty years in the Department of History in the University of Oklahoma. Dr. Wardell's sudden death recently came as a shock to all the people of this state who looked upon him as a real part of the history of Oklahoma for when he was a boy he lived in Old Beaver County, and when he began his first years as a teacher in the University he started lecturing on history aside from his classroom, giving freely of his talents in this throughout his life. A few days before his death in February, 1957, he was asked to contribute again his article on No-Man's-Land to the Spring number of *The Chronicles*, then being planned to include some of the unique history of this region. The first issue of *Chronicles*,— Volume I, Number I— with Dr. Wardell's article is now out of print, and is a very rare item for collectors of early imprints on the history of the state. That Dr. Wardell's article may be available for the awakened interest in Oklahoma's past during this year of the Semi-centennial Celebration of the first half century of statehood and that it may be a token in remembrance of him, a great Oklahoman, "The History of No-Man's-Land, or Old Beaver County" is here again presented in *The Chronicles*, the oldest magazine of continuous publication in the state.

—*The Editor*

EARLY HISTORY OF THE REGION

Old Beaver County, or No-Man's Land, represents the history of the United States. It has been included in many cessions of territory, tossed here and there at the will of kings, consuls, presidents and private individuals. It is what was left after the great land adjustments in North America. It was truly the remnant of empires, and not far from the geographical center of the United States, it was the last territory to be given final claims and ownership.

It is a long and complicated story to follow if one attempts to learn all the facts connected with Old Beaver County. Many are possibly non-essential and hold no interest for the casual reader, but for him who wishes to know the intricacies of history, here is a rich storehouse. To make mention of a treaty incorporating a transfer of land seems not sufficient yet that, in many cases, must serve the purpose of this paper. To say that an early explorer crossed this No-Man's Land must carry with it the fact that many pages of narration and description are needed to tell of his intrepid and daring spirit. The trails of the early trader crossed this narrow strip of land and could he relate his many experiences they, too, would be but a part of the history of No-Man's Land.

Prior to the middle of the Eighteenth Century the claims of the countries—Spain, France and England—to land in North America were very conflicting. Each nation sending out discoverers and explorers made claim to wide extents of territory—so wide that boundaries meant nothing. Time alone could determine the bounds of each claimant.

Very early Spain allowed Florida to include all her continental holdings. Later as the country was explored names were applied to the new lands. These Spanish explorers went far into the interior of what is now the United States in search of gold and wealth so eagerly sought by all of them.

Coronado was sent out by Mendoza, the viceroy of New Spain, in the early months of 1539. For three years he tramped over Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas and New Mexico. After having gone into what is now Kansas he returned to his station, Tiguex, far north of the Rio Grande. This return expedition (1541) was directed southwest from central Kansas and crossed Old Beaver county. Of course, it is impossible to determine exactly at what points he entered and departed.

It is to Spain that credit must be given for the early explorations of the country that lies west of the Mississippi river and based on these just claims may be made.

At the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, France was able to make good her claims to land in the new world. It is well known that the St. Lawrence river afforded ingress to the lands to be colonized. England was making the Atlantic sea board the seat of colonizing schemes, so nothing was left for France to do but enter the St. Lawrence—and later the Mississippi.

By 1680, La Salle had opened the way for trade in the Great Lake country, and was pushing his way down the Mississippi river. He took possession of all the land drained by that river. France was able to sustain this right almost a century. This great waterway used by the French served as a check to westward advance of the English. The English "sea to sea" grants grew to be of less and less importance from this time, and by 1763 they were no longer considered as extending west of the Mississippi.

When France laid claim to land which Spain justly held, trouble ensued. Following 1680 La Salle returned to France and there was able to interest the King to such an extent that the colonizing of the lower Mississippi valley was planned. Sailing from France La Salle entered the gulf of Mexico, and landed on the coast of Texas. Here at San Bernardo on February 18th, 1685, he proclaimed France the rightful owner of the coast—if building a small fort guaranteed such rights. French claims now came nearer old Beaver County.

Spain had done but little to colonize the land north of the Rio Grande but to have rivals so near was not good policy. Accordingly in the spring of 1689 by Spanish authority, Captain Alonzo de Leon was sent into the Texas country to "hunt out" all foreigners.[1] He reached the site of La Salle's fort April 22, 1689 and on the 24th he went to the bay. He found nothing here that could give him alarm and on the 22nd of May, the same year, he informed the viceroy of Mexico that the country was free of foreigners.

France could not rest so long as there was a chance to lay a claim to the country that appeared so valuable. In 1714, Louis St. Denis and three other Frenchmen secured passports from the governor of Louisiana to go into the Spanish territory, and buy cattle at the Missions. Their work was suspected to be that of political observation, and at San Juan Baptista on the Rio Grande they were arrested and sent to the City of Mexico. St. Denis finally escaped and reached the French post at Natchitoches.[2]

To guard against the encroachments of the French from the Mississippi valley—especially from Louisiana westward—, San Antonio de Bexar was given a light infantry. About 1718 to 1719, when France and Spain were at war, the western part of what is now Louisiana was the seat of frontier warfare. The Spanish attacked the French at Adaes, in 1719, to which place they had advanced from Natchitoches. When Adeas was again in the hands of the Spanish forces, it was strengthened and made the outpost to prevent the farther advance of their rivals. The territory which lies to the north and west along the Red river was jealously guarded and there is no evidence that the French were able to advance up this river into land along the south bank. Since Spain was able to dispute the progress of the French along the Red river, it began to appear that it might be considered the mutual boundary of these rivals. A century later Spain was able to maintain this boundary in a treaty with the United States.

In 1720 the Mississippi Company, taking over the patent Crozat had secured from Louis XIV, sent out a small detachment of men to the site of the old fort that La Salle built in 1685 on the shore of San Bernardo Bay—now Matagordo Bay. The year following Bernard de la Harpe was given the empty title of commandant and here he re-asserted the French rights to the Texas country. The settlement failed, and was the last effort made to colonize in this disputed territory.[3]

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[1] Kennedy's *Texas*, Vol. I, p. 212.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 218.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

After Leon had pushed back the French at Adaes in 1719 and strengthened the frontier with forts, the history of the Texas country is "only a dreary register of petty territorial squabbles, barbarous feuds, and feats of monkish strategy."[4]

In the final struggle between England and France here in America the latter nation feared that all possessions might go to England, and to save at least a portion of her once large empire, a treaty was made with Spain. On November 3, 1762, by a secret treaty, Spain was ceded the western Mississippi valley. The boundaries were not carefully determined, and became a source of annoyance for future negotiators. The only boundary that might be said to be determined was the Red River and that was not so stated. Whether or not Old Beaver county was considered French or Spanish territory cannot be determined; it would lie within the disputed areas. But from this date until 1800, it was wholly under Spanish jurisdiction, which is saying almost nothing for Spain wanted this Texas country entirely within her grasp to use as a buffer state. The rich Mexican domains were to be defended from the Americans, and to have a broad expanse of territory was the best safeguard.

On October 1, 1800, by the treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain retroceded the western Mississippi valley to France. This territory may be called Louisiana. The extent of this territory in this treaty was the same as in 1762 [*viz.*, Treaty of Paris, 1763]—still undetermined.

The United States on April 30, 1803, purchased Louisiana from France. When the former country asked the extent of the territory no definite answer could be given, only the stipulations of former treaties could again be repeated: ". . . . the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such that it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States."[5]

During the first twenty years of the Nineteenth Century, Spain and the United States had many difficulties arising between them. A treaty of February 22, 1819, finally ratified and made effective February 19, 1821, adjusted many differences. The boundary between Spanish and the United States territory was agreed upon, and now for the first time Old Beaver county had one side of its extent defined. The part of the treaty affecting it is as follows: ". . . . then following the course of the Rio Roxo (Red River) westward to the degree of longitude 100 west from London and 23 from Washington; then crossing the said Red River, and running thence, by a line due north, to the river Arkansas . . . . ."[6]

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[5] MacDonald's *Select Documents of U. S. History* 1776-1861, p. 161 (The Treaty of 1803).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

The meridian 100 degrees west from London marks the boundary on the east side of Old Beaver county, and the same is true of the Beaver County today. From this date, 1819, the territory was clearly within Spanish jurisdiction, and remained so until Mexico became a republic at which time it passed into the hands of that country.

It was plainly seen after 1803 that the United States was to be more or less connected with the history of the Texas country. In fact, it was held by many that Texas ought to be a part of the Louisiana Purchase, but the treaty of 1819 determined otherwise. Nevertheless many Americans took part in the revolution which resulted in Spain's losing this country.

In 1812, organized expeditions began to go from the United States into Texas and there joined the forces fighting to gain independence from Spanish rule.[7] After much hard fighting and many bloody battles the revolutionary forces of Mexico declared their independence in February, 1821. In 1824, the Federal Constitution of the Mexican Republic was made the law of the land.[8]

On May 7, 1824, before the promulgation of the Constitution, it was declared that Texas should be annexed to Coahuila, until it possessed the necessary elements to become a state, at which time the union was to be dissolved and an independent state legislature given to Texas. Since the Mexican states were granted many privileges and took many more, the history of the State of Coahuila and Texas is the history of Old Beaver county. On March 11, 1827, the state constitution was properly recognized by the Mexican authority, although prior to this time the State had carried on the business necessary to a state government.[9]

By the organic decree which enabled Coahuila and Texas to become a state, its representatives pledged it "to obey and sustain, at all hazards, the Supreme Federal powers, and its own union with the rest of the States, and the constitutional independence of all and each one of them."[10]

This oath meant but little when the time came for resistance; even before it had been sworn to, there was an attempt in the Nacogdoches department to make Texas an independent republic. This occurred in 1826.[11] The time was not ripe for this, and even Stephen Austin, a colonizer of Texas land, helped to put it down. Yet the armed resistance met by the authorities to suppress the uprising merited the name of "The Fredonian War." The proposed republic was to be named Fredonia.[12]

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[7] Kennedy's *Texas*, Vol. I, p. 276.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 361.

Regardless of the interests of Texas, Coahuila was allowing the legislature to squander the public lands that lay within the province of Texas. This would bring disaster to Texas if ever it should become a separate state. In 1830 the people of Texas began to resent this action, and sought redress. No satisfaction could be obtained. The seeds of Texan independence were beginning to grow, and Mexico was soon to lose a part of one of the states of the Republic.

During this time the United States was trying to acquire Texas. Under the date of March 26, 1825, Mr. Clay, secretary of state, directed a letter to Mr. Poinsett, minister to Mexico, instructing him to induce that country to shift its boundary nearer the capital. In 1829 Mr. Poinsett was to be instructed to attempt a purchase—five million dollars might be offered. This man had made himself obnoxious to the Mexican government, and he was recalled before the letter reached him. American history in the southwest might have been quite different had Mr. Clay's ambitions been realized.[13]

By the decree of October 3, 1835, over the signature of the Mexican President, by Miguel Barragan Acting President, all the states of Mexico had their legislative powers abolished.[14] This became a breaking point, and in Texas a crisis was soon reached. By December 1, 1835 a provisional government had been organized, and, led by men of ability, a successful revolution was soon under way.

On November 23, 1835, Stephen Austin had submitted a report to the provisional government setting forth grievances of the Texan colonists caused by the decree of October 3rd. That Austin was very considerate is shown by the following paragraph taken from his report:[15]

> The object of the Texans, therefore, in wishing a separation from Coahuila, and the erection of their country into a state, was to avoid a total separation from Mexico by a revolution. Neither Coahuila, nor any other portion of the Mexican nation can legislate on the internal affairs of Texas. This country must either be a state of the Mexican Confederation, or must separate IN TOTO, as an independent community, or seek protection from some power that recognizes the principles of self-government. I can see no remedy between one of these three positions and total ruin.

The Texan declaration of independence was agreed upon March 2, 1836. This was the second time Anglo-Saxon people had declared for a republic in the new world. The declaration reads not unlike that of its predecessors: ''We . . . . do hereby resolve and DECLARE that our political connection with the Mexican government has forever ended.''[16]

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[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 370-72.
[14] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 111.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 193, quoting the Dec. of Ind.

With this step, supported by armed resistance, the Republic maintained its body politic. The independence was recognized by England, and in due course of time, the United States gave recognition by a resolution March 3, 1837. It is interesting to note that this resolution was one of the last official documents to be signed by Jackson while president. This same year Texas began to make efforts to secure annexation to the United States.

THE EMPRESARIO LAND SYSTEM[17]

Prior to the Nineteenth Century Spain had worked out a land system which had undergone many changes by 1820. Many efforts had been made to induce settlers to go into the Texas country but with no success. It remained for a Connecticut Yankee, Moses Austin, to evolve a scheme whereby settlement in Texas would receive attention. His colonizing plan was, of course, based upon the land laws prevailing in the Spanish new world. It is the old Spanish theory of colonizing and Austin's plan and modifications of each that will be given attention.

Old Beaver county, being included with the territory of Texas, was affected by this land system. It was incorporated within some of the early grants made between the years 1820 and 1840. The latter date closes no particular period of land history.

Moses Austin had first gone into Spanish territory in 1799. Securing permission from the Spanish minister at Washington and armed wth a passport from this official, he settled in what is now Washington county, Missouri. This was the first step that later led him into Texas, where he found land that was well worth colonizing.

On January 17, 1821, he secured rights allowing him to settle three hundred families on land that he might select in Texas. He had selected a stirring time to undertake such a task, for Mexico was in the struggles of revolution, yet Spanish authority was exercised.

Stephen Austin, upon the death of his father, Moses Austin, who died June 10, 1821, continued the work of colonization. After Mexico had declared herself independent it became necessary to have the right of January 17, 1821, confirmed under the authority of the new government. On February 18, 1823, this confirmation was secured and the progress of settlement once more began. Land between the Colorado and Brazos rivers was selected, also extending eastward across the latter river. Here was the nucleus of the empresario system by which millions of acres were parceled out to promotors of colonization. The men agreeing to promote the colony were called *empresarios.*

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[17] Kennedy, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 308-41; McKitrick's, *The Public Land System of Texas*, pp. 25-7.

The granting of land was left to a large extent in the hands of the State officers. The most important land law was that of March 24, 1825. This law of the State of Coahuila and Texas authorized the governor to accept proposals from empresarios to settle a certain number of families within stiplated limits, in the term of six years. A brief outline of method of procedure by which this land was secured is well given in the following:[18]

> The first step towards a settlement was the presentation of a memorial from the contractor, praying for permission to colonize under the conditions of the law, stating the number of families proposed to be introduced, and defining the limits of the land on which he desired to locate them. Usually to afford ample choice to settlers, a tract, greatly exceeding the appropriations to be made (containing often a million acres), was indicated in the memorial, and temporarily conceded by the government. The articles of the contract provided for the obediance to the Federal and state laws, and the legal conditions of colonization—respect for all legal titles to land that might have been previously held within the limits of the grant—retention by the state of the right of property over all the lands which should remain, after laying those belonging to the settlers and the "premium lands" of the Empresarios—abstinence from the sale of arms and ammunition to the barbarous Indians, and the purchase from them of mules and horses, without the assurance of the same having been properly acquired—the organization of a militia whenever there was adequate male population—the use of the Spanish language in all official communications, instruments, deeds, and other public documents; in every other matter not provided for or expressed, the Empresarios, or the new settlers holding under them, were to abide and be governed by the Federal constitution, and the particular laws of the state, It was likewise stipulated that the Empresarios should be at liberty to enter into a new contract with the government, for the settlement of the surplus lands within the grant, after locating the specified number of settlers, and laying off their own portions of premium lands.

The length of time allotted the empresarios for the settlement of the land was six years. Many never fulfilled the conditions required, and the land was lost to them—going back to the government. There were many slight modifications made in the laws after March 24, 1825, but they are details, and the general stipulations were never changed. The inducement to the empresario was the premium land which he got for his trouble and expense, as well as the land speculation that was made possible when such immense tracts were held. Much fraud, deceit, modern crookedness and land scheming were practiced. Within less than ten years after the passage of this law the whole of Texas was covered with empresario grants.

The land that lies around the headwaters of the Rio Grande, Red and Canadian rivers had never been surveyed. Nothing definite was known concerning it, and yet this land was taken by men who supposed there was a chance to make money in some way or other.

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[18] Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-37.

According to the conditions imposed upon the empresarios the land must be surveyed before settlers should be brought in. These schemes were gigantic ones and could not be carried through by small concerns. Big land companies were organized and undertook the work of colonization.

In 1832 the New Arkansas and Texas Land Company entered into a contract with the State of Coahuila and Texas[19] on the one part, and John Charles Beales, M. D., and Jose Manuel Royuella on the other. This contract called for land north of the 32nd Degree of north latitude and west of the 102nd meridian west longitude. The surveying party that worked on this territory kept field notes that tell interesting things experienced at that early date on the Texas plains. The work took them into Old Beaver County, a part of which was included in the grant. This is the first surveying that was ever done in this country, but from this early date until the county was surveyed by the United States Government [Clark survey, 1859-62] there were changes in the lines run as was necessary whenever a change in ownership demanded it. A number of entries are taken from these field notes—those made while the party was in or near Old Beaver County:

Sept. 16th—N. along E. boundary of section 12. At three miles we crossed a small branch running N. E.; and at four miles we crossed the North Fork of the Canadian. Here is a large bold stream from fifty to sixty feet wide, with a large and extensive bottom, well timbered to sixty feet wide with oak and hackberry; undergrowth, plum bushes and grape vines. The country we passed over was of good quality; generally timbered. Game plenty. We made twenty miles.[20]

Sep. 17th—N. along the E. side of section 12. Today we made twenty-five miles, to the supposed corner of section 12, and the N. E. boundary of the grant. We camped on a small creek running S. E.

Sep. 18th—We proceeded N. to ascertain the true distance to the Arkansas river. Here we found it to be fifty-five miles north of the supposed. The river here is upwards of a mile wide, with a large bottom and well-timbered with oak, hackberry and elm; undergrowth, grape vines &c. On the 19th, the hunters killed a buffalo.[21]

Sep. 22nd—We returned to the N. E. corner of the grant, and established about half in distance N. of the temporary corner before established. On the 21st we saw a large party of Indians to the W. The country between this corner and the Arkansas River is generally good. On the 24th our horses strayed, or were driven away by the Indians, and were gone two days.

Sep. 27th—W. along the N. boundaries of section 12. This time we ran on a supposed parrallel line with the Arkansas River—say W. 10° N. we this day made twenty miles over a land of superior quality; a part of the way well timbered. We camped on a small creek running S. E. About midnight we were attacked by a party of Snake Indians; we all prepared for a battle and made a manful resistance. The action lasted but a few minutes, when the enemy fled, leaving on the ground nine of their party dead. We have to regret the loss of three men killed and one slightly wounded. The men killed—McCrummins, Weathers and Jones; Thompson slightly wounded.[22]

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[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 192-4. Kennedy states that the survey was made by Legrand in 1830 or 1831. See "Advertisement" first pages Vol. I.

[20] On the morning of this day the party was still in Texas, but before they stopped for the night it is probable that they were in or near the edge of "Old Beaver County"—on the 102nd Meridian, approximately the division line of Texas and Cimarron counties.

[21] No surveying done on the 19, 20 and 21 Sept. It will be noted that plenty of game could be had.

Sep. 28th—We were occupied this day in burying our deceased friends, which we did with as much decency as our situation would admit of. We encamped on the field of action at night.

Sep. 29th—W. 10 N. along the side of section 12. We this day made twenty-four miles over good land and well situated; mostly prairie. We encamped on a small stream of fine water running S. E.; some of the hunters killed our buffaloes and one deer.

Sep. 30th—W. 10 N. along the N. side of section 12. Today we made twenty-six miles over a level and rich prairie. We passed some ponds of stagnant water, but encamped all night, after running until a late hour, without any. Two buffaloes killed.[23]

Oct. 1st—W. 10 N. along N. side of section 12. We today made twenty-one miles. At four miles we crossed a creek ten or fifteen yards wide, running S. E., with a good bottom of land, timbered with oak, hackberry, and cottonwood. At the distance of four miles we passed a creek running N. E. The land that we passed over was generally good. We encamped on a branch running N. E.[24]

On account of the inaccurate maps prior to 1850, it is somewhat difficult to determine just where all the boundaries of the grants really were. Other surveying parties soon worked in this region and laid out other grants, some of which included Old Beaver County.

The map here given shows that in later years the Beale and Royuella grant was no longer bounded on the north by the line that was first surveyed—running west by 10 degrees north—, but by a line that ran due west from the 102nd Meridian west longitude, with its origin a little north of 36° 45′ North Latitude. The original north line inclined to the north on account of the attempt to survey it parallel with the Arkansas River which was at that time the

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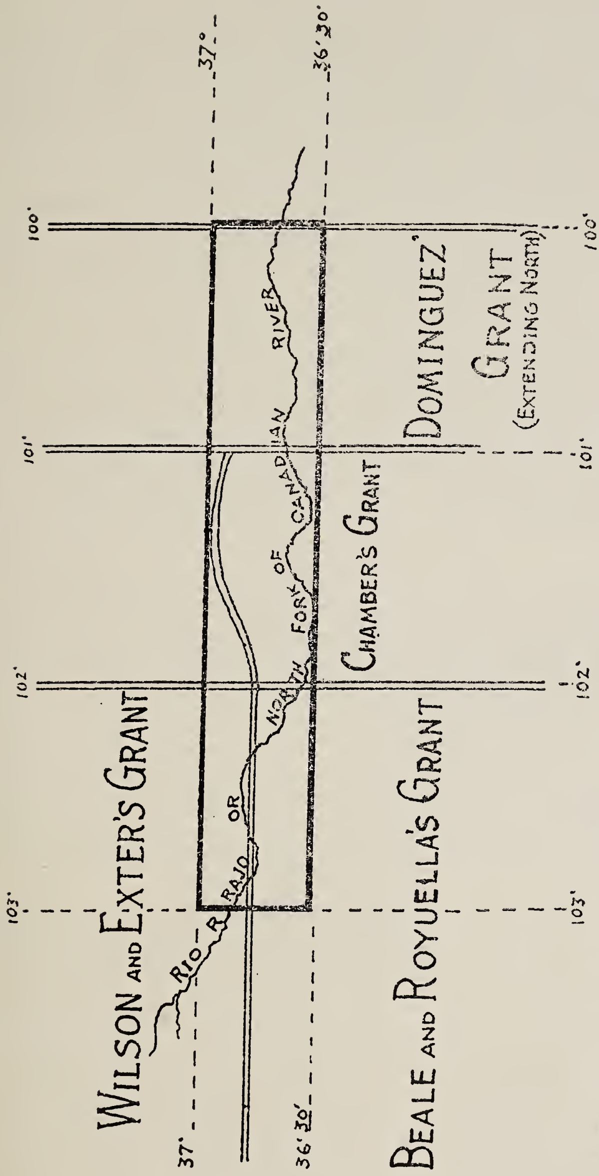
[22] Considering the direction the north line was being run, it is possible that this battle took place in Cimarron County not far from the Kansas state line. The party evidently did not know Indians very well because Snake Indians never came that far south. [The tribes loosely referred to as "Snake Indians" at this time were of the Shoshonean linguistic stock living in Eastern Oregon. The Indians in this battle were probably Comanche (Shoshonean stock) who were also generally erroneously referred to as "Pawnee" and allied with the Kiowa in their war parties on the Plains.—Ed.]

[23] If the surveying party were careful with the entries in their field notes, the conclusion that the north side of Section 12 extended through the entire length of Cimarron County, may be drawn. No creeks being crossed on this day well indicates the flat divide between the Cimarron and Beaver rivers that may be found in this county, in the east central part especially.

[24] So long as the creeks flow southeast they are tributaries of the Beaver and the party is still in Cimarron County, and since the Cimarron River flows about forty miles in this county all the tributaries running northeast lie within it. At the end of this day the party was evidently in what is now New Mexico.


WILSON AND EXTER'S GRANT
BEALE AND ROYUELLA'S GRANT
CHAMBER'S GRANT
DOMINGUEZ' GRANT (EXTENDING NORTH)
RIO ROJO OR NORTH FORK OF CANADIAN RIVER
37°
36' 30'
103'
102'
101'
100'

DIVISION of "NO-MAN'S LAND" by LAND GRANTS
—1840—
Under the EMPRESARIO SYSTEM

This map may not be entirely accurate but
is probably approximately so.

Taken from Kennedy's Texas
Vol. I facing page 336.

northern boundary of the Texas territory, having been made so originally by the Treaty of February 22, 1819, between the United States and Spain.

Other grants were soon made. Wilson and Exter's grant was immediately north of the Beale and Royuella grant, and included that part of Old Beaver County which lies north of the limits of the latter. The Chambers grant had in it that part of No-Man's-Land which lies between meridians 101 and 102 West Longitude, except a small irregular portion that was bounded on the north by the 37th Parallel of North Latitude. East of this grant was that of Dominguez extending north to the Arkansas River and east to the 100th Meridian—the eastern boundary of Texas territory north of Red River. The four grants named, included all of Old Beaver County, except a small portion north of the Chambers grant.

It is hardly possible that any attempt was made to locate settlers on this land since it was too far from a base of supplies. Santa Fe was the nearest town, and no well travelled road led to it. Moreover, the Indians still roamed these regions the same as if it was their own, in fact there was nothing to keep them from doing this. It was many years later when they were subdued, and then by the United States troops.

THE SANTA FE TRAIL

So long as the Spanish government controlled the Texas country there was but little opportunity to carry on trade on the part of the American traders. After 1821, which marked the end of the Spanish regime, the trade in the Southwest rapidly grew into gigantic proportions.

The founder of the Santa Fe Trade and the father of the Santa Fe Trail was William Becknell of Missouri.[25] As early as 1811 he was trading with the Comanche Indians on the Western Plains.[26] In 1813, he determined to go to Santa Fe and trade with the New Mexicans of that country. He did this and found it very profitable.

This first organized expedition to Santa Fe was not without incident. The thirty men, with five thousand dollars invested in merchandise, were under the direction of Becknell. When he followed the Arkansas he conceived the idea of going directly across to Santa Fe instead of taking the circuitous route by way of Taos. Accordingly he left the Arkansas at "The Caches" and proceeded to the southwest. There is a wide stretch of dry country between the Arkansas and the Cimarron rivers and to cross this unknown region was a foolhardy adventure. No water was found in the streams and no springs supplied the country. As soon as their small supply of water was exhausted they began to suffer and when near the Cimarron they would have perished had it not been for a buffalo which had come up from this river. They were thus directed to the water of the river, and after supplying themselves decided to go back to the Arkansas and follow the surer route to Taos. Had they known the region they could have soon reached Santa Fe by following the Cimarron, and saved many days of travel. This was the first attempt to make the "cut-off" to Santa Fe.[27]

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[25] Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West*, Vol. II, p. 501.

[26] Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1897), p. 38.

Becknell continued to make these trips to the southwest and in the spring of 1823 he, with Braxton Cooper, and a third man picked up on the Arkansas, made a successful trip by the way of the "cut-off." This expedition was made up of twenty-one men and three wagons.[28]

Quoting from Chittenden for a brief statement of this trip, the importance of it is well seen:[29]

> This journey is of historic importance in that it was the first which led directly to San Miguel by way of the Cimarron instead of following the Arkansas to the mountains; and it was also the first that made use of wagons in the Santa Fe trade. To William Becknell, therefore, belongs the credit of having made the first regular trading expedition from the Missouri to Santa Fe; of being the first to follow the route directed to San Miguel instead of by the way of Taos; and the first to introduce the use of wagons in the trade.

It was across Old Beaver County that this journey was made. After this first trip the newly opened trail was the route of many caravans carrying goods to Santa Fe and returning with gold, silver and furs. The trade was profitable and many were induced to enter this industry. In May, 1823, an expedition was organized at Mt. Vernon, Missouri, went to Santa Fe, traded goods, and returned to Franklin, Missouri, September 24 of the same year. Four months and ten days were used in this trip. There were 81 men, 156 horses and mules, 25 wagons, and about $30,000 worth of merchandise in the party going to Sante Fe. They brought back as a result of their trade $130,000 in gold and silver and $10,000 worth of furs.[30]

When the trade began to be of so much importance, there was necessity of an established trail. Senator Benton promoted the plan of having the route surveyed and in June of 1825 the task was begun.[31]

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[27] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[29] Chittenden, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 503.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 507-8.

[31] Sen. Thomas H. Benton of Missouri sponsored the Congressional Act of March 3, 1825, signed by President James Monroe, providing a survey of the Santa Fe Trail west. This survey was made in 1825-27, from Fort Osage (now Sibley), Jackson County, Missouri, to San Fernando, the principal village in Taos, New Mexico. The original field notes of this survey, made by Joseph C. Brown, U. S. surveying expedition, in the Kansas Historical Collections, were published and can be found in William E. Connelly's *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (New York, 1918).—Ed.

Old Beaver County was the scene of many adventures as this trade was carried on with the southwest country. The Kiowa, Comanche, and Arapaho Indians were a constant source of annoyance. To lessen this difficulty troops were sometimes sent with the caravans. But many times small parties did not wish to wait for such protection and made the long journey without it. Even the men became careless and strayed away from the caravan which afforded protection. As a result, they sometimes paid for it with their lives. Such an incident occurred in the western part of the county—on McNees Creek.

In 1826, two young men, McNees and Munroe, had left their caravan and having plenty of time, they lay down to sleep on the bank og a small stream. While they were asleep a party of roving Indians came upon them, killed the former and left the latter badly wounded. McNees was buried here, and Munroe was taken on with the party. But little medical attention could be had, he died by the time the party reached the Cimarron, and near this river he was buried.[32]

Along the Cimarron River were fought several bloody battles with the Indians. So Old Beaver County is not without its stirring Indian scenes in the early history. When one reviews the trade across the Plains and finds that scores of caravans loaded with thousands of dollars' worth of goods and large quantities of gold and silver passed over this trail, he finds that much interest is centered about this No-Man's-Land—the traders' ''Cimarron Desert.''

The Cimarron River region was known as the ''Cimarron Desert'' to early traders. There was nothing that would show there was any possibility of the country sustaining a population. But to-day there are farm homes and ranches over the whole area.

The first expeditions had difficulty in making a trail that could be followed, and many were often in doubt as to the way to go. In 1834 there were rains that made the prairies very wet. Then the wagons that passed over the trail left their tracks. Others following soon cut a road that could be followed and from this date there was no trouble in finding the way leading across the ''Cimarron Desert.''

If one travels over the western part of Old Beaver County to-day, he can see how the roads were cut. The section lines are travelled by the farmers as they go to the railroad stations and their wagons leave a trail through the prairie followed by another and another until, with help of wind and rain, the roads are made very plain.

In traveling over the northwest portion of this region an old road can be plainly seen. It looks as if it might have been an ancient canal. In places it is fifteen or twenty feet wide, and one to three feet deep. It has been made so by the many wagons and pack trains passing over it. The rains and wind helped to wear it deeper and deeper. Then it soded with the "buffalo" grass, and is nothing more than a shadow of the past. This is the Old Santa Fe Trail.

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[32] Inman, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

POLITICAL HISTORY

The ruling population of Texas was made up of the Americans who had gone there. Resulting from this was the desire for annexation to the United States, and on March 1, 1845, this was made possible by a resolution approved by President John Tyler.[33] A provision of this resolution stated that the adjustment of boundary disputes with other governments should be left to the jurisdiction of the United States.

Since the Texas territory was large, there appeared the necessity of making more than one state. Provision was made for this, and growing out of it came a great deal of legislation culminating in the year 1850. Texas as a republic permitted slavery in all its territory, and when restrictions were imposed in the resolution it was apparent that land adjustments would have to be made. In making these Old Beaver County was included in territory given up by Texas. The clause leading to this is as follows:[34]

> New States, of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to the said State of Texas, and having sufficient population, may hereafter, by the consent of the said State, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution; and such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire; and in such State or States as shall be formed out of the territory north of said Missouri compromise line, slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited.

On July 4, 1845, Texas formerly consented to annexation. After the process through which she had to go in order to become a member of the Union, the United States on December 29, 1845, formally admitted her.

Old Beaver County, at this date a part of Texas, was subject to all Federal laws as applied to states. In a sense it was "in the Union."

After the western United States was acquired by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, boundary disputes arose between the Federal

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[33] Thorpe's *American Constitutions and Organic Laws*, Vol. 6, p. 3475, pertaining to French and Spanish claims to Texas, says, "France, however, never ceded her claim to Texas, and it having been transferred to the United States by the treaty of 1803 ceding Louisiana and its dependencies . . . . the controversy continued until closed by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidilago 1848," this gives rise to the second possession of Texas.

[34] *Ibid.*, 3545.

Government and the State of Texas. To settle these claims the Texas and New Mexico Act was approved by President Millard Filmore, September 9, 1850. Provisions of this Act were to determine what is now the boundary of Old Beaver County. The north boundary of Texas was defined in part as follows:[35]

> The State of Texas will agree that her boundary on the north shall commence at the point at which the meridian of one hundred degress west from Greenwich is intersected by the parrallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and shall run from said point due west to the meridian of one hundred and three degrees west from Greenwich.

When the limits of Texas were completely defined, provision was made for the cession of all territory exterior to these limits: "The State of Texas cedes to the United States all her claim to territory exterior to the limits and boundaries which she agrees to establish."[36]

In accordance with this Act, the Texas Legislature on November 25, 1850, withdrew ownership to the lands that included Old Beaver County, and on December 12, the same year, the United States formally accepted the right of jurisdiction.

Part of this territory was to be erected into the Territory of New Mexico when "the boundary between the United States and the State of Texas shall be adjusted." As stated above, this was accomplished, and then New Mexico had her boundaries defined. As the southern boundary of Old Beaver County was determined by the northern Texas boundary, so the western boundary was made by the limits of New Mexico. The provision reads: ". . . . thence east with said degree to its intersection with the one hundred and third degree of longitude west of Greenwich; thence north with said degree of longitude to the parallel of thirty-eighth degree of north latitude."[37]

But one more step remained for the complete isolation of Old Beaver County. This came when the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of May 30, 1854, created Kansas Territory. In part the boundary of Kansas is made to read: ". . . . beginning at a point on the western boundary of the State of Missouri, where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the eastern boundary of New Mexico."[38]

This piece of legislation marked the final limits of Old Beaver County. States or organized territories bounded it, and in the decade following, they were too busy to take notice of this narrow strip of land that had been legislated out of the Union, cut off from jurisdiction, or, at least, from consideration, and left to care for itself.

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. 2616.
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Ibid.*, quoting Texas and New Mexico Act.
[38] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 1168-69, quoting Kansas-Nebraska Act.

OLD BEAVER COUNTY—NO-MAN'S-LAND—PUBLIC DOMAIN CIMARRON TERRITORY, 1850-1890

This narrow strip of land that had so much difficulty in finding a resting place, a political body that would take and keep it, extends over three degrees of longitude—100° to 103° West Longitude—and thirty minutes of latitude—36° 30′ to 37° North Latitude. It is little more than 168 miles long, by a fraction more than 34 miles wide, and contains 5,738 square miles. It is larger than the State of Connecticut by 126 square miles, more than four and a half times the size of Rhode Island.

When it became a part of the Public Domain of the United States, it had to be surveyed, as the surveys made under the empresario grants were incomplete and of little value. About the time of the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862, Judge N. C. McFarland, who was Commissioner of the General Land Office, had a survey made. It was laid off into townships, the lines were marked with zinc markers. On each side of these, is a symbol of marks which enables one to locate the land defined by them. Locally, these township lines are known as "pot lines" since the metal markers as they are partially buried in the earth resemble pots. The survey system in itself is complete, the base line being that of 36° 30′ North Latitude, and its prime meridian—Cimarron Meridian—103° West Longtude. This seems to be the first Federal consideration given the land.

In 1885, a Supreme Court decision stated that this land was not a part of the Cherokee Oultet. Consequently, about 1886 settlers began to go into the region more as a venture than for serious attempts at settlement, the settling of Western Kansas at this time led the former. Letters were directed to L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, asking him the *status quo* of the land and the settlers' rights in making homesteads. He stated that it was public domain and subject to "squatters' rights." This was encouragement and occupancy was begun.[40]

The cattleman prior to this date had well occupied the country, and he lent no aid to the settlement proposed by the newcomers. It seemed that priority of residence was to determine ownership, and if this was the case, the cattleman had the nine points of the law. More than this, there were no laws applicable and consequently no protection could be guaranteed the settler. Yet the ever westward movement was sure to bring the pioneer farmer, to be followed with laws at some time. As has always been the case, the pioneer will always provide regulations whereby he can govern and be governed. Old Beaver County was no exception to the rule.

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[40] "The Story of No Man's Land," reprint in *Guyman Herald* from *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine.*

The settlers experienced difficulty enough. Whenever a claim was "staked out" and it looked as if the squatter intended making it his home, some member of the lawless element who roamed the prairies would ride up and state that he had already taken the claim. The only way this "road trotter," as he was locally known, could be disposed of was to pay him a sum of money—which he named—, and remain in possession of the claim or leave. If the latter was done, he had another chance to exact money from some other prospective settler who would soon come in. These lawless plainsmen or desperadoes were always able to assert their so-called rights with the "six-shooter," which was their Blackstone. On the other hand, there were settlers who had the necessary "nerve" and met these "road trotters" at their own game. In one instance, the gang composed of outlaws was severely punished in a shooting which took place. But this was not a satisfactorily way to settle and hold the land.

Vigilance committees were organized and tried to make regulations that would meet the emergencies. Groups of settlers banded together and made the best of the conditions. During the summer of 1886, these vigilance committees grew[41] strong enough to organize a Respective Claim Board, which was a step nearer united effort towards making laws. This Board divided the strip of land into three districts according to meridian division. The first district was what is today the Beaver County, and it was given four members, each of the other districts were given two members. When these members were chosen they were to meet at Beaver City, a town that was growing up on the Beaver River, and determine the steps necessary to provide themselves with laws.

Pursuant to a call that had been sent out in November, a number of the representative men of the territory met at Beaver City on the 29th of this month, and prepared to organize themselves into a deliberate body. A code of laws was drawn up and; a resolution to call an election to be held on February 22, 1887, for the purpose of electing nine councilmen—three from each meridian district—to meet at Beaver City on March 4, 1887. These councilmen were to act as a territorial council and proceed to organize a territorial form of government.

The election was duly held. Seven councilmen appeared for the meeting. These men canvassed the election returns, and found that two were ineligible, and their places were filled by men receiving the next highest number of votes. O. G. Chase was elected president of this council, with Merret Magann, secretary.[42]

The business of the meeting proceeded. The territory was divided into three senatorial districts by meridian lines and into

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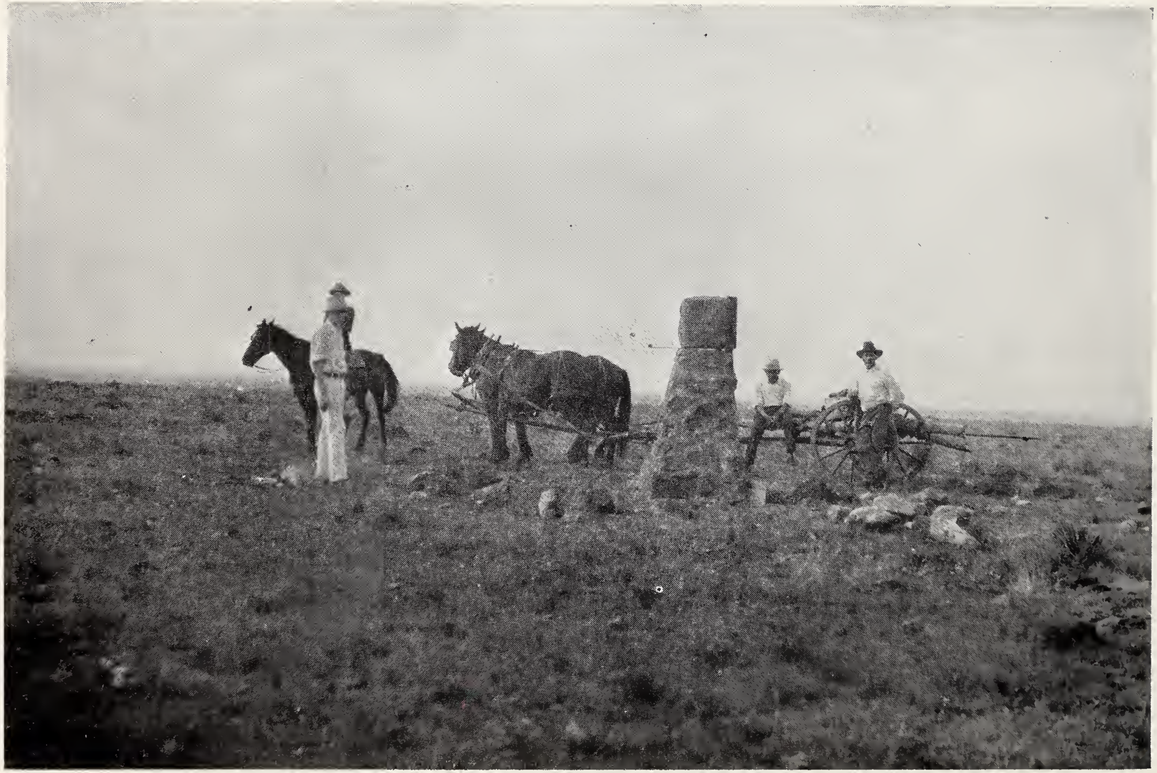
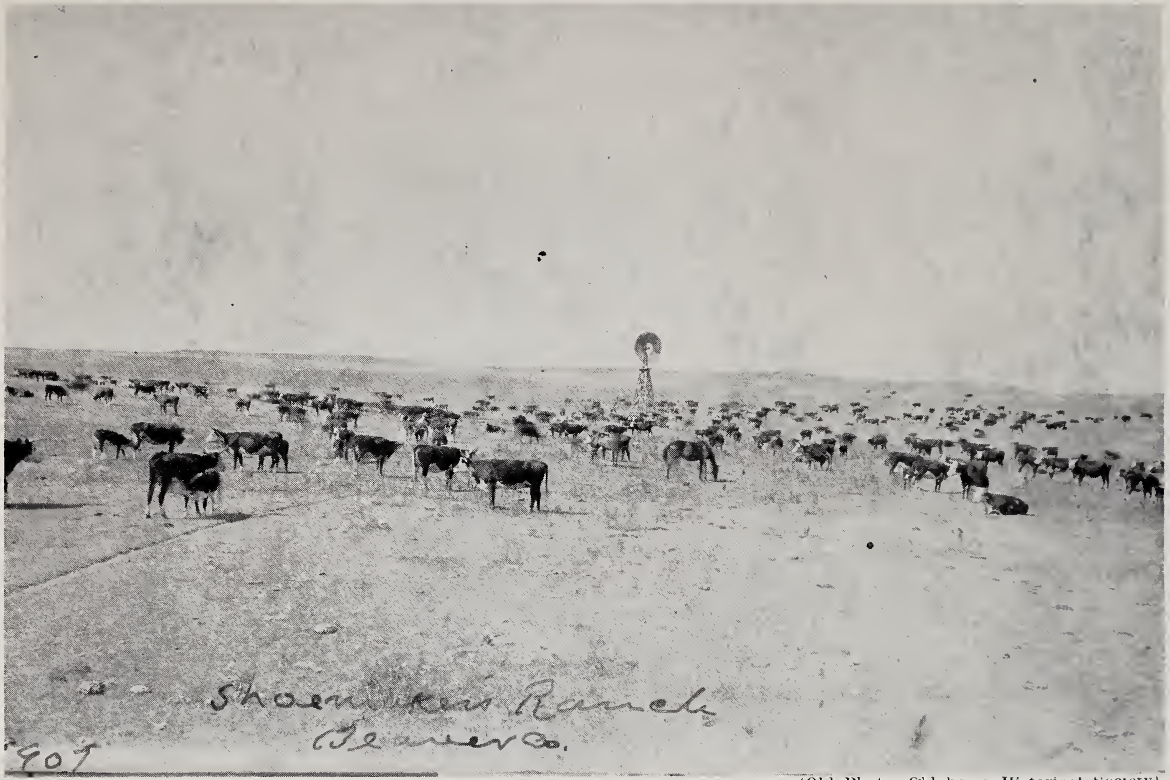
[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Petition submitted to the House of Representatives by O. G. Chase.—*Congressional Record* for Dec. 12, 1887.



ERECTING THE MONUMENT ON THE BLACK MESA, CIMARRON COUNTY, 1929, page 3.
(See *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, March, 1929)



(Old Photo, Oklahoma Historical Society)

RANCH SCENE IN OLD BEAVER COUNTY

seven delegate districts by township lines. Then an election for November 8, 1887, was called to elect nine senatorial councilmen, three from each district, and fourteen delegate councilmen, two from each delegate district. At this same meeting there were laws made regulating marriages, mortgages, etc.[43]

The November election was held, and the twenty-three councilmen were elected. They met at Beaver City, and on December 5, 1887, went into session as a legislative body. There was but little work to do that demanded all their time, but there was no adjournment until spring. During this long legislative session, O. G. Chase was in Washington trying to get recognition as a delegate from Cimarron Territory, and to keep up appearances he had instructed this territorial council to continue its meetings until he secured some kind of a result from Congress.

When Chase went to Washington, he induced Mr. Springer, Representative from Illinois, to take up his cause. Mr. Springer did this since he had before this time interested himself in Old Beaver County, known in Congress as The Public Land Strip, or by some as No-Man's-Land.

On December 12, 1887, Mr. Springer submitted a petition proposing to admit O. G. Chase as delegate from Cimarron Territory. This petition, the product of Mr. Chase's pen, recited the history of Old Beaver County, giving the area,[44] natural resources, and probably cultivated products, and telling of the political proceedings as far as the time of submitting the "Petition." It was an exaggeration of everything except the area. Mr. Chase was an adept at calculating the population of his Territory—no census had ever been taken—he estimated that 10,000 people were to be found in the new land and that all *bona fide* citizens. As much as ten years later there were but 2,548.[45]

After the House members debated the proposition and the situation was fully explained, Mr. Springer offered a resolution, which was finally tabled and never again heard of. The resolution reads as follows:[46]

> RESOLVED, That the petition and certificate of election of Owen G. Chase, claiming to be elected a delegate from the Territory of Cimarron, be referred to the Committee on Territories, when appointed; and that pending the consideration of the organization of Territorial government for said territory, Mr. Chase be entitled to the privileges of the floor of the House, the same as is now accorded to contesting members.

During the time Mr. Chase and his machine were at work another convention had met at Rothwell, a new town a few miles up the river from Beaver City. Here a number of ambitious men who were not able to secure what they considered their share of the spoils organized themselves and elected John Dale delegate from Cimarron Territory to represent them at Washington. This was in July, 1887. Mr. Dale went to Washington and was no more successful in his efforts than was O. G. Chase.

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[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid.*, House Proceedings for Dec. 12, 1887.

[46] *Ibid.*, for January 25, 1888.

On January 25, 1888, Mr. Springer presented a memorial from the citizens and the Territorial Council of Cimarron Territory praying for an organization of the Territory. This was referred to the Committee on Territories. At the same time, he presented two memorials of Chase and Dale claiming to be delegates. Nothing ever came from these memorials. Dale was able, however, to secure post-offices for the new land.[47]

When Dale and Chase returned home they had nothing to bring that was encouragement to Old Beaver County which the two men had christened ''Cimarron Territory.'' It is likely that their efforts had secured more attention than they knew, for the question of providing some form of government for this anomalous land was given much consideration in the year following. They no longer had the desire to face Congress again, so a man by the name of Hubbard aspired to the office of territorial delegate. In fact, a corps of territorial officers was elected in 1888, and there followed a show of actual territorial government. This may have been a good thing in that Congress was compelled to take action at some time. This effort to make a government and then ask Congress to recognize it was not a novel idea. California and other states had done this very thing, and since it had been done before, there was reason for thinking it could be repeated. This argument was brought up on the floor of the House in Washington, but it was given little countenance.

Hubbard was furnished a certificate of election and then proceeded to Washington. It seems that he made a favorable impression upon some of the members of Congress and was able to induce them to consider the real problem that was being faced in this territory. Mr. Steele, who was later governor of Oklahoma Territory, was much in his confidence. They traveled on the same train to the Oklahoma Territory when Mr. Steele came to organize the government in 1890. It was at this time that Mr. Hubbard was rewarded in receiving consideration in the organization of Beaver County.

Congress could never be brought to see that a territorial form of government should be given the proposed Cimarron Territory, but there were champions of the cause of the people, who were really suffering for lack of laws. Mr. Burnes of Missouri, as early as February 1, 1886, introduced a bill to organize the Territory of Cimarron. It was lost in the proceedings of the House.[48]

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[47] "The Story of No Man's Land," *op. cit.*

[48] *Congressional Record*, proceedings of the House for February 1, 1886.

Again on July 12, 1886, a bill was introduced to annex the "Public Land Strip" to New Mexico. It was referred to the Committee on Territories, and there buried. If there be monuments in this Committee for all the efforts to organize this land, there is room for nothing else.[49] There also had been an effort made to extend judicial jurisdiction from Garden City, Kansas, so as to punish criminals escaping to this region.

At the beginning of the session of the Fiftieth Congress, the Secretary of the Interior urged that prompt attention be given the Public Land Strip.[50] In this report, he said in part: "It is simply a part of the public domain, over which the land laws have not been extended, and within the limits of which no tribunal, civil or criminal, has jurisdiction to protect property or punish crime."

September 24, 1888, an appropriation bill carried an amendment from the Senate which provided for the Circuit Court for the Kansas District to extend jurisdiction over No-Man's-Land. It further provided, in case all parts of the amendment carried, for the opening of the land to homestead entry.[51] The appropriation bill went to the House with the amendment, but it was lost. At this time the Oklahoma Bill providing for the opening of the Indian lands was receiving attention, and it is evident that the Public Land Strip could at some time be attached to Oklahoma Territory when it should be organized. On October 3, 1888, the amendment was debated from every angle and the true condition of the people suffering for laws was exposed. The representatives from the bordering states were very much interested in the amendment. They alone saw the necessity of law and order since criminals fleeing from justice made this their rendezvous.

During one of the debates the true status was told by Mr. Peters, who represented the Kansas District that joins Old Beaver County. In the course of his remarks, he said:[52]

> At the present time there is no legal machinery by which they can acquire title to the lands upon which they have settled. There is no law to protect them in the property which they may take with them into the territory; there is no law that protects them or their persons or property from violence while in the territory; there is no law in that section by which they can collect any debt or obligation which may be contracted, and there is no law by which people of Kansas, or of New Mexico, or of Arkansas, can collect any obligation that may be contracted with a settler in No-Man's-Land. There is the utmost need of some legislation touching this land, for it is virtually outside the pale of the law, and outside of the United States in that respect, although geographically within its limits. . . .

On April 22, 1889, that part of Oklahoma which is generally known as "Old Oklahoma" was opened to settlement, and there

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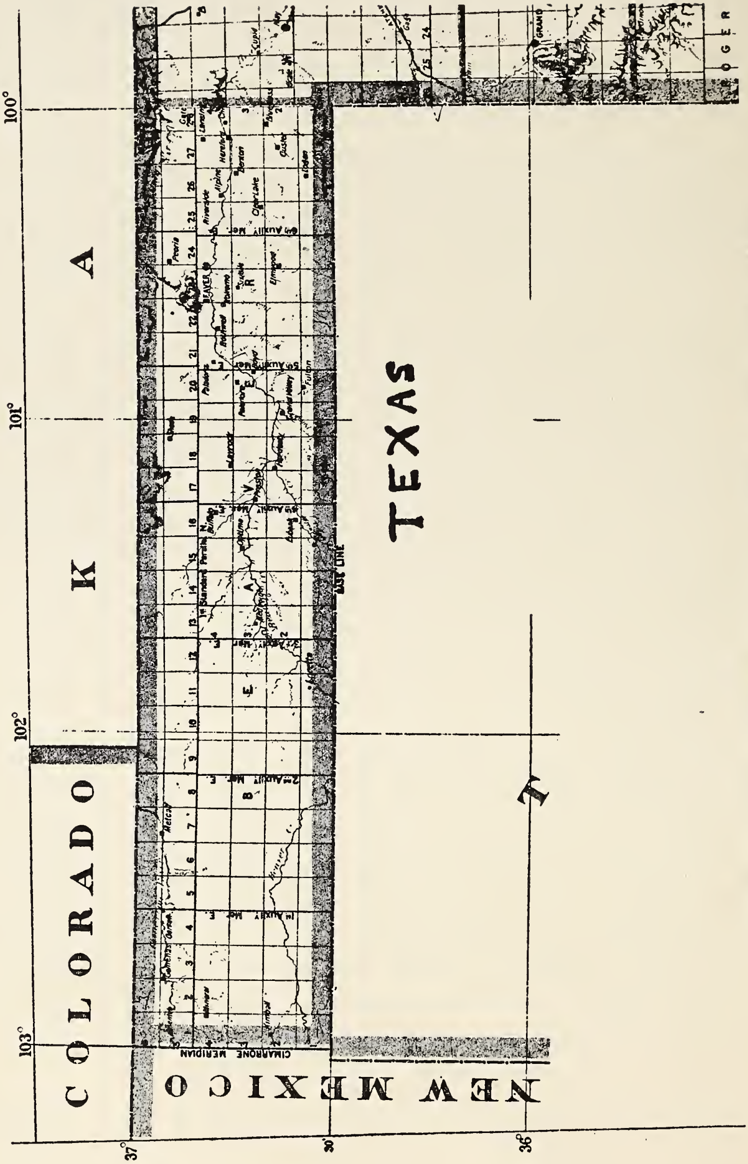
[49] *Ibid.*, July 12, 1886.

[50] *Ibid.*, October 3, 1888.

[51] *Ibid.*, September 24, 1888.

[52] *Ibid.*, House Proceedings for December 12, 1888.



Beaver County, Oklahoma Territory, 1890's, showing post offices.

was no further effort to organize Cimarron Territory. On May 2, 1890, the President approved the territorial form of government that had been proposed for the territory [i.e., recently opened area]. This Act embodied a clause that forever ended the suspense of the people [in No-Man's-Land] who had so long tried to govern themselves. In defining the extent of Oklahoma Territory, a clause read thus: ". . . . together with that portion of the United States known as the Public Land Strip, is hereby erected into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Oklahoma."

With this Act, Cimarron Territory became history and No-Man's-Land again found a home. It had experienced various forms of government during the century. Between the years 1821 and 1850 inclusive, it was first under Spanish jurisdiction; second, a part of the Mexican Republic; third, it was a portion of that land incorporated within the limits of the Republic of Texas; fourth, a part of Texas as a state of the Federal Union; fifth, legislated from the jurisdiction of any political organization—other than being held to be a part of the Public Domain of the United States, yet without laws applied to it. In 1890, a sixth step was experienced when it became a part of the Territory of Oklahoma; seventh, and last, on November 16, 1907, when Oklahoma was admitted into the Union, it was divided into three counties of the new state—Cimarron, Texas and Beaver.

SHADE'S WELL

By Laura V. Hamner[*]

''Where is Shade's well?'' was asked. ''What is it?'' No one could answer. They only knew that there was a well some place in Kansas, somewhere in Oklahoma. No one knew exactly. The writer wishes she had a dollar for every letter written to her, every book she has searched, every library she has visited, all in an effort to learn of Shade's well.

For many years there was a strip of land bounded by several states, claimed by none. This strip was not a part of Kansas, nor Colorado, nor New Mexico, nor Texas, nor Indian Territory; though it was touched by all of these. It was called ''Neutral Strip'' or ''No Man's Land.'' There was no law of force. There were desperados and bad men, but decent people had also ventured in and established homes. These homes were often in the eastern part of the Strip.

One day in 1888, H. B. Fore went to Liberal, Kansas, to buy necessities for his family. By chance he met J. U. Shade, livestock agent for the Rock Island Railroad. They discussed the Rock Island line that had just finished its tracks to Liberal in April of that year. There was a law that forbid loading Texas cattle in Kansas. If the Rock Island got its share of cattle shipments it would have to extend its line into No Man's Land, and set up shipping pens at the end of the road. For that reason, seven miles of railroad was built to a point just inside the territory line near a place called Tyrone, for a reason unknown. Some say there was nothing at the place but the cattle pens—no station, no telegraph, no homes. One informant says there was a small settlement with a post office and perhaps a store.[1] At any rate, there was not much of a town at Tyrone. In August of 1888, J. U. Shade came down into the Neutral Strip or No Man's Land to get help from his acquaintance, H. B. Fore.

''There is no use having shipping pens where there is no water,'' he said to Fore, ''so I want to get you to help me locate a well down here where cattle can get water before they get cars to load out on.''

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[*] The story of Shade's Well has been adapted for publication in *The Chronicles* from the manuscript by Laura V. Hamar, used in her series of broadcasts over Radio Station KGNG, Amarillo, Texas.—Ed.

[1] Tyrone post office was established May 5, 1892, Albert E. Blake, postmaster. —George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within The Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), p. 99.—Ed.

The spot was selected. Then Fore went to Oak City, and hired two young men to dig the well by hand, Bob Tuggle and Tom Rail. The boys set up a tent for sleeping and took their meals with Mrs. Fore, who also fixed a lunch for them every day. Mr. Fore took them to work and brought them back each evening. The well was seven miles southwest of the loading pens and the loading pens were seven miles southwest of Liberal, Kansas. It was known from the first as "Shade's Well."

Mr. Shade moved a little house down to the well and began to search for a man he could trust to look after the shipping interests of the Rock Island. Not long after that H. B. Fore went over to the well and found that the house was gone. Just where it went is a mystery unsolved to this day. Another house was moved down, for Shade had found the very man he thought was dependable enough to be given this responsible position, Zachariah Cain, a man of West Virigina who had moved his family to Kansas in the spring of 1886. He had started a home about three miles northwest of Liberal and made a name as a promising citizen of the West. The Rock Island engaged him to take care of the well, to see that all herds were watered while waiting their turn for shipment. He moved down and took up life in the two-roomed house. In March of that year, 1889, H. B. Fore moved into the valley within a half-mile of the well. The next year J. N. Lovelace moved his family in, so Shade's valley was thickly populated. It had three families living there in sight of each other.

When the cattle began to come in herds in the fall of 1889 seeking the Tyrone loading pens, they found that Shade's well was seventy-two feet deep with an unusually tall wind mill, rising fifty feet into the air. The well had three tanks, one elevated, the other surface tanks—near a buffalo wallow. This depression made a large lake, or reservoir as they were called in the West. It was fifty feet wide and three hundred feet long and was considered a sensible provision for water for the cattle when they came. A few troughs were also provided. The cattle came in thousands. As soon as they reached the buffalo wallow reservoir they rushed in and many had to be dragged out or else pulled themselves out with difficulty. The cattle drank at the troughs without difficulty. As soon as the season was over, the work of providing better watering facilities began. The reservoir soon dried up or the water seeped away, and the depression was filled in. The well was deepened and a steam pump was installed to pump water during the four months of cattle loading. A string of troughs so long that it looked a quarter of a mile long to one cowboy who saw it for the first time. And more storage tanks were provided. Shade's well was ready to accomodate its cattle visitors in 1890 and in all succeeding years.

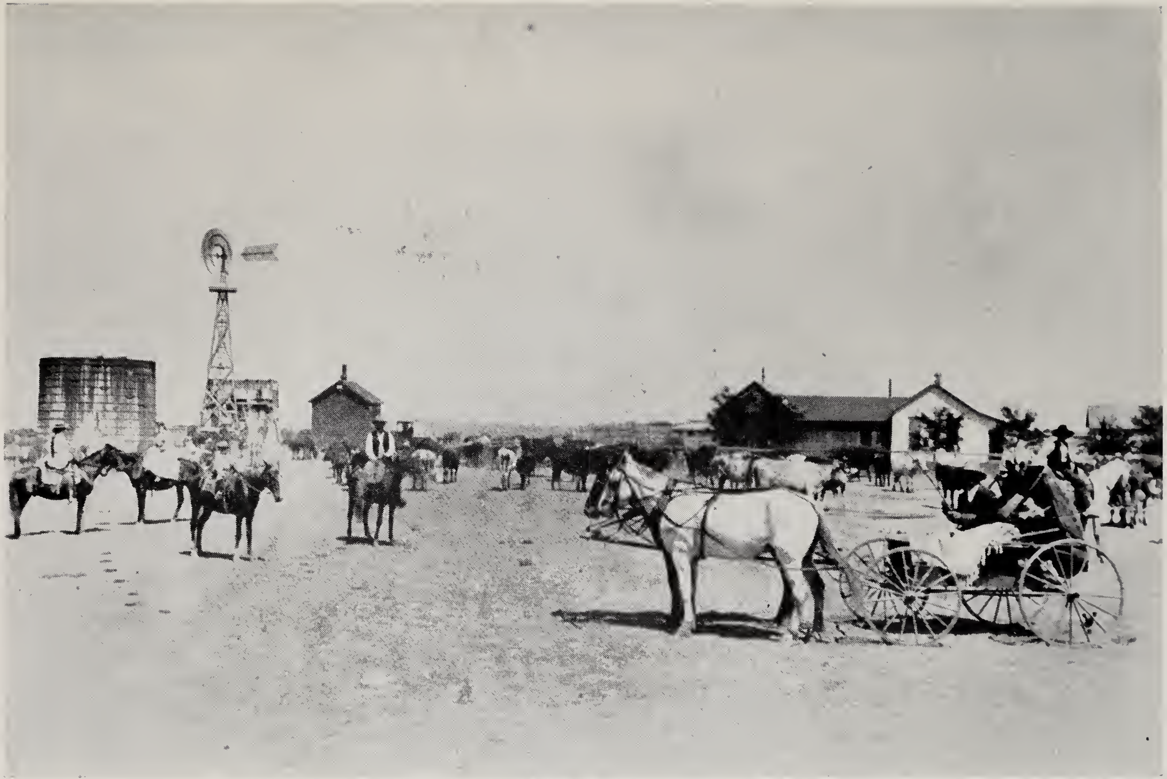
The cattle came. Big herds, little herds, one herd at a time, many herds at once. They came from Oklahoma, New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado. Mrs. Cain never forgot the flock of twenty thousand sheep that came to be watered while they waited for cars.

Perhaps there never has been known in the cattle history a watering place, like Shade's Well. All about was free grass, grass that only a few years before had been cropped by herds of buffalo. Here, in a waterless land was water a-plenty. No man could have been more capable and faithful in providing water for those thirsty animals than Zach Cain. He not only saw that all waiting herds were kept well watered, but he played no favorites. Every herd had to take its turn. He saw to it that each herd was watered daily. To this day, no one knows how he managed to keep the herds coming and going: from the pasture to the trail boss pre-empted for the period of waiting, to the well and back out of the way of the next herd in its turn; all day long with never a bit of friction, never a complaint from the cowmen. The herd that was nearest the well was the herd that was recognized as the next herd out. A messenger would come on horseback to report that the cars would be in Tyrone in twenty-four to thirty-six hours so that the herds that had priority would be dispatched in time to meet those cars at the loading pens in Tyrone, seven miles away. And the next herd in order of arrival at the well would be moved up near the well. Day after day this went on. Sometimes there were enough cars available so that a herd would wait for only a few hours. Sometimes a herd would have to wait around for days, coming daily to the well and going back to pasture.

The cowmen did not regret this delay. Their cattle had plenty of free pasture and plenty of clean water. While they waited those cattle were taking on weight and would be fat and well watered when they were loaded up. They would bring better prices in Kansas City or in any other market than if they had been loaded at other shipping points.

Shipping season brought busy days to the force at Shade's Well and the country about the well was an exciting scene for those fortunate enough to visit the valley, when the whole landscape was dotted with black blotches of cattle. Some of those dark blotches would be grazing, some moving to the well, some moving back to pasture, but there was always activity at Shade's well. Activity and harmony prevailed. For operations were in charge of Zach Cain, a fair man and a great organizer.

Loading days at old Tyrone were days of thrilling excitement that brought people from everywhere about to watch the expert cowboys get their herds aboard those slatted cars. It was a dramatic scene filled with motion, color and sounds. The leading men in the drama were the cowboys, proud of their trappings, their wide-brimmed sombreros, their jingling spurs, their squeaking saddle leather, their flapping South Texas chaps and their tappederos.



(From old photo, courtesy of Mrs. George E. Ellison, Guymon, Oklahoma)

Shade's Well on Zack Cain's Ranch. Cain's Inn is seen at the upper right hand of the picture.

People from Liberal drove out. Men and women mounted the fences and watched in admiration the deft handling of cattle, gasped at what seemed to be a cowboy in a narrow escape who was fully conscious of the impression he was creating and enjoying it to the fullest. Often a girl would pick out a certain actor in the scene and watch his every movement. Soon a cowboy would recognize her preference and take even greater chances of danger or do his work with an extra flourish because he knew that the bright eyes grew brighter and the pink cheeks even pinker, and the soft voice more excited with every dashing movement he made for her benefit. Many a romance was born and ripened here and sometimes an after-season wedding was celebrated at the home of the Cains. That loading pen was the rendezvous of young lovers in the late 'eighties and early 'nineties that made the prosaic business of handling and shipping take on an unwanted glamour.

This went on for years while the Rock Island was slowly extending its tracks to the southwest, but Shade's Well through the 'nineties furnished water for the cattle, serving as an oasis in the dry land adding dollars to the pockets of the cattlemen who shipped cattle at Tyrone and adding dollars to the till of the Rock Island.

Shade's Well, whose very name induced men to choose this shipping place instead of others. Shade's Well, the busiest spot in the land that lies silent and sleeping under the rainless sky during most of the year. Shade's Well, the Rock Island's most effective drawing card in the cattle world. But one cannot leave Shade's Well with so short an account of its tenure of service.

Texas cattle carried fever in those days, and the Kansas law would not permit them to cross the Kansas line to be loaded on the Rock Island so they were loaded at Tyrone in the Neutral Strip. During the cattle shipping season this seven miles was a busy strip of track. When shipping season was over it was never used.

But there was always activity at Shade's Well. There was always something to be done to improve the watering system, or to develop the Cains' holdings. Everyone worked harmoniously. Political changes came to the section. The Territory of Oklahoma was established in 1890, and No Man's Land was adopted by the new government and became the Oklahoma Panhandle. Zach Cain was a hot headed Democrat, and let the world know his sentiments. He was elected commissioner in his district, and rode on horseback to the distant County Seat of Beaver City. Zach Cain filed on the land occupied by Shade's Well and began improving on the land according to the custom of his home state of West Virginia. He planted growing things. In spite of continued droughts, disregarding inclement weather he planted a garden and set out an orchard and made a success of both.

During the years the Cains had lived at the well, their house had grown and changed character. The first improvement in the life in the two-room house provided by Shade was to dig a dugout. This was considered a necessity in Kansas and the Panhandle, for every home had a dugout. Their dugout was half underground and soddy above. Dugouts were cyclone shelters as well as additional rooms for shelter. Cains dugout was a long room divided into three rooms, not by curtains as in many dugouts but with lumber partitions that insured privacy. The floor was not of dirt as was the case in others but was of planks. The walls were papered with newspaper by Mrs. Cain so that the dugout was not only comfortable but clean. There were two bedrooms and a large kitchen and diningroom. The Cains lived in the two rooms above the ground for awhile but they soon added a three-room house which Zach Cain moved down from Oak City, Stevens County, Kansas, the village that died when the railroad missed it and touched Liberal.

When the Oak City house was moved to Shade's Well, the Cains' dugout was used as a bunkhouse for the men employed by Mr. Cain. Zach Cain added another house to the five rooms that was brought down from Stevens County in Kansas. The dugout was filled up so that the new wing could be placed at the end of the five-room house. The original two-room house was the core of the final structure. Three rooms were attached on the east and four on the west by a screened in porch connecting the two wings providing a stairway down into the new dugout. A cellar beneath the original unit made nine rooms in a land of dugouts and shacks. But nine rooms were not enough for the Cains as time went on.

The road went past Cains' house and up the long slope on to Tyrone and Liberal was a much traveled one as the years passed. People stopped at the Cains' house and were entertained with true hospitality, but the guests were embarassed to take food and lodging and pay nothing. They finally forced Mrs. Cain into business. She began to run a wayside hotel. It was not in keeping with the nature of the Cains to charge for hospitality but common sense made them realize that they could not feed the whole cattle shipping world. A man now felt free to come as often as he wished, and could take his seat at the table without feeling he was imposing. Mrs. Cain and her four children thus learned to know the big men in the cattle world as did Zach, with whom alone they had formerly dealt. The men left their herds with cowboys while they waited about for shipping time while they waited at the inn of comfort.

Mrs. Cain could not do all of the work unaided, so she kept young girls, hired help as they were called. They were always busy in the shipping season. A watch was kept to the south. A cloud of dust was noted. It came nearer and other clouds were apt to be seen. The cattle were coming. Mrs. Cain and the girls hurried about to close the windows to keep out the stifling dust. Then they worked in the stifling heat to prepare the meals that they knew would soon be demanded. Not only were there cattle men at Shade's Well Inn, but cattle buyers as well and many trades were made under the Cain roof, involving hundreds of thousands of dollars.

In time, that road to Shade's Well was much traveled. Others besides those interested in cattle found rest and refuge at Shade's Well Inn. Sometimes the place was overrun. The family would give up their beds and sleep on pallets. The women who came after the the beds were filled enjoyed a pallet in true western style, and even helped to arrange for accommodations. The men were sent to the barn to find a sleeping place in the hay. Life was friendly, gay and folksy, and the Inn was a haven. The people came in such numbers that Zach Cain built a wagon yard and corral for those who wished to sleep in their wagons. Everyone was accommodated in some way for the Cains turned no one away from their door. Guests appreciated the spirit of the Cains. Sometimes the cattleman who had paid his bill without protest left a quarter of beef hanging near the back door when he went on his way.

Zach Cain was not the only person who was recognized as an executive by passers-by. Everyone marveled at the ready response to the demands of the guests that Mrs. Cain was able to make. How she could provide enough food, how she could keep her stock of supplies were matters of a constant marvel. Once someone asked her how much plum butter she put up in the summer. "Fifty-six gallons," was the tense answer. "And not enough," Mrs. Cain replied. When the orchard began to bear she gathered twenty-five bushels of peaches one year, and her guests enjoyed much of that fruit during that fall and winter.

The name Shade's Well suggests a clump of cottonwoods, or hackberries, or even willows, but there were no trees when the Cains lived there, except those on the Beaver River twenty miles away, where the grapes and wild plums along the stream provided Mrs. Cain with jelly in all the later years. Near the Well in time were the house, the barn, the wagon yard, the fields and orchard all fenced and cross-fenced, but no trees. Zach Cain could not stand this so he set out a double row of locust trees along the roadside up the hill north of the house. All their lives long the Cain children carried the memory of those two rows of trees one on each side of the road, beyond the house. Mockingbirds raised their young in those trees; mockingbird song floated down the hill during the long days and often far into the moonlit nights. In the spring those locusts were fluted, fringey white banners of blossoms, pendant dispensers of perfume, brought to the Cains by the soft summer breezes.

Mrs. Cain hired bright, intelligent attractive girls to help her. The cowboys in this womanless land lured them away from the

Cains. The girls made their own trousseaux and were married under the Cain roof.

Romance robbed the Cains' children of their teacher, Miss Arnold, who came from Effington, Illinois, who taught them for two years. That teacher drew cowboys to the Cains with the magnetic lure of romance. The teacher had her pick of the whole country but dallied with the idea of marriage for two years. Then she was married at the home of the Cains but kept on teaching wherever she lived, serving as a teacher in the first school in Guymon in 1902.

Shade's Well Inn took on a new responsibility, a new attraction. Mary Fore, post mistress at the office[2] in the Fore home, married Jim England in 1896, and the post office was moved to the Inn, and was known as Shade's post office. Mail was brought from Liberal by buckboard three times a week and was distributed from Shade to a half-dozen little towns with a radius of seventy miles. Optima, Buffalo, Red Point, Hardesty, and Range were the towns served. Many a lonely settler thanked the Cains for news from home.

After the Rock Island reached Santa Rosa, New Mexico in 1901, conditions changed and the railroad was built to the ranches and Shade's well was no longer needed as a watering place for herds waiting for shipping. Life there was no longer stimulating. The Cains lived on at the well for several years, until all but one of their children were married and gone. They sold out their cattle interests and moved to new Tyrone which is located four miles southwest of old Tyrone. They took their place in the civic and church life of the town until their death years ago.

With the abandonment of Shade's Well, an era passed, the big ranch era of the cattle business. No longer did the high plains feel the trod of the hooves northward to the shipping point. The dust of the trail herds was settled forever. The cries of the cowboys no longer urged the cattle onward in long drives. The cattle driving era had passed. And Shade's Well, the words still attract. Some day the writer hopes to go there, and see a marker doing honor to J. U. Shade, Zach Cain and his wife and the cowboys of yesterday.

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[2] The post office called "Shade" was established in Beaver County, Oklahoma Territory, on August 19, 1890, with Mary L. Fore as postmaster. Discontinued, effective September 15, 1902, mail to Liberal, Kansas (Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 94.)—Ed.

MEMOIRS OF OKLAHOMA

By Kittie M. Harvey

The following story is a selection taken from the Memoirs of Mrs. Kitty M. Harvey, concerning her life in Oklahoma Territory. She wrote it at the request of two friends, and had no idea that any of it would be published.

William L. Harvey moved with his wife and son from Minneapolis, Kansas to Oklahoma City in 1890. A year later they moved to Chandler, in Lincoln County, where he died in 1900.

Mrs. Harvey now lives with her son, Dr. Fred E. Harvey and his wife in Manitou Springs, Colorado. She celebrated her ninety-sixth birthday on January 12, 1956.

Mrs. Harvey was born in a small town in Ohio, and was reared in the home of the Reverend Horace Bushnell, a Presbyterian minister. She studied music at a "ladies' seminary," but severe and repeated illness interfered. While still in her 'twenties, she was plunged into frontier life.

*—Herbert H. Bushnell**

From the Memoirs

As you, Herbert, and Bonnie Jean have been urging me to write of the changes that have come during the ninety-five years of my life, I will try it. I was born on January 12, 1860, in Elizabethtown, Ohio, a very small village.

I remember a few incidents of the Civil War. A regiment of Union soldiers, passing through the town were given a big dinner by the townspeople. As my Grandmother Bonham who lived just across the street from my home, had a large kitchen and dining room, the dinner was given there. Of course I was hovering round, in everyone's way, I suppose. I remember how afraid I was of the men as I thought they killed folks. As I stood in the doorway peering into the dining room, a tall man with cap on and knapsack on his shoulder, saw me. He picked me up in his arms and wanted to give me a kiss for his little girl. Said he had a little girl at home just as big as I. I don't think I will ever forget my feeling of fear—feeling I might be killed the next minute but I gave him the kiss. I have often wondered if he got home to his little girl. Another thing that happened about that time, I think perhaps I remember more from being told of it by my brothers who were older than I. A band of Confederates were crossing the hills back of our town, and the people were much alarmed as the band of men seemed to be coming that way. The people buried silver and valuables. My aunt was the postmistress, and buried stamps and government property. My brothers like all boys saw all that was going on . . . . .

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* It has been through the kindness of Mr. Herbert H. Bushnell that the original manuscript of the Memoirs of Kitty M. Harvey has been placed in the Oklahoma Historical Society for preservation. This manuscript is in Mrs. Harvey's own handwriting, beautifully written at the age of ninety-five, covering eighty pages (both sides of letter sheet paper) of interesting incidents in her life, excerpts of which are here presented in *The Chronicles.* Mr. Bushnell is a former newspaper reporter and editor, now living at 7926 Harper Avenue, Downey, California, having formerly served on the editorial staff of *The Los Angeles Times.*—Ed.

My father died when I was about a year old, so I do not remember him at all. He was quite a musician and was taking lessons of a noted teacher in Cincinnati up to the time of his death. I know he sang and played the flute. He must have had piano lessons but I only remember our having a melodian. Mother had saved three pieces of his music to which I later fell heir, two instrumental duets, ''Air from Mozart'' and ''Alpine Horn,'' and a song, ''Ruth and Naomi.'' I sang it often, and it was a beautiful song . . . . . I played the duets with my niece, Neva, many times when visiting in my brother Everett's home. Don't think the sheet music of today would last over ninety years. The melodian we had in our home until around 1878 when mother bought a second hand Chickering piano. The melodian was then given to an aunt by marriage, Mrs. Lucy Bonham. She lived in the country, and they would set it in the big wagon-bed and take it to the schoolhouse for Church or Sunday school . . . . .

When I was six, Mother married Horace Bushnell, a Presbyterian minister, one of the finest men I ever knew. No own father could have been better to us. He was at that time preaching in a very small place, St. Louis Crossing, Indiana. We were there over a year . . . . . Our next move was to Southport, Indiana, a small town six miles south of Indianapolis . . . . . I do not remember much about the first house we lived in, but the next was a big rambling affair. . . . . I was quite a climber in those days. I felt I had to do anything my brothers did. We had stilts, and mine had to be as high as theirs. I had to climb on top of the fence to get on mine.

My sister, Alice, was born in Southport in 1869, and brother, Herbert, in 1872. My older brothers were full of life, and loved to tease me. One day I said, ''I think I must be as meek as Moses not to get mad at you.'' And from that time I was dubbed ''Moses.'' Even after I was married, they directed my letters ''K. Moses Harvey.'' They were always very loyal to me, and we were real chums. . . . .

We had to make our own amusements; no movies or shows but we had lots of fun . . . . . In the winter the boys would put a big wagon-bed on runners, with straw and blankets on the floor, and away we would go, often ending the evening at the Howland's. It was there I learned to dance, but only the schottische, waltz and polka. One of us played the piano while the others danced. We of course belonging to the preacher's family were not supposed to dance but we did no harm.

The boys knew how I felt about worms. One day, I had a nice little tin box through the mail, which I eagerly opened and found it contained a nice lot of fish worms. I said, ''That Abe Hamilton!''

(Photo 1880)

KITTY M. HARVEY

Many years after when visiting my friend Lida in Indianapolis, we went down to Southport and on the street met this same Abe Hamilton. He did not know me until I said, "Do you remember the girl you sent a box of fish worms to?" "Oh," he said, "it's Kit!"

I took my first music lessons when I was about eleven, of a teacher who came down from Indianapolis. I had picked out quite a bit on the melodian myself. Preachers in those days did not get much salary, but Father said he would give me one term of music lessons. When it was over, the teacher said she would give me a term; said I was the only pupil she ever had who always had a perfect lesson. I loved to practice.

I sang soprano, John tenor, Ev bass and when Aunt Laura was home, she sang alto, and we spent many evenings singing . . . . . I well remember the first piece of sheet music I had. John and Ev gave it to me. It was "Silver Threads among the Gold." I was as proud as when I had my first *new* dress. My dresses were all made over. This was a plaid in reds, trimmed with a frill around the neck and sleeves, of red satin ribbon gathered in the middle. I first wore it to a festival . . . . and felt there wasn't a dress to equal it.

After a time the Church built a manse on a large lot, no improvements. Father soon had a beautiful place, —red and black raspberries, large grape arbor, quince, apple, peach and plum trees, and many flowers— roses, vines; a large asparagus bed, early onions, rhubarb, etc. Father told me if I would take rhubard and onions to the grocery store, I could have the money. I made enough to buy a croquet set, a white dress and blue sash. I remember the croquet set gave us much pleasure. We had no lawn mower but the boys with a sickle, and even scissors, kept the large lawn looking like moss. . . . .

Father once took us to see Barnum's circus in Indianapolis—the largest in the country. I enjoyed seeing Tom Thumb (the dwarf) and the animals but went home a wreck after watching the acrobatic acts. Said then I would never go to another circus and never did. I never enjoyed watching anything where life was in danger. When in Oklahoma, we lived where we could see balloons go up at fairs, and a man would come down in a parachute. Finally, I consented to stand by Will and Fred, and turn and look up when they said the parachute had opened out all right . . . . .

When I was sixteen, I went to what was then Western Female Seminary (now Western College) at Oxford, Ohio . . . . . I made a specialty of music, and expected to make that my life work.[1] Had one hour a day of vocal, one of piano, one in chorus of whole school, and one in small picked chorus of thirty girls . . . . . My first vocal teacher was fine. She had to leave after my second year to be with her mother . . . . . After I left school, she wanted me to come to her and go on with my music; would get me a class of beginners and would charge me nothing for my lessons. But I decided to get married instead . . . . .

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[1] Mrs. Harvey has given many incidents of her life as a young girl and of her days at Western Seminary at Oxford, Ohio, in her Memoirs, which could not be included here in *The Chronicles*, for lack of space. These are very interesting descriptions of the interests and good times of young people when she was a girl in the 1870's.—Ed.

I had to leave school on account of my health in the spring of 1878. [Kitty went to Kansas, her parents having recently moved west.] At that time, there was no railroad to Minneapolis, so Father met me at Solomon, and we drove from there. They lived in a brown stone house which is still there . . . . . I don't know how Mother managed. Father's salary was very small, and in those days people passing through often stopped at the preacher's for a meal or over night . . . . .

Early in July, the railroad from Solomon (the Union Pacific) reached Minneapolis, Kansas. There was a big celebration in Markley Grove, with trains from Salina . . . . . I was going with Will Harvey at the time, and he took me down to the Grove in the afternoon. He was one of triplets, and his brother, Fred, was at that time Superintendent of Salina Schools[2] . . . . Very few people could tell them apart. They looked alike, and at that time dressed alike . . . . . Even the parents and sisters used to get them mixed. Afterwards, Will was for years Probate Judge in Chandler, Oklahoma Territory, and Fred, Probate Judge in Minneapolis, Minnesota. On May 6, 1879, Will and I were married, just a quiet home wedding. . . . .

A few years later, Aunt Lucy married a Mr. Harris, and lived on a farm near Miltonville . . . . . She had lots of peaches and plums, and made lots of peach and plum butter, of which I always had a share. After our tornado in Oklahoma, they sent great cans of it for us and others who needed it. I have had so many kind things done for me in my life, and seem to have done so little for others. Fred was born, November 2, 1881. That year Father moved to Concordia, and became pastor of the church there. He was there twenty-seven years, and died there. He was greatly loved. . . . .

In 1883, my little girl was born but only lived a few days. Just at that time, we built a new seven room house so we had plenty of room. . . . . We enjoyed our new home very much. Had lots of company. Ministers driving to and from Synod or Presbytery often stopped with us over night. Later on we sold the house expecting to go to Oklahoma but it was some time before we did go . . . . . I was always in the choir, and we organized a quartet choir . . . . . I often think of the good times we had. We always practiced one, or more evenings a week, at my house. This lasted until I left for Oklahoma. We never had any trouble of any kind.

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[2] Will and Fred Harvey and a sister, who died as a young girl, were the triplets. Mr. Herbert H. Bushnell, the half-brother of Mrs. Kitty M. Harvey, in a letter to the Editor, July 10, 1956, describes his brother-in-law: "Will I knew quite well, naturally—a quiet, keenly humorous man who never lost his temper and was of a calm, unruffled nature. He had a horse that was high-strung and ready to bolt at any moment, but under his soothing management it never ran away. As a small boy, I used to go riding with him. He was once postmaster in Minneapolis, Kansas, and in those days the outgoing letters had to be canceled-stamped by hand. One of my sisters, marveling at his speed, asked him what would happen if he missed one and he replied solemnly: "The United States would bust."—Ed.

KITTY M. HARVEY IN OKLAHOMA

Will's brother, Dave Harvey, had homesteaded a farm adjoining Oklahoma City.[4] He was elected delegate from Oklahoma Terri-

David A. Harvey, Delegate to U. S. Congress from Oklahoma Territory—1890-93.

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[4] Will Harvey's brother, "Dave," mentioned here was David A. Harvey, the first delegate to Congress from Oklahoma Territory as provided by the Organic Act of May 2, 1890. David A. Harvey, born at Stewiacke, Nova Scotia on March 20, 1845, was brought as an infant from Canada by his parents who settled in Ohio. He enlisted at the age of sixteen in the 4th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, served throughout the period of the Civil War and was honorably discharged at its close. He attended Miami University, and subsequently studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1869. Moving west, he settled in Topeka, Kansas, where he practiced law, and served as city attorney and as probate judge. When Captain David L. Payne and his associates were booming the Unassigned Lands for homestead settlement, David L. Harvey became interested in the movement and agitated for the opening of this "Oklahoma Country." He made the run on April 22, 1889, and settled in Oklahoma City. He was nominated for delegate to Congress by the Territorial Republican Committee at Guthrie, October 18, 1890, and was elected on November 4 to serve both the short and the long term in this office, taking his seat when the 51st Congress reconvened in December, 1890, and serving until the final adjournment of

tory and had to go to Washington, and did not want to leave his house empty, so we decided to make the move to Oklahoma City, and lived in his house.

It was all very new and wild at that time. Our horse got stalled on the main street in the mud once. There was much contention over the farm next to the one we were on. I think there were ten contestants killed before it was settled, so things were not dull. I heard my first coyote one night when I was alone, and was I scared! I thought it was some maniac out in the pasture.

It was rumored that a farm next to ours belonged to Oklahoma City and we got up one morning and found it covered with tents and little board shacks—anything to hold down a lot. One old woman had a big wooden box laid on its side and she sat in it, rocking serenely in a rocking chair. But they all had to get off, as it did not belong to the city.

We had a wonderful garden that first year, every kind of vegetable, three kinds of cucumbers, three kinds of tomatoes, red, purple and yellow, and so large they would hardly go into a can. I canned and made preserves and all kinds of pickles of the green ones.

Then one afternoon we had a wind and hail storm, huge, jagged hail stones, windows broken and no garden left, melons and all the rest pounded into the ground. Fred shoveled up a tubful of hailstones and we made ice cream. I was glad I had done my canning early.

I was asked to sing in a double quartette choir so I kept up my music. There was some Indian land about fifty miles east that was opened and Will over there and began building a house for us in Chandler, county seat of Lincoln county.[5] There were lots of Indians around, Cherokee north and Kickapoo south, Sac and Fox and Creek east. The Kickapoos were blanket Indians and dirty. Some of the Sac and Fox were wealthy and some of the girls very pretty. One woman who came into the office on business had on

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the 52nd Congress, March 3, 1893. He then moved to the new town of Wyandotte, present Ottawa County, and subsequently made his home on and farmed the old Wyandot Indian Agency tract located in the Indian Territory, two miles west of Seneca, Missouri. This tract was given him by the Wyandots for services he had rendered as an attorney to the tribe. His son, Frank (or David A., Jr.?) attended school in 1908, in the "Shawnee District" (Dist. 60, Ottawa County) taught by Mrs. Guy Jennison, wife of the present chief of the Ottawa who lives near Miami, Oklahoma. Mr. Harvey died in Seneca, Missouri, at the old Mont Hall Hotel, and was buried in the Seneca Cemetery where the inscription on his gravestone reads: "David A Harvey—Born Mar. 20th 1845—Died May 24th 1916."—Ed.

[5] Chandler is in the old Sac and Fox Reservation opened to white settlement on September 22, 1891. This reservation together with the Iowa and the Potawatomi-Shawnee reservation opened on the same day, made a total of 868,414 acres added to Oklahoma Territory.

more diamonds (real) than I had ever seen on one woman. She was dressed in black, very tall, and she sure glittered.

I was quite ill, and Will felt if I could go home for a few weeks it would do me good and by that time he could have the house ready for us. We got everything packed for moving and Fred and I went to Concordia, Kansas, but I got worse and was in bed four months and then was taken to Topeka for an operation. My recovery was very slow, and it was seven months before I was able to return to Oklahoma.

Everything was very new and rough. They persuaded Will to take the postoffice for a time, although he was an attorney.[6] I don't remember just how long he kept it. While the place was small, mail was handled for a large territory. After a time I helped some in the office, but there were always two clerks.

Some of the colored folks (and there were many of them) were very funny. One old preacher came in for his mail and always asked: "Is there any mail for Johnson?" We would say, "It's Preacher Johnson, isn't it?" He would always answer, "Sometimes it's Preacher Johnson. Sometimes it's Mister Johnson, and sometimes it's Revalind Johnson. They signs it all ways."

When the Cherokee Strip was opened practically all the men in Chandler went to it. We did quite a big mail order business and at the end of the first day I had quite a sum of money on hand which could not be sent to Guthrie until the next day. The office just had a big safe. Bandits, of course, knew all the men were gone, and I felt the safe would not be very safe, so I took the money home with me and sat up all night. The office was robbed soon after Will gave it up.

Soon after that Will was elected probate judge. At that time Oklahoma was a territory and the probate judge had to be an attorney. He had both civil and criminal dockets and many jury cases. With the exception of two years he filled that office until his death in 1900.

I helped in the office and once when I was making out some papers for a colored man he jumped up and said: "Oh! A centipede!" It was about ten inches long, I think. I didn't measure it. He hit it with his foot and it went 'round and 'round. Others came from the other offices with sticks but it got into the hall under some steps and I was always expecting it to appear again. I sat with my feet up on the rungs of the stool. The same colored man came in one day and saw me with my feet curled up and said: "You'se t'inkin'

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[6] William L. Harvey was the first postmaster at Chandler, Lincoln county, when the office was established on September 21, 1891. (George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), p. 50.)—Ed.

'bout dat centipede.'' I told him I sure was. We never had anything in our house worse than a scorpion, but I was always expecting a snake or a centipede or a tarantula.

One morning Will went to his office, and said if certain mail came he would have to go to another town[7] and would not be back until the next day. About ten in the morning Fred, who was playing in the yard, came running to the door and said the Dalton gang was going through our alley. I though it was just some deputy marshals but stood in the door and watched as they came by. They were going slowly. I noticed that four had blue bands around their arms and one, a red band. They were heavily armed. They turned at our corner and went south. The bank they were going to rob was just a block from our house, court house and jail between.

Fred, like any boy, rushed down to see what was going on. The sheriff's house was ''catty-cornered'' from our home. When the firing began I saw the sheriff's wife come to the door with two guns in her hands, and, like a dumbbell, I started across the street to see what it was all about, and just then they came tearing back. One of their horses had been killed and two men were on one horse and they were all firing their guns in every direction.

I was backed up against the house—a good target. The sheriff rushed across from the court house, grabbed a gun from his wife and a horse that was hitched by the court yard and was after them. Others followed as soon as they could get horses and guns.

Down at the bank, the robber had gone in front and others at the back and began firing up and down the street. A barber who came to his shop door with a gun in his hands was shot and killed. That shop was next door to Will's office at that time so I was worried enough until I found out that he had left town. I rounded up Fred.

The sheriff got one of the men. When he got back with him there were at least 100 men in the courtyard with a rope ready to hang the man then and there. The sheriff fired over their heads before he could get the prisoner in jail. Then the mob said they would get him that night. My friends did not think it safe for me to stay there alone. Fred was just a young boy. But I was afraid of their starting a fire or something. The sheriff's wife, a dear friend, said she would not sleep any, so I took Fred and went to be with her. Her husband stayed in the jail.

The mob was gathering downtown. About midnight we heard two shots. We supposed it was a signal, but a deputy marshal had a fracus with a man and shot and killed him. The marshal was brought up and put in jail. The sheriff told the mob they had better stay away. He said: ''There are two widows in town tonight and there will be more if you come. I have never given up a prisoner and don't intend to.''

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[7] The town of "Harvey" is shown on the maps of Oklahoma Territory in the 1890's, located about twenty miles northeast of Chandler. Harvey post office was established on December 8, 1891, and discontinued in 1900 (Shirk, *op. cit.*).—Ed.

So they gave it up. About two o'clock he came over and told us the trouble was over, but he stayed at the jail. After several days a guard of thirty men took the prisoner in the night to Guthrie.[8] We heard them go. It was the Cook gang, and I think they were all caught eventually. That kind always headed for the Creek country where they could always get help in hiding out.

Then in a short time we had a tornado which almost destroyed the town.[9] It came about five o'clock in the afternoon. Court was in session, and Will came home about four. He said he had one of his sick headaches coming on and he would lie down and have a cup of tea before going down to his office to make out some papers before the night session. I was giving a music lession, but as it looked so stormy I told the girl she had better go home, and I would make up the time on her next lesson. There was no next lesson, however, as their house was destroyed and her piano was out in the street.

First came the hail, then wind, and then torrents of rain. Everything was black and terrible. Will and Fred tried to keep the door shut and I tried to rescue some things from the storeroom before they were soaked. I was thrown against something and had a big lump and bruise on my forehead but did not realize it until later.

Our house was moved about fifteen feet into a neighbor's yard. Three rooms were unroofed, kitchen, bedroom and storeroom, leaving us the living room and one bedroom. All the windows were broken in slivers. Our barn was blown away but the ponies came home in about an hour, unhurt. Just a few inches of halter rope on their halters. The woodhouse was blown away but the wood was left stacked up just as it had been.

It was the first time I was ever glad that Will had a headache, otherwise he would have been in the office which was over a bank, and that building and a restaurant next to it were blown down and caught fire. Another attorney whose office was next to Will's was burned to death. They could talk to him but could not reach him. Of course, Will lost all his office books and furniture. Two large trees in our yard were snapped off close to the ground and just missed crushing the house.

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[8] *The Guthrie Leader* for August 1, 1894 (p. 1, col. 1) gives a news item that Elmer Lucas, the Chandler bank robber who was wounded during the bank hold-up had been brought to Guthrie jail, and was recovering from his wound. The same newspaper for July 21, 1894, reported the hold-up of the Santa Fe train at Red Rock, present Noble County, by the Cook gang the day before. Elmer Lucas had held the horses of the other gang members during the robbery—Cherokee Bill, Jack Starr, "Skeeter" (Melbourne Baldwin) and Curtis Dayson. The only members of the Cook gang at large as reported in November, 1894, were Cook, Crosby and Baldwin.—Ed.

[9] Under the headline in large letters, "Harvest of Death," *The Guthrie Leader* for March 31, 1897, reported the terrible cyclone the day before at Chandler, and the scene of "awful desolation." There were 25 killed and more than 150 wounded in the storm.—Ed.

We had a lamp in a kind of frame and I could heat a little water for coffee and one egg at a time. That was the only stove we had for some time. As the grocery stores were wrecked we did not have much to eat until they brought things from Guthrie and Oklahoma City. A friend from the country came the next morning and brought some bisquits and hard-boiled eggs, and another brought a small boiled ham, so we got along.

When the house was raised to be put back on its foundations they found the headboard of a bedstead under it. It belonged to a house across the street from us and the strange thing was that the mattress belonging to the wrecked house was found under the wrecked house, and a roll of money the woman had put under the mattress for safe keeping was still there, all right.

The big end of a shingle was blown through the side of our house, about half the length of the shingle, not broken at all. Fred afterward climbed up on a ladder and cut around it so he could work it out. There was a big hole through the side of the house, and in the kitchen cupboard the dishes were not broken, just knocked over. A big hogshead full of rainwater was under the spout. It was still under the spout and full of water while the house landed in the other yard. These are all things I saw, myself.

The upper story of the courthouse was gone—not a stick left to show there had ever been a second story. Half an hour before there had been at least 200 men there. At the time there were only three and they were badly hurt but not killed.

Everything we had had to be crowded into the living room and bedroom, just room in the center of the living room for a mattress on which Fred slept at night; during the day it was piled on our bed. Two men and women were over from Guthrie one night, expecting to sleep outdoors. It began to rain and they came to the door, asking if the women could come in out of the rain, so they slept on the mattress and Fred on the floor in our bedroom, mostly under the bed, as there was little floor space left. But they were thankful.

At the time of the storm people saw our walls were standing and began bringing in hurt people. An old man with a broken leg was on the couch. He died later. Among the ones laid on the floor was a little nine-year-old girl who kept crying for her mother. We found her father and mother were both killed. She died, leaving one little five-year-old boy out of the family.

Our church was the only large building left and it was used for a hospital for many weeks. It took a long time to get things back to normal. I know the days seemed long before we could get workers to put our house back where it belonged, the roof on, the chimney fixed, the windows in, the barn built for the ponies, etc.

Our minister was an old man. His house was not damaged, except one window was broken. On a shelf near the window Mrs. Thompson kept a bandbox in which she kept her Sunday bonnet. She was very careful of it and rolled up the strings of the bonnet when she put it away. The wind took the box out of the broken window and left the box in the yard, but no bonnet. A day or so later an elder of our church came in from his farm, bringing the bonnet. He had seen it every Sunday and recognized it. He found it in a field and said when he picked it up the strings were still rolled. It sounds impossible, but it was true.

Fred, just a boy, went up to the hospital to see if he could do anything to help, and a nurse sent him for some milk. He could not find anyone who had milk but he found a cow and got some milk. The nurse said: "You were gone long enough to have milked a cow", and he said: "That's just what I did." He had never milked a cow before.

I seemed very busy those days. I had charge of the church music with almost nothing to work on. I gave some music lessons, did all my own work and worked in the office. Mrs. Filtch, a big fat German woman, gave one afternoon to music, mostly duets. She was away ahead of me, had graduated from two conservatories in Germany, but she took the upper parts and I could manage the lower. We enjoyed it. She had great books of duets by Beethoven, Mozart, Bach, etc. It was funny sometimes. She would begin counting in English and get it all mixed up with German.

I played for the Episcopal church and the Presbyterian church. The rectors and bishops who came from Guthrie always called at our home.

Fred had two black Indian ponies, Topsy and Midget. The children would say: "Make 'em talk, Fred." He would lay his arm over their necks and say: "You like me, don't you?" and the pony would nod its head. "But you don't like that fellow, do you?" and it would shake its head. The boys did not know it was the way he pressed on its neck.

The colored folks had a " 'mancipation day" celebration once a year. A man named Crenshaw was to be master of ceremonies, so Will and some of the others dressed him up for the occasion. Will had a blue coat he was discarding and I found some big brass buttons for it. Somewhere they found a plug hat. One young man let him have his gold watch and chain to wear, outside, of course, then a foot-wide red scarf over one shoulder and down almost to the ground. No king was ever any happier.

The next summer I was very ill. My hammock was hung across the living room and I lay in it day after day. The railroad had not reached Chandler. I was sent out on the first train. Doctor Kelcey, a dentist and a very intimate friend, was going to Chicago and took charge of me—just a common car behind freight cars. At Tulsa a private car was put on and was empty and we were allowed to ride in it to St. Louis.

While I was gone Will and Fred, as a surprise for me, added a bedroom to the house. The man who was doing the work came down with black smallpox and there were several other cases. When I arrived I nearly killed both of them, spraying them with formaldehyde every time they came into the house. We had a new preacher, Mr. Irvin, a little Irishman. We were very fond of him.

Fred came home from college at Norman and came down with typhoid fever. He was very low for eight weeks. Nurses were impossible to get. When Fred was just able to stagger around Will came down with malarial fever and I had the office on my hands. Will only lived two weeks and died September 5, 1900. He was a man who had many friends and no enemies. The funeral was at Chandler. His body was taken later back to Minneapolis. I felt very much alone.

I had to pack, arrange for the sale of the house and help out in the office. I had decided to go back to Minneapolis, Kansas.

In a letter written at the same time as the Memoirs, Mrs. Harvey says: "When we left I suppose we knew everybody in Chandler and many in Oklahoma City, and had many intimate friends. Now I don't suppose there is one who would remember me."

JUDGE ALBERT C. HUNT

By Judge N. B. Johnson[*]

Albert Clarence Hunt, on Sunday, August 26, 1956, at the age of sixty-eight relinquished his high position on the Supreme Court of Oklahoma and passed peacefully to his final reward.

He was born at Clarksville, Arkansas, July 30, 1888, the son of William T. and Mattie Rose Hunt. He moved with his parents to Wagoner, Indian Territory, in 1895. He was graduated from Missouri Military Academy, Mexico, Missouri, in 1906, and then entered Vanderbilt University where he received his LLB degree in 1909. He married Essie Joel Hayden of Chouteau, Oklahoma, November 24, 1914, and of this union three children were born: Elizabeth Hayden, Albert C. and John W.

He was admitted to the Oklahoma Bar in 1909, and began the practice of law at Wagoner, Oklahoma. He served as city attorney of Wagoner from 1909-1915, and then moved to Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1917. At the early age of thirty-two, Governor J. B. A. Robertson appointed him District Judge of the 21st Judicial District of Oklahoma where he served from 1921 to 1925. He was elected Justice of the Supreme Court from Tulsa District and served on that court from 1925 to 1931. Justice Hunt then established his residence in Oklahoma City and entered the private practice of law. In 1941 Governor Leon C. Phillips appointed him District Judge of the 7th Judicial District, and he was serving in his fifteenth year on that court when Governor Raymond Gary appointed him to fill the vacancy on the Supreme Court from Oklahoma City District, created by the death of Justice Ben Arnold. Justice Hunt had the unusual distinction of having served as District Judge from two separate district court jurisdictions as well as from two separate Supreme Court districts of Oklahoma.

He was chairman of the State Election Board of Oklahoma from 1936 to 1941; President of the Oklahoma Conference of District Judges 1948-49; and a member of the Judicial Council of Oklahoma from 1944 until his death. He gave unstintingly of his time and efforts to improve the administration of justice, and was making an outstanding record on the Supreme Court.

Justice Hunt was an able and sincere man of superb and unflinching courage. He possessed deep religious convictions and was an active member of St. Luke's Methodist Church in Oklahoma

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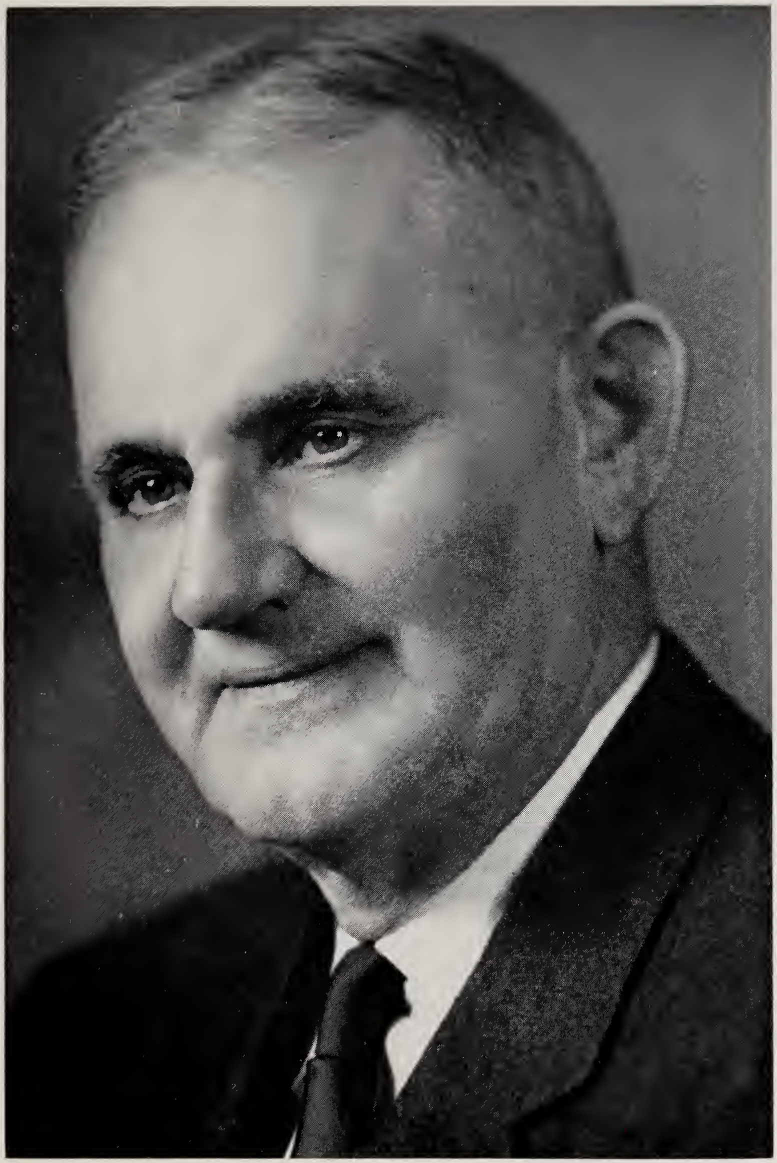
[*] **Judge N. B. Johnson is a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma, and member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. —Ed.**

City, where he served as a member of its Board of Stewards for several years and as its Chairman. He also displayed a great interest in civic matters and the betterment of his community.

A quotation from John Ruskin which Justice Hunt kept under the glass top of his desk read: ''Let every dawn of morning be to you as the beginning of life and every sunset as its close. Then let every one of these short lives leave its sure record of some kindly thing done for others, some goodly strength or knowledge gained for yourself.'' This passage aptly describes his philosophy of life. His many outside interests broadened his outlook on life, enabled him to understand and appreciate people, and made him a better judge.

He was a member of the executive board of Good Will Industries; a member of the executive board of the Boy Scouts of America for twenty years, and headed the Last Frontier Council of the Boy Scouts of America in 1947 and 1948. He was a member of the American Bar Association, and was vice president of the Board of Governors of the Oklahoma State Bar Association. He was member of Phi Delta Phi, honorary legal fraternity, and a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He was a charter member of the Tulsa Kiwanis Club and served as its president in 1921. He was an active member of the Oklahoma City Kiwanis Club since 1926 and also of the Men's Dinner Club. He was a 32nd Degree Mason; a KCCH; a Shriner; and a member of the Royal Order of Jesters. He lived at 439 N. W. 18th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, where his widow still resides. Interment was in Rose Hill Cemetery, Oklahoma City.

In the death of Justice Albert C. Hunt, Oklahoma City and the State lost one of its most highly respected citizens and public servants who for more than thirty-five years gave fully and unselfishly of his time and talents to promote the best interests of the citizens of Oklahoma. His tenure on the bench and as a member of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma was notably marked by his ability, courage, honesty and impartiality. He was an industrious, conscientious jurist who gave to his public trust the best he had to give to it. His fixed purpose to mete out fair and impartial justice endeared him to the legal profession, and the people of Oklahoma and retained him in public office. As he passed from the loving association and companionship of his family and friends to answer the final summons, the State of Oklahoma lost one of its greatest citizens.



JUDGE ALBERT C. HUNT

THE BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND MAIL ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

By Muriel H. Wright

The famous "Butterfield Trail" ran through the southeastern part of our state of Oklahoma, and many times we have heard folks say, "Oh yes! that was a 'wagon road' to the West," or words to this effect, little realizing its important link with the history of our country.

This "Butterfield Trail" has the roots of its beginning deep in this Nation's past. An offspring of the Overland Mail Company is here with us today, very much alive and doing a tremenduous service, not only in Oklahoma but the world in general.

Prior to the 1840's there was little demand for mail and passenger facilities from our eastern cities to the fringe of civilization along our western shores. Much of this transport was conducted around Cape Horn (15,000 miles) or across the Isthmus of Panama (6,000 miles) with only a few brave and hardy souls traveling overland. At the termination of the Mexican War, a provision in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848, granted the United States the right of perpetual passage across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Because of the unsatisfactory arrangement of these two previous routes, this new route across Mexico never came into being for gold was discovered in California soon after, and a great hue and cry was heard for an overland mail route entirely within our own boundaries.

Much of the sectional disuptes that predated the War between the States influenced its routing, and the occurrence of this great War was responsible for its termination along the southern route.

When the Overland was re-routed through the central part of the United States, this same company became known as the Wells-Fargo Express Company that is known to almost every school boy and girl.

As stage coaches began to disappear from the scene and the job of hauling express was taken over by the railroads, the Wells-Fargo then became known as The American Railway Express Company; it later split into the American Express which became famous for its Travelers Checks, and the Railway Express which still serves the American public today.

*—Vernon H. Brown, Chairman**
Butterfield Overland Mail
Centennial in Oklahoma

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* Vernon H. Brown, Captain American Airlines whose home is in Tulsa, is one of ten Regional Chairmen appointed under the National Committee Overland Mail Centennials, 1957-1958, of which H. Bailey Carroll, Director of the Texas State Historical Association, is Chairman. The National Committee Overland Mail Centennials was organized four years ago under the American Association of State and Local History. The Overland Mail Centennial is being celebrated this year (1957) in Oklahoma, with a special program of events to be held at Durant, September 14-15, and special exhibit relating to the history of the Butterfield Overland Mail shown in a log cabin replica of an old Butterfield Station at the Exposition commemorating Oklahoma's Semi-centennial Celebration, in Oklahoma City, June 14-July 7, this year.

The introductory statements to this article in *The Chronicles* are from a letter by Captain Brown addressed to the postmasters at Spiro, Wilburton, Atoka and Durant, the post offices of which (first class), along the old Butterfield Mail route in Oklahoma, are permitted to use the slogan cancels on all first class mail originating locally between June 1 and December 1, 1957, as authorized through the work of the Oklahoma Committee by the U. S. Post Office Department.—Ed.

The story of the Butterfield Overland Mail from the Mississippi River across Southeastern Oklahoma[1] through Texas and on through the Southwest to California before the War between the States forms one of the fascinating scenes in the pageant of America's past, for the organization of the Overland Mails was spectacular in its undertaking and operation as well as a strong link in the chain of events that brought about the marvelous development of our country. The establishment of mail delivery in 1857 was a necessity of the time, in holding communication for the moving forces on the advancing Western Frontier, and a signal event that marked the beginning of the great mail service overland in the history of the United States Post Office Department.[2]

It was just one hundred years ago that Postmaster-general Brown advertised for bids—April 20, 1857—to operate the first mail overland from the Mississippi through what are now seven western states to San Francisco, the service having been authorized by Congress in the appropriation bill for the Post Office Department on March 3, 1857. Amendments to this Act set forth the following stipulations upon which a contract for carrying the mails was to be made:[3]

> Sec. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That the Postmaster-general be, and he is hereby, authorized to contract for the conveyance of the entire letter mail from such point on the Mississippi River as the contractors may select, to San Francisco, in the State of California, for six years, at a cost not exceeding $300,000 per annum for semi-monthly, $450,000 for weekly, or $600,000 for semi-weekly, at the option of the Postmaster-general.
>
> Sec. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the contract shall require the service to be performed with good four-horse coaches or spring wagons, suitable for the conveyance of passengers, as well as the safety and security of the mails.
>
> Sec. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That the contractors shall have the right of preemption to three hundred and twenty acres of any land not then

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[1] An article by the late Dr. Grant Foreman, "The California Mail Route through Oklahoma" (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 3, September, 1931) presents some of the history of the Butterfield Overland Mail service with descriptions of the first west-bound mail over this famous line in Oklahoma, written by W. L. Ormsby, only through passenger to San Francisco on the first stage west in September, 1858, later published in the *New York Herald*.

Another article, "Historic Places on the Old Stage Line from Fort Smith to Red River" (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, No. 2, June, 1933), by Muriel H. Wright, gives more details on the local history relating to this famous old stage line, based on the Indian records and her field research in marking the noted Butterfield Mail route in Oklahoma.

[2] Outstanding publications cited in this article (Spring, 1957) are: LeRoy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail*, 1849-1869 (Cleveland, 1926); Roscoe P. Conkling and Margaret B. Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland*, 1857-1869 (Glendale, 1947); Waterman L. Ormsby, *The Butterfield Overland Mail*, edited by Lyle H. Wright and Josephine M. Bynum (The Huntington Library, San Marino, 1955). The Editor (M.H.W.) of *The Chronicles* served as a guide to Mr. and Mrs. Conkling in 1932, to some of the historic sites when they were mapping out their study of the Butterfield route through Oklahoma, by auto cross country, preparatory to the publication of their history found now in three volumes.

[3] U. S. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XI, p. 190, quoted in Hafen, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-8.

disposed of or reserved, at each point necessary for a station, not to be nearer than ten miles from each other; and provided that no mineral land shall thus be preempted.

Sec. 13. *And be it further enacted,* That the said service shall be performed within twenty-five days for each trip; and that before entering into such a contract. The Postmaster-general shall be satisfied of the ability and disposition of the parties bonafide and in good faith to perform such contract, and shall require good and sufficient security for the performance of the same; the service to commence within twelve months after signing the contract.

This Act ''authorized'' but did not *require* the Postmaster-general'' to contract for the conveyance of the entire letter mail from such a point on the Mississippi *as the contractors may select,* to San Francisco.'' Congress had thus left the responsibility and the actual selection of the route to the final decision of President Buchanan's administration. Postmaster-general Brown himself was a foremost leader in the Democratic Party, having served as Governor of Tennessee from 1845 to 1847. The matter of drawing up and awarding a contract for carrying the mails overland called for many discussions and meetings of officials at Washington, even cabinet meetings with President Buchanan taking part.[4] When reports began leaking out that a southern route was likely to win, immediately a cry arose in newspapers over the country, with many columns devoted to acclaiming the superiority of a northern route or a southern route, such as the interests of each newspaper indicated. One writer reported: ''The northern papers poured hot shot into their ears to compel the location at St. Louis, or at least further north; while the southern papers fired bombshells on behalf of the termini at New Orleans or Memphis and the extreme southern route . . . . .''[5]

Nine bids were opened amidst great excitement in June, 1857. Three of these bids, the line of each in common along the 35th Parallel—i.e., by way of Albuquerque, New Mexico—were submitted by John Butterfield and his associates, William B. Dinsmore, William G. Fargo, James V. P. Gardner, Marcus L. Kinyon, Hamilton Spencer and Alexander Hollond. These three separate bids were for a semi-weekly mail: (1) between St. Louis and San Francisco, $585,000 per annum; (2) between Memphis and San Francisco, $595,000 per annum; (3) a route to start out from both St. Louis and Memphis and to converge at the best point (to be determined later), thence over a common line to San Francisco, $600,000 per annum.[6] Further, the Butterfield proposals stated that the bidders would be willing to alter any portion of the route indicated, which the Postmaster-general might decide best for the safe and expeditious carrying of the mails. The third one of the three bids mentioned, referred to as the "bifurcated route" (a name said to have been applied by John Butterfield as President of his company), met the seemingly unsurmountable difficulties facing officials at Washington since it gave a terminus to both the North and to the South without advantage to either; and provided the opportunity of establishing the far southern route along the 32nd Parallel by way of El Paso, Texas, and Tucson, Arizona, where there was already considerable white settlement. This line was championed by Postmaster-general Brown since it would follow along the route already proven a success by Jim Burch in carrying a monthly mail between El Paso and San Francisco.

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[4] Ormsby, *op. cit.,* p. 135.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Hafen, *op. cit.,* pp. 88-9; Ormsby, *op. cit.,* pp. 135-6.

John Butterfield and his associates were astonished when they found they had no voice in determining the route which the Congressional Act stated was to be such "as the contractors may select." They entered protests before the Post Office Department, and contended for a stage line along the 35th Parallel through Oklahoma west by way of Albuquerque, New Mexico, a route heartily recommended in reports by Captain A. E. Whipple,[7] Captain Edward O. C. Ord and others. However, when partisans in Congress began criticising the administration's plan for the overland mail and would alter the route entirely, the Butterfield men would not countenance such attacks on officials at Washington for they were contracting with the Postmaster General as their employer.

Equally important with the designation of the best route over which the mails were to be conveyed was the Postmaster-general's responsibilty in selecting those who had the highest qualifications to carry out the terms of a contract. The greatest stager of the time, if not for all time, was John Butterfield, a resident of Utica, New York, who had had wide experience in the organization and successful operation of stage and express lines in his home state.[8] His ability and character and that of his associates were unquestioned at Washington. They signed the great contract with Postmaster-general Brown on September 16, 1857, the terms requiring the mail to be carried to and from San Francisco twice a week, in good four-horse stage coaches or spring wagons, suitable for carrying passengers and for the safety and security of the mails, at $600,000 a year for a term of six years, the contract to go into effect on September 16, 1858.[9]

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[7] Captain A. W. Whipple had commanded the Pacific Railroad Survey through Oklahoma, along the 35th Parallel, in 1853. His original *Journal* (28 notebooks in his own handwriting) along with many others of his personal records and original paintings by Mollhausen in his collection are now in the Oklahoma Historical Society. The *Journal*, annotated by Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk, was published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950), besides a brief biography, "Amiel Weeks Whipple," by Francis R. Stoddard. The original notebooks of this *Journal*, records and paintings forming the Whipple Collection were presented as a gift by the Whipple heirs and descendants in 1950, and now constitute one of the most valuable collections in the Historical Society. See reference, also, Ormsby, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149, 153.

[8] Vernon H. Brown, "American Airlines Along the Butterfield Overland Mail Route," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1955).

The Postmaster-general outlined the route designated by the terms of the contract, in his *Report* for 1857:[10]

> . . . . from St. Louis, Missouri, and from Memphis, Tennessee, converging at Little Rock, Arkansas; thence, via Preston, Texas, or as nearly so as may be found advisable, to the best point of crossing the Rio Grande, bove El Paso, and not far from Fort Fillmore; thence, along the new road being opened and constructed under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to Fort Yuma, California; thence, through the best passes and along the best valleys for safe and expeditious staging, to San Francisco.

There was rejoicing among proponents of this southern route. But the press in the North looked upon the contract as a ''foul wrong,'' the Chicago *Tribune* condemning it as ''one of the greatest swindles ever perpetrated upon the country by the slave-holders.''[11] On the other hand, one who considered himself unbiased stated that it was a credit to the Administration at Washington that ''a steady, straightforward course has been pursued, in spite of threats of the disappointed spoils seekers on the one hand, or the jeers and croakings of old fogy conservatives on the other.''[12] Opponents of Mr. Butterfield howled that he could never establish a line of stations across the vast stretch of country, most of which was wilderness, and equip them properly with sufficient stock and coaches. Even if he did all this, the mail route—''the longest in the world''—would be too difficult and unwieldly and would be certain to fail.

The year ahead saw Mr. Butterfield and his associates in the Overland Mail Company making their preparations with almost superhuman energy. Many of their expeditions explored and marked out almost yard for yard in some places, along the route of the 2,900-mile route, nearly all through wild country; other expeditions set up stage stations on an average of eight to twenty-five miles apart, and wells had to be dug and houses erected at many of these. Horses and mules were purchased, ''enough to have one for every two miles,'' to convey the mails, besides extra teams to haul supplies—hay and grain and even water—to some of the stations, every one of the some 1,500 animals branded 'O M' (Overland Mail) and kept shod all around. One hundred spring wagons (or ''celerity wagons'') and coaches were ordered to be made by the Concord Coach Company in New Hampshire. More than 800 operators had to be located and hired, with special emphasis on the selection of dependable and experienced drivers.[13] The Company's protest to the Postmaster-general against the converging of the mail from St. Louis and Memphis at Little Rock necessitated a test run that brought a change, the two mails on the bifurcated route to meet at Fort Smith, Arkansas, right at the line of the Indian Territory.[14]

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[9] Ormsby, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-8; and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 822.

[10] Hafen, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[12] Ormsby, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[13] Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 302; and Hafen, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

The Overland Mail route covered 192 miles from Fort Smith to Colbert's Ferry on Red River, through the Choctaw and the Chickasaw nations. There were twelve stage stations on this Indian Territory part of the route after leaving Fort Smith: fifteen miles to *Walker's* (Skullyville or Old Choctaw Agency); sixteen miles southwest to *Trahern's;* nineteen miles southwest to *Holloway's* at the head of the Narrows, a pass between north side of San Bois Mountain and Brazil Creek; eighteen miles southwest to *Riddle's;* sixteen miles southwest to *Pusley's*; seventeen miles southwest to *Blackburn's;* sixteen miles southwest to *Waddell's*; fifteen miles southwest to *Geary's*; sixteen miles southwest to *Boggy Depot*; seventeen miles south to *Nail's* on Blue River; fourteen miles south to *Fisher's* (later Carriage Point); thirteen miles south to *Colbert's Ferry.*[15]

The first mails were mostly carried through in Concord spring wagons which could conveniently carry four passengers besides 500 to 600 pounds of mail. This celerity wagon was covered with a canvas top and side curtains, and had three seats with backs that could be let down to form a bed for night travel. The roads soon improved with bridges over some of the streams and short sections of turnpike where needed, and the regular Concord coaches were used all along the line. Both of these Concord-made vehicles were drawn by four-horse teams, with additional horses put on in a few bad places on the road. Passenger fare was two hundred dollars one way, not including meals which cost from seventy-five cents to one dollar each, according to the distance from settled regions. Each passenger was allowed forty pounds of baggage without extra cost. Travel was continuous day and night over the total distance of 2,795 miles. A California newspaper recommended the following equipment for the overland passenger:[16]

> One Sharp's rifle and a hundred cartridges; a Colts navy revolver and two pounds of balls; a knife and sheath; a pair of thick boots and woolen pants; a half dozen pairs of thick woolen socks; six undershirts; three woolen overshirts; a wide-awake hat; a cheap sack coat; a soldier's overcoat; one pair of blankets in summer and two in winter; a piece of India rubber cloth for blankets; a pair of gauntlets; a small bag of needles, pins; a sponge, hair brush, comb, soap, etc., in an oil silk bag; two pairs of thick drawers, and three or four towels.

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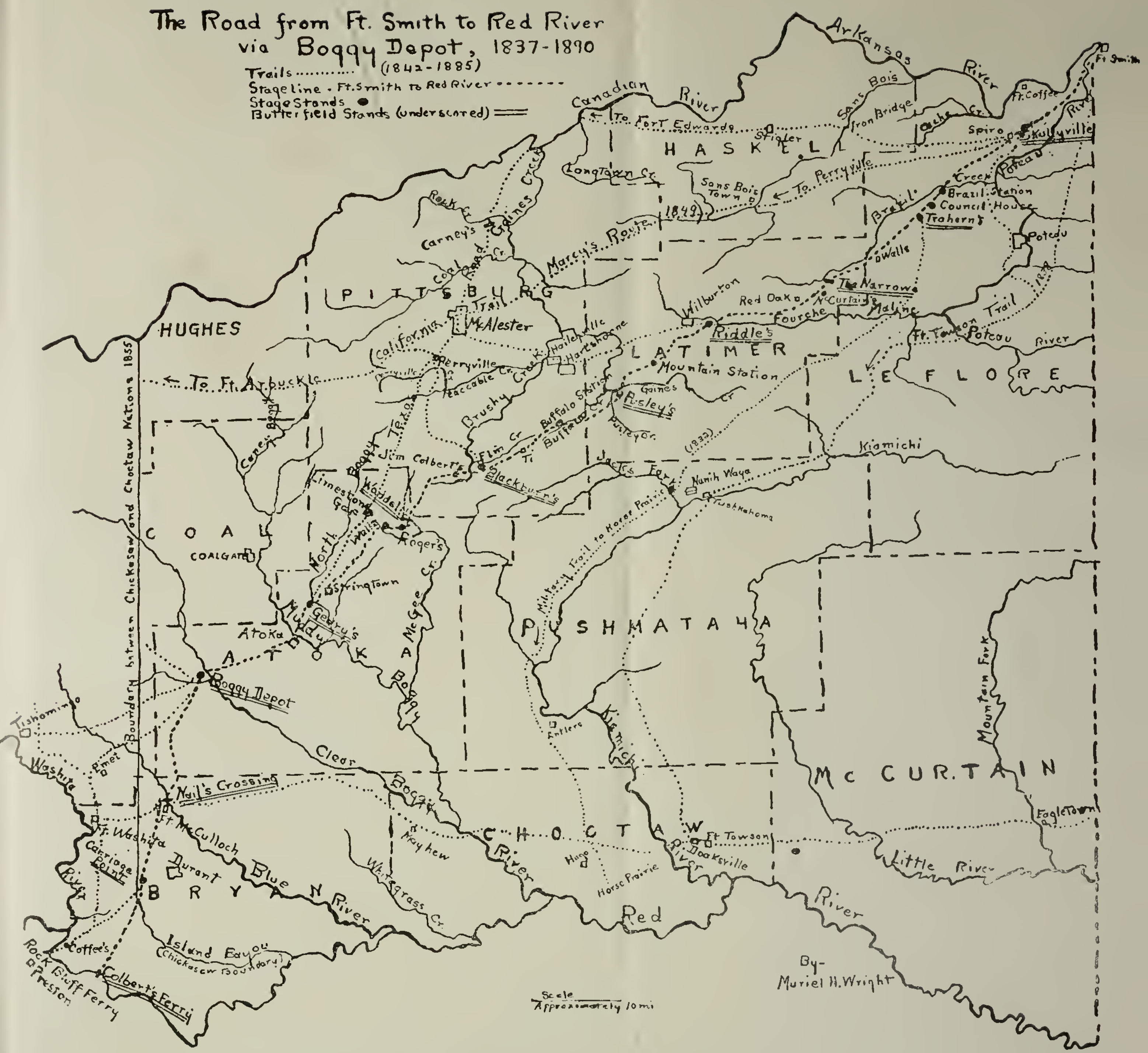
[14] Ormsby, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[15] Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 822. The route of the Butterfield Overland Mail stages in Southeastern Oklahoma along the old road from Fort Smith to Red River is shown on the map that accompanies this article (1957). Approximate routes of other trails in this region are shown to aid as illustrations, many of them important in Oklahoma history.

[16] Hafen, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 98.



Map showing Butterfield Overland Mail stage line through Oklahoma. Line organized 1857. Overland stages along this route, 1858-1861.

The Overland Mail Company had made all its arrangements and was ready to begin carrying the mail on the contracted date, September 16, 1858. The Pacific Railroad that had been under construction west from St. Louis for seven years completed its track 160 miles to Tipton, Missouri, in the summer of 1858, which gave the westbound mail an advantage of several hours by railroad. Tipton remained the head for all the Overland stages in Missouri during the three years of the service that saw the departure and the arrival of the mails regularly twice weekly.[17]

Early on the morning of Thursday September 16, the first westbound mail was made up by the St. Louis postmaster, in two small mailbags marked ''Per Overland Mail,'' and sent by the mail wagon to the railroad depot where Mr. John Butterfield personally took charge of them and boarded the train leaving for Tipton at 8:00 a. m. The only one other person and eyewitness to this historic event was Waterman L. Ormsby, correspondent for the *New York Herald,* who saw these first mail bags made ready, boarded the train at St. Louis with Mr. Butterfield and continued on the first westbound stage through to San Francisco. The two men arrived with the mail at Tipton one minute past six o'clock p. m. the same day.

A heavy, new coach emblazoned with the words over the side, ''Overland Mail Company'' was standing at the Tipton depot, with six horses all harnessed and hitched and John Butterfield, Jr. ready to mount the box and be off. Ormsby describes the scene in one of his first reports of his journey published in the *Herald*:[18]

> The time occupied in shifting the baggage and passengers was just nine mintes, at which time the cry of "all aboard," and the merry crack of young John Butterfield's whip, denoted that we were off. I took a note of the "following distinguished persons present," as worthy of a place in history: Mr. John Butterfield, president of the Overland Mail Company; John Butterfield, Jr., on the box; Judge Wheeler,[19] lady, and two children, of Fort Smith; Mr. T. R. Corbin, of Washington; and the correspondent of the *Herald.* It had been decided to take no passenger but the last named gentleman, on the first trip, but Mr. Butterfield made an exception in favor of Judge Wheeler, agreeing to take him to Fort Smith, where he himself intended to go. You will perceive, therefore, that your correspondent was the only through passenger who started in the first overland coach to San Francisco, as all the rest of the party dropped off by the time we reached Fort Smith. Not a cheer was raised as the coach drove off, the only adieu being, "Good bye, John," addressed to John, Jr., by one of the crowd.

Travel continued day and night, the blast of the horn announcing the approach to the stage stations. The stagecoach stopped only long enough to change teams quickly or, if it was mealtime, to allow the passengers to snatch a hasty bite. Ormbsy writes again:[20]

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[17] Ormsby, *op. cit.,* pp. 5-6.

[18] *Ibid.,* pp. 11-12.

[19] The "Judge Wheeler" mentioned here was John F. Wheeler, and the "lady," Mrs. Wheeler was a sister of the noted General Stand Watie of the Cherokee Nation. For a brief biography of John F. Wheeler, printer of the first Indian newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix,* see *Appendix A.*

> Then, the music of the forest, the moonlight struggling through the trees, the easy motion of the vehicle moving as it rocked to and fro on the rough road, like a vessel moving on the sea, all tended to make one thoughtful of the impressiveness of the occasion. Young John enlivened the road with his eagerness to get on and to make good time, and evinced the greatest anxiety that no accident should happen to interfere with the safe carriage of the mail. There seemed to be a sort of catching enthusiasm about the whole trip, which excited more interest—I know for myself—than I ever supposed could be mustered out of the bare fact of a common coach travelling over a common road, with a common mail bag and a few common people inside. But the occasion made them all uncommon, and I soon got so that I would willingly go without my dinner for the privilege of helping along that mail a quarter of an hour.

Arrival at Springfield, Missouri, was at 3:15 p. m., Friday, September 17. The blowing of the horn as the stagecoach approached had caused excitement in the town. A crowd gathered to see the first overland mail, and to congratulate Mr. Butterfield and John, Jr. A salute of guns was fired. The 143-mile trip from Tipton to Springfield had never before been made in such quick time. There was a forty-five minute stop at Springfield while the mail and baggage and passengers were changed from the stagecoach to a Concord "celerity" wagon.

Travel night and day again past four stations before reaching the Arkansas line, the rugged Ozark hills, Fayetteville, and then Fort Smith after crossing the Arkansas River on a raft at Van Buren. The mail and passengers from Tipton reached Fort Smith at five minutes past two o'clock in the morning. There was much excitement as the coach drove up to the City Hotel where the mail from Memphis had arrived only fifteen minutes earlier. Ormsby reports "Horns were blown, houses were lit up, and many flocked to the hotel to have a look at the wagons and talk over the exciting topic, and have a peep at the first mail bags. The general interest was contagious . . . . " even this early in the morning. One hour and twenty-five minutes were used in joining the two mails from Memphis and St. Louis, examining and arranging the way mails and the way bill and changing stages. Then exactly at half past three o'clock in the morning on Sunday, September 19, 1858, the first westbound stage left Fort Smith, exactly twenty-four hours ahead of the time table schedule, gained in the first 468 miles of the journey. There were only three persons on the stage leaving Fort Smith, Mr. Ormsby of the *New York Herald,* Mr. Fox the mail agent and the driver (Mr. McDonnell?).[21] The Choctaw line was crossed, the Poteau was forded and they were in the Indian Territory on the way to Colbert's Ferry.

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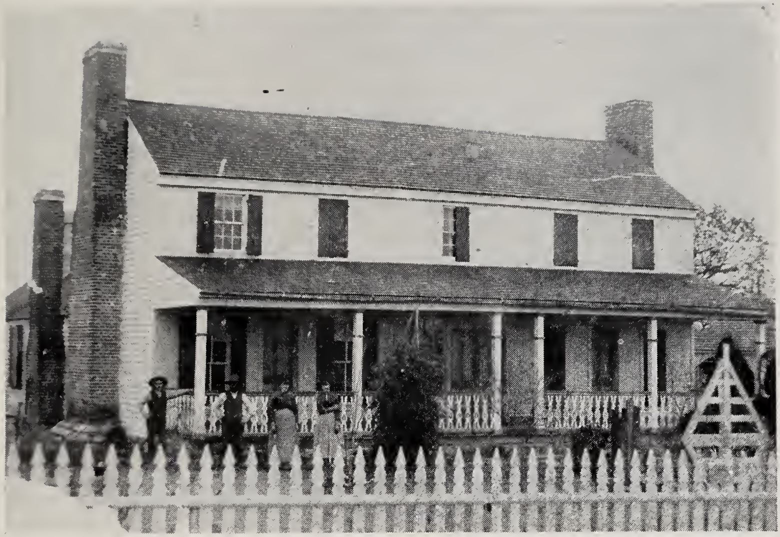
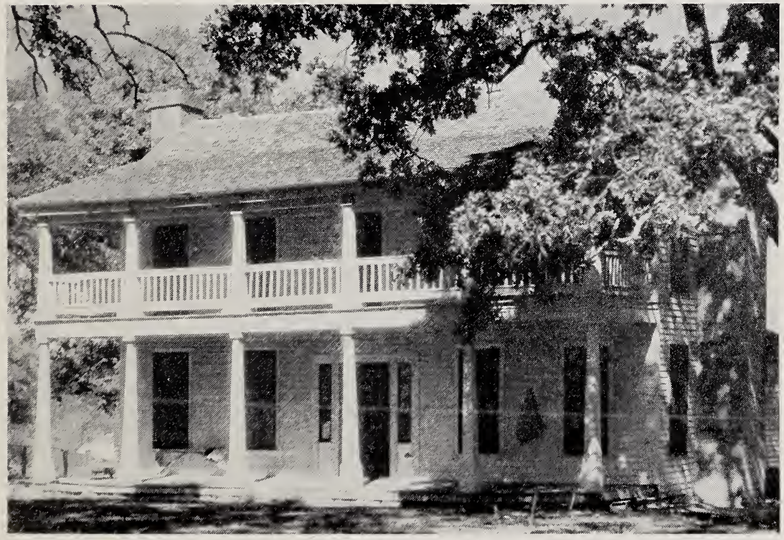
[20] Ormsby, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 25.



J. H. Nail's residence at Nail's Crossing on Blue River, in Choctaw Nation.



ALLEN WRIGHT'S RESIDENCE AT BOGGY DEPOT.

Ormsby wrapped up in blankets and stretched out on the seats took his first opportunity in three days to get some sleep though he says that it took him ''some time to get accustomed to the jolting over the rough road, the rocks and the log bridges.'' The stage arrived at Skullyville about daylight, and stopped at Governor Tandy Walker's house, the station for changing horses. This was the old Choctaw Agency (built 1832) where Tandy Walker, who recently had taken over the office of Governor of the Choctaw Nation, made his home. Ormsby notes that the Governor was of Indian blood but looked like ''a full-blooded white man. He had a very comfortable house, owned a farm of several hundred acres and, also, several hundred head of cattle.[22] In personal appearance he looks like a well-to-do farmer. On this occasion he came out in his shirt sleeves and helped hitch up the horses. He has considerable influence over the Nation, and is favorably disposed toward the Overland Mail Company.''

Trahern's, Holloway's and Riddle's stations were passed during the day on Sunday with breakfast and dinner on this first westbound stage, taken from a basket—cold ham, cakes, crackers, cheese and the ''needful to wash it down''—placed in the wagon through the kindness of Mr. Butterfield at Fort Smith. Ormsby has left descriptions of the country and the scenes after leaving Skullyville: rich, black land with grass and verdure grown or burned over; many Choctaws driving large herds of cattle; Texas emigrants in their covered wagons ''containing their families and all their worldly possessions''; and smoother roads on open, rolling prairies where the Indian ball grounds and their tall posts were sometimes seen.

At Pusley's late in the evening while the horses were being changed, Ormsby traded an Indian boy a paper of tobacco for enough water to wash his face; he put on a blue flannel shirt and considered himself ''pretty well on his way'' out west. A splendid team of four horses was taken at Pusley's, and the stage was soon spinning away again over the rolling prairie. Then came a patch of woods and rough, winding road where the ''driver's ambition to make good time overcame his caution, and away they went'' bounding over the stones at a fearful rate'':[23]

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[22] Mr. Ormsby in error refers to Governor Walker as "William Walker." Governor Tandy Walker of the Choctaw Nation was serving in his official position under a new constitution of the Nation adopted in 1856 at Skullyville that made some drastic changes in the Choctaw constitution, one of which provided that the executive of the Nation should be titled "Governor" instead of "Chief." The proponents of the new constitution favored the admission of the Choctaw Nation as a state, which was bitterly opposed by a majority of the Choctaws. The Skullyville Constitution was in effect until 1860 when a new costitution was adopted at Doaksville. This provided the title of "Principal Chief" for the chief executive, and remained in effect until the close of the Choctaw government in 1907 when Oklahoma was admitted as the 46th State. Tandy Walker was a man of liberal and progressive views and distinguished himself as a military leader in the Choctaw Nation during the War between the States, serving as Colonel of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment in the Confederate States Army. He died at his home in Skullyville on February 2, 1877.

> The moon shone brightly, but its light was obstructed by the trees, and the driver had to rely much on his knowledge for a guide. To see the heavy mail wagon whizzing and whirling over the jagged rock, through such a labyrinth, in comparative darkness, and feel oneself bouncing—now on the hard seat, now against the roof, and now against the side of the wagon—was no joke, I assure you, though I can truthfully say that I rather liked the excitement of the thing. But it was too dangerous to be continued without accident, and soon two heavy thumps and a bound of the wagon that unseated us all, and a crashing sound, denoted that something had broken.

One of the seats was found broken, and at the next station—Blackburn's—it was discovered that the wagon tongue was split, the wonder being that the station was ever reached without a bad wreck. It took more time under a light in the dark to mend the damaged tongue than the ''ambitious driver'' had saved.

A drive of two hours brought the mail wagon through the ''beautifully clear and bright'' night to Waddell's where Ormsby was wakened from sleep in his blankets, ''by a familiar voice saying 'Git up there, old hoss,' and found it was the driver hitching up a new team.'' Bad roads meant a slow drive to Geary's on North Boggy Creek.

It was still dark before day when the stage crossed Clear Boggy and reached Boggy Depot, the well known village where there were several painted houses and stores along the street that led to the stage station at the Guy Hotel. The next stop was Nail's, or ''Blue River Station,'' where a heavy bridge was building near the crossing on Blue, for the Overland Mail Company. Here nearly seventeen hundred miles from New York overland, the traveling correspondent saw a recent copy of his *Weekly Herald*.[24]

Another three-hour drive past Fisher's Stand brought the first westbound mail to Colbert's Ferry on Monday, September 20, 1858, at ten minutes to ten o'clock in the morning, thirty-four hours ahead of time. This advance of over a day and a half in the schedule meant that there was no new team ready to carry on the mail. While giving the horses a brief rest, a good dinner including rare dishes of ''sugar, butter and pastry'' was served the travelers at the home of Mr. Colbert. He was of the well known Chickasaw family of Colberts, and had owned and operated the ferry at this place on Red River for five years. He is described as a young man of about thirty,'' very jovial and friendly,'' and further:[25]

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[23] Ormsby, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 33. See, also, Muriel H. Wright, "Old Boggy Depot," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V, No. 1 (March, 1927).

[25] Ormsby, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

> Mr. Colbert evinces some enterprise in carrying the stages of the company across his ferry free of charge in consideration of the increased travel which it will bring his way. He also stipulates to keep the neighboring roads in excellent order, and has already done much towards it. He has a large gang of slaves at work on the banks of the river, cutting away the sand, so as to make the ascent easy. His boat is simply a sort of raft, pushed across the shallow stream by the aid of poles in the hands of sturdy slaves. The fare for a four-horse team is a dollar and a quarter, and the net revenue of the ferry about $1,000 per annum.

The Red River was ferried in one of Mr. Colbert's boats to the Texas side where he also kept up part of the road on the way to Sherman described by the *Herald* correspondent as "a pleasant little village of about six hundred inhabitants . . . . noted for its enterprising citizens":[26]

> We found Mr. Bates, the superintendent of this part of the line, ready with a team of mules to carry the mail on without a moment's delay. As soon as we drove up, our teams were unhitched and new one's put in their places at short notice. But Mr. Bates objected to a heavy load of ammunition which was in our wagon, as too much of an incumbrance for the mail, and in a twinkling another wagon was rolled out and we were started on our way."

The stage left Sherman twenty minutes to five p. m., on Monday, September 20, 1858, a distance of 673 miles from St. Louis, and thirty-one hours and fifty minutes ahead of time. The 2,122 miles from Sherman to San Francisco were by way of old Fort Belknap, Fort Chadbourne, Guadalupe Pass and El Paso, Texas; Fort Fillmore, New Mexico; Tucson and Maricopa Wells, Arizona; Fort Yuma and Los Angeles, California.

A Concord coach at the Overland Mail station in Los Angeles took up the mail bags and with fine teams making as much as twelve miles an hour on some stretches reached San Francisco on Sunday morning, October 10, 1858, which Mr. Ormsby reported triumphantly to the *New York Herald* as the correspondent who "had kept his promise and gone through with the first mail—the sole passenger and the only one who had ever made the trip across the plains in less than fifty days":[27]

> As we neared the city [San Francisco] we met milkmen and pleasure seekers taking their morning rides, looking on with wonderment as we rattled along at a tearing pace.
>
> Soon we struck the pavements, and, with whip, crack, and bound, shot through the streets to our destination, to the great consideration of everything in the way and no little surprise of everybody. Swiftly we whirled up one street and down another, and round the corners, until finally we drew up at the stage office in front of the Plaza, our driver giving a shrill blast of his horn and a flourish of triumph for the arrival of the first overland mail in San Francisco from St. Louis. But our work was not yet done. The mails must be delivered, and in a jiffy we were at the post office door, blowing the horn, howling and shouting for somebody to come and take the overland mail.

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[26] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

> I thought nobody was ever going to come—the minutes seemed days—but the delay made it even time, and as the man took the mail bags from the coach, at half-past seven A. M. on Sunday, October 10, it was just twenty-three days, twenty-three hours and a half from the time that John Butterfield, the president of the company, took the bags as the cars moved from St. Louis at 8 A. M. on Thursday, 16th of September, 1858.

In the meantime, Mr. John Butterfield who had left the westbound mail at Fort Smith saw the arrival of the eastbound mail at St. Louis, on October 10, an occasion of great public rejoicing. He was elated with the success, and telegraphed the President of the United States: "The overland mail arrived today at St. Louis from San Francisco in twenty-three days and four hours. The stage brought through six passengers."[28]

President Buchanan made reply: "I cordially congratulate you upon the result. It is a glorious triumph for civilization and the Union. Settlements will soon follow the course of the road, and the East and West will be bound together by a chain of living Americans which can never be broken."

In the Indian Territory, the month of October, 1858, saw the meeting of the Chickasaw Legislature at Tishomingo, the capital of the Chickasaw Nation, with Cyrus Harris as Governor, during which a legislative act on October 19 authorized B. F. Colbert to keep up a ferry across Red River at his residence for the "accommodation of travelers, emigrants and drovers," and to fence in the landing at the ferry on the Chickasaw side of the river with a good rail fence, and put up a ferry gate. He was required to keep good boats and trusty and efficient boatmen for the accommodation of travelers at all times, and to give a $500 bond for the faithful performance of these requirements. Mr. Colbert maintained the ferry for many years.[29]

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[28] Hafen, *op. cit.*, p. 95. One of the six passengers, Mr. G. Bailey, special agent of the Post Offiec Department was the only through passenger from San Francisco, the others being part "way." On October 13, Mr. Butterfield was in Fort Smith when the second stage from San Francisco arrived—the first one eastbound carrying mail for both Fort Smith and Memphis. This was the occasion of a great celebration at Fort Smith, with Mr. Butterfield riding in one of his coaches drawn by four fine horses in a big parade, followed by a banquet and ball that evening. The details of this grand celebration are given by Conkling, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 221-4.).

[29] Benjamin Franklin Colbert, born in 1828 near Horn Lake, Mississippi, was the son of Chickasaw parents, Martin Colbert and his wife, Sallie (Gunn) Colbert. He came at the age of sixteen to the Indian Territory and made his home near the present Colbert, Oklahoma. At this time his mother had married Isaac Alberson, a very prominent Chickasaw leader who was strongly in favor of education and progress in the Nation. The Alberson home built in 1844 is still standing about a mile from present Colbert, now known as the Collins place, having been the home of Mrs. Sallie (Potts) Collins who was a niece of Mrs. Sallie Alberson. A note on B. F. Colbert giving a brief history of his life is found in Notes and Documents of this number of *The Chronicles.* Mr. Colbert died on March 11, 1893, and was buried near his residence in the family cemetery where a handsome granite monument marks his grave.

The regular session of the Choctaw General Council also held its regular session in October at Boggy Depot, the capital of the Choctaw Nation, with Tandy Walker as Governor, when special legislative acts were passed and approved, providing for improvements on the public road from Fort Smith through the Nation and granting tollgate privileges for building and maintaining such improvements. Some of this work had already been done during the summer undoubtedly through arrangements by the Butterfield agents. There were six of these acts granting to certain citizens the privilege of making improvements on the road and of operating tollgates:[30] Washington McDaniel and Charles M. James, a bridge and tollgate near their residence on Brazil Creek, about twelve miles southwest of Skullyville; William Holloway, a turnpike and tollgate at ''The Narrows'' just west of his place of residence near upper Brazil Creek, (Holloway's Station); Captain John Riddle, a bridge and tollgate on Fourche Maline Stream, near his residence (Riddle's Station); A. W. Geary, a bridge and tollgate on North (Little) Boggy, (Geary's Station); James D. Davis, a bridge and tollgate on Muddy (Middle) Boggy, about five miles south of Geary's; the heirs of the late William Guy, a bridge and tollgate at their mill on Clear Boggy River, about a mile east of Boggy Depot where they maintained the Overland Stage station. A year later the Choctaw Council also passed an act granting Silas Pusley the privilege of erecting a bridge and operating a tollgate on Gaines Creek, near his place of residence (Pusley's Station).[31] The rates of toll were the same in each of these acts, as granted by the Choctaw Council:

> For each four-wheeled wagon, or other vehicle, drawn by four or more horses, mules, or oxen with driver, the sum of *Fifty cents;* For each four-wheeled wagon, or other vehicle, drawn by one or two horses, mules or oxen with driver, the sum of *Twenty-five cents;* For each man and horse, the sum of *Ten cents;* and for each animal in every drove of cattle, horses, mules, hogs, or sheep. *One cent.*

This road from Fort Smith to Colbert's Ferry was noted in the Indian Territory, and in use until shortly before Oklahoma became a state in 1907. It had its beginning along an old Indian trail southwest out of Fort Smith when that post was established near the mouth of Poteau River on the Arkansas, in 1817. The part from Fort Smith to Boggy Depot was marked out and worked in places in 1837, for the immigrating Chickasaws during their removal to the Indian Territory when on their way to their new agency and a trader's store at the "Depot on the Boggy." Near Geary's place on North Boggy, the road converged with the Texas Road, over which many emigrants from Missouri and farther north traveled on their way to settlement in Texas. But the road to Fort Smith, the whole route through the Indian Territory over which the Butterfield stages ran, was the most important in the development and settle- in Oklahoma. After the War between the States, other laws of the Choctaw Council provided for the building of bridges and turnpikes, the operation of tollgates and the establishment of stage stands, some of the old Butterfield stations continuing in operation.

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[30] *Acts and Resolutions of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation*, 1858, published by authority of the General Council, by Josephus Dotson, printer for the Nation (Fort Smith, Ark., 1859).

[31] *Acts and Resolutions of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation*, 1859, published by authortiy of the General Council, and printed by *The Times* office, Fort Smith, Ark. *The Times* printing office was owned by John F. Wheeler (See *Appendix A*).

The Butterfield Mail stations from Fort Smith to Colbert's Ferry are listed with their locations in Oklahoma in *Appendix B.*

It was the Butterfield Overland Mail stages that made the old road from Fort Smith to Colbert's Ferry famous in the history of this country. The Overland Mail Company continued delivery of the mails from St. Louis to San Francisco, back and forth twice weekly until June 30, 1861, when the outbreak of the War between the States removed the line from the route over which it had operated so regularly and so well.

APPENDIX A

JOHN F. WHEELER, FIRST PRINTER TO USE THE SEQUOYAH TYPE

John Foster Wheeler arrived from Kentucky at New Echota, capital of the Cherokee Nation, in Georgia, on December 27, 1827. As the head printer for the Cherokee printing press established by the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, he learned the use of the Sequoyah alphabet and set the columns in this type in the Cherokee for the first number of the *Cherokee Phoenix* published on February 21, 1828. He married Nannie, eldest daughter of Christian David Watie (or Oowatie) and Susannah Reese Watie, and sister of Stand Watie and Elias Boudinot (Buck Watie). He moved west in 1834, stating to the Indian Agent that he was "minded to establishing a printing press in Arkansas." He was with the first printing press in Oklahoma set up at old Union Mission where he was the printer of the first book printed in Oklahoma, a Creek primer, *The Child's Book* by the Reverend John Flemming, published in 1835. He moved with the press to Park Hill where it became noted as the Park Hill Press. Mr. Wheeler was the printer of thousands of pages of Bible translations, tracts and laws in the Indian languages, and of many books in the Cherokee and the Choctaw, including: *The Choctaw Reader* (by Alfred Wright and Cyrus Byington, missionaries, 1836); *Cherokee Almanac*, 1836; *Choctaw Almanac*, 1837 and 1838; *Choctaw Arithmetic*, 1845.

John F. Wheeler signed the Cherokee Treaty of 1846, at Washington, as a witness for the Cherokees aligned with the Treaty Party of old Ridge Party, of which his brother-in-law, Stand Watie, was the acknowledged leader. It was probably for his work with the Cherokee delegation at Washington, or some similiar position in the Cherokee Nation that he was often referred to as "Judge Wheeler."

He moved to Fort Smith in February, 1847, where he was well known as the founder and publisher of the *Herald*, first issued in June, 1847. He brought the first Hoe cylinder press to Fort Smith for the publication of his new paper the *Times*, the first issue appearing in January, 1858. The following news item appeared in the Fort Smith *Times* for June 30, 1858, reporting preparations made by John Butterfield's men for the great contract of carrying the U. S. mails to San Francisco:

"Messrs. Glover and Bates, superintendents for the Overland Mail Company, started two wagons and teams and eighteen men for their respective divisions on Monday evening. As soon as the "Lady Walton" [steamboat up the Arkansas] which is expected every moment, arrives, they will follow on, taking with them four coaches, twenty men and twenty mules. With the movements of Butterfield & Company before us, who will doubt the determination of that company to perform their contract, and that, true to time. Success to Messrs. Butterfield & Company."

John Foster Wheeler died at the age of eighty years on March 10, 1880. An obituary written by his friend, J. W. Weaver, well known pioneer and newspaper man with the *Fort Smith Elevator*, stated that "Col. John F. Wheeler" was editor of the *Independent* at Fort Smith at the time of his death, adding, "We have toiled early and late, we have worked hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder with him for years in the labor and duties of printer, which has resulted in establishing one of the best newspapers in this section of the state."

A greatgrandson of John F. Wheeler is Mr. Wheeler Mayo, the well known editor and publisher of the *Sequoyah County Times* at Sallisaw. The grandparents of Mr. Mayo were Will Watie Wheeler and Emma Carnall Wheeler who was a daughter of John C. Carnell, the publisher of the *Elevator* at Fort Smith. Mr. Mayo says that when his grandparents were married, the two old newspaper families "stopped their feuding" and joined in the publication of the *Elevator*.

The *American Newspaper Directory*, 1880 (Geo. P. Rowell & Co.) shows *Wheeler's Independent* published at Fort Smith on Wednesdays, established 1871, John F. Wheeler & Son, editors and publishers; and *Elevator* published at Fort Smith on Fridays, established 1878, John Carnall and C. H. Wheeler, editors and publishers.

—M. H. W.

APPENDIX B

The following list gives the locations of the Butterfield Overland Mail stations along the old road from Fort Smith to Colbert's Ferry, in Oklahoma. The names of the official stage stations are given in italic. The locations of the Brazil Creek bridge (McDaniel and James) and the Muddy Boggy bridge (Jim Davis) are also listed since the improvements here were built and maintained under tollgate privileges at important places, by the authorization of the Choctaw General Council, and were known for many years on the old stage line road though they were not official Butterfield stands.

1. *Walker's Station* (Sec. 18, T. 9 N., R. 26 E.), LeFlore County, about 1½ miles northeast of present Spiro where a pile of chimney stones marking the location of the house (burned a few years ago) and the old Choctaw Agency Spring nearby may be seen.
   McDaniel and James (Sec. 27, T. 8 N., R. 24 E.) bridge and tollgate on Brazil Creek, LeFlore County, near present Brazil.
2. *Trahern's Station* (Sec. 2, T. 8 N., R. 24 E.) at Latham, LeFlore County, where Judge James N. Trahern's grave may be seen south side of the road and old "Council House" spring about 200 yards north.
3. *Holloways's Station* (Sec. 24, T. 6 N., R. 21 E.), turnpike and tollgate at east end of The Narrows about 3 miles northeast (by present road) of Red Oak, Latimer County, where part of the old turnpike is clearly seen. Five miles east of Holloway's was Edward's Store (Sec. 23, T. 6 N., R. 21 E.) where meals were served to Overland Mail passengers soon after the establishment of the stage line. The house, log cabin type, is the only one of the original Butterfield Overland Mail stops still standing in Oklahoma.
4. *Riddles Station* (Sec. 12, T. 5 N., R. 19 W.), 1½ miles east of Wilburton on the section line road at Lutie, off U. S. # 270. Riddle Cemetery is just east of the creek crossing near the site of the station and south of Lutie, Latimer County.
5. *Pusley's Station* (Secs. 24-55, T. 4 N., R. 17 W.) about 3 miles southwest of Higgins, Latimer County, south side of Gaines Creek with Pusley Creek to the west. Site indicated by pile of chimney stones west of an old log house, about ¼ mile southwest of Gaines Creek crossing.
6. *Blackburn's Station* (Secs. 4-5, T. 2 N., R. 15 W.) near present rock schoolhouse, Pittsburg County, and north of old road with Elm Creek short distance north.
7. *Waddell's Station* (Secs. 9-10, T. 1 N., R. 13 W.) about 3 miles southwest of Wesley, Atoka County, location locally known as old Beale place, the old log house here said to have been part of the station.
8. Geary's Station (Sec. 19, T. 1 N., R. 12 E.) about 2½ miles southwest of Stringtown, Atoka County, on east side of North Boggy Creek.
   Jim Davis bridge on Muddy (or Middle) Boggy Creek (S. 11, T. 2S., R. 11 E.) approximated the present bridge on U. S. # 69-75 at the north side of Atoka, Atoka County.
9. *Boggy Depot* (Sec. 1, T. 3 S., R. 9 E.) about 4 miles south of present bridge on Clear Boggy 10 miles west of Atoka, Atoka County, State # 7 to Wapanucka. The Old Boggy Depot cemetery is about ½ mile west of the site of the old town. Pile of chimney stones marks site of the

old Wright residence (recently burned) on the west side of town, and about 300 yards west of the Guy Hotel site. Traces of the Overland Mail route clearly seen here along what was main street of Boggy Depot, east to west, turning south at the hotel site marked by two piles of chimney stones, with large oak trees to north in what was once the hotel yard.

10. *Nail's or "Blue River Station"* (Secs. 7-8, T. 5 S., R. 9 E.) on east side of Blue River, about 2 miles southwest of Kenefick in Bryan County. The crossing here on Blue is shallow water, about 300 yards west of the Nail residence (burned) marked by pile of chimney stones. Near this site is the burial ground where a handsome monument marks the grave of J. H. Nail (died 1867), a prominent Choctaw citizen who operated the Overland Mail station or "Blue River Station," best known in local history as "Nail's Crossing."
11. *Fisher's Station* (Sec. 3, T. 8 N., R. 8 E.) about 4 miles west of Durant, Bryan County, on U. S. # 70, and 2 miles south, at the head of Island Bayou which marked the Choctaw-Chickasaw boundary line between the two nations. This station was better known locally as "Carriage Point." Fisher was a member of a well known Choctaw family.
12. *Colbert's Ferry* (Secs. 30-31, T. 8 S., R. 7 E.) about three miles south of the town of Colbert, Bryan County, just below the old highway bridge across Red River.

DR. AND MRS. RICHARD MOORE CRAIN

*By Carolyn Thomas Foreman**

The attention of the author in her travels around the world was frequently centered upon missionary families returning to their stations in the far interior of some country after a short vacation in the United States. The hardships and loneliness of those brave souls brought to mind days in the past when the Indian Territory was a wild frontier, distant from the comforts of civilization; when great suffering was experienced by the pioneer missionaries and teachers.

The Jesuits, first missionaries among the Indian tribes in western United States, were shortly followed by scholarly New England teachers, many of whom had first braved the wilds among the Indians in the southeastern part of our country. Some of these people followed their Indian charges west to the frontier in what is now Oklahoma, and fought a losing fight with disease and hardships for many years. Some of them lost husbands, others wives. One missionary family among the Osages counted five small graves in a rocky burying ground before their services were ended.

A young woman who was brought to the Indian country from North Carolina by her parents, after a sojourn in Arkansas, spent the remainder of her life in this state. She was Miss Anna Rebecca Neal who started her career as a teacher not knowing a word of the language spoken by her pupils. They were equally ignorant of English, but she was ingenious enough to arouse their interest by bringing a crate of gingerbread cakes to the little school and she gave half a cake to each pupil for every day's attendance. Her salary depended upon the number of her students.

Miss Neal lived in the home of Mrs. Rachel Reed, a full blood Creek who came west at the time of the Creek removal. She occupied a small log house near the main dwelling and there was a fireplace where she cooked her food. When Miss Neal questioned Mrs. Reed about her favorite food she was informed: ''Sofky you eat um, no smell um.'' She remained with this kindly Indian woman three years and soon learned enough of the Creek language to understand her pupils.

On one occasion Miss Neal was obliged to spend the night in a primitive hotel in Okmulgee. The next morning at breakfast a young man offered to drive her to Muskogee. Mr. Clarence W. Turner heard the invitation and when Miss Neal accepted he had his team hitched to his buggy and followed the young people the forty miles to Muskogee as he had no confidence in the proper behavior of the young man. Mrs. Crain never forgot this kindness although she did not realize her danger at the time she took the all day trip.

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* Through the courtesy and assistance of Mrs. Agnes Crain Moore, the daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Richard Moore Crain, the author presents this sketch of Dr. Crain's life in the Indian Territory. Acknowledgement is also made to Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist in the Oklahoma Historical Society, for kind co-operation in furnishing data from the Society's collections.

Miss Neal's back was injured when she was thrown from her horse on her way to school one day and she was attended by a young physician, Dr. Richard M. Crain, who promptly fell in love with his patient. They were married September 4, 1878 by the Reverend Theodore F. Brewer who later became superintendent of Harrell Institute in Muskogee.[1]

Dr. Crain, a native of Hogestown Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, was born October 20, 1844. Some of his papers are preserved by his daughter, Mrs. Thomas H. Moore of Muskogee, all of these documents speaking in the highest terms of the young man. One recommendation given June 1, 1870, was from the citizens of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, who had known Richard Crain from his childhood, stating that "his moral character was good, his habits and conduct praiseworthy, and that he had been practising medicine successfully for the past three years." The signers were Geo. H. Bucher, Wm. S. Parker, James Anderson and Dr. J. B. Herring.

Young Crain attended Bellevue Hospital Medical College in New York and his study there is evidenced by other documents. Several catalogues among Dr. Crain's papers furnish interesting facts regarding Bellevue Hospital Medical College:

> Requirements for graduation are: twenty-one years of age; three years pupilage with a regular physician in good standing, inclusive of the time of attendance at medical lectures; attendance on two full courses of lectures, the last being in this College; proper testimonials of character; an acceptable thesis in handwriting of the candidate; and a satisfactory examination in each of the departments of instruction. 5 professors of surgery; 3 Departments of Obstetrics.

Dr. J. Crain is shown as the preceptor of Dr. Richard M. Crain. One catalogue listed names of students from Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, Cuba and England. The majority were from the United States. There were no students from the Indian Territory but there were six from Missouri and one from Kansas.

Data from New York University, Bellevue Medical Center, New York, show that Dr. Crain's essay entitled *Infantile Convulsions,* in his own handwriting, is on file in Volume 37, pages 250 to 277, "Bellevue Medical College Theses."[2]

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[1] The Creek Council granted permission for a school and Harrell International Institute, named in honor of the Rev. John Harrell, and established on November 2, 1881 by the Methodists. This well patronized institution, managed by Mr. and Mrs. Brewer, prospered until May 26, 1896. The three story brick building was burned September 20, 1899 (Grant Foreman, *Muskogee the Biography of an Oklahoma Town* [Norman, 1943], pp. 53-55.).

There were twenty-four graduates listed in 1867, and "Richard More (*sic*) Crain" of Pennsylvania was No. 26 among the names of his class, given in alphabetical order. It is interesting to note that Daniel Franklin Coolidge of Vermont was a member of this class. Tickets for Lectures cost $140.00. Separate tickets for Diseases of the Mind and Nervous System were $10.00. Fee for dissecting $10.00, and Graduating Fee $30.00.

In addition to his diploma from Bellevue Hospital Dr. Crain received the following certificate from the "Chemical Laboratory of the Bellevue Medical College, New York":[3]

> This is to Certify, That Richard M. Crain Has attended a Course of Instruction in Medical and Toxicological Chemistry.
>
> Has performed the necessary Analytical Manipulations in the Laboratory, and has passed a satisfactory examination in these departments.
>
> In Testimony Whereof, the Seal of the Laboratory is herewith affixed this Twenty seventh day of January A. D. 1867.

Although it can not be confirmed by Bellevue College, it is probable that Dr. Crain was the first graduate of this medical school to practise in Indian Territory. Most of the early practitioners were the missionaries from New England or some of the southern states, who were likely trained near their homes.

Dr. Crain was given a "Certificate of Private Instruction in Auscultation and Percussion by Austin Flint, M. D." This document states: "I certify, that Richard M. Crain has attended one of my Courses of Private Instruction in Auscultation and Percussion; a Course consisting of Twenty Lessons in the Wards of Bellevue Hospital, New York, January 11, 1867."

A third certificate issued to Dr. Crain and signed by Alex B. Mott, M. D., dated from New York, February 18, 1867, states that young Crain "attended my Lectures on Surgery at the Bellevue Hospital Medical College New York during the Session 1866, and 67. Also my private examinations on the various branches of Medicine."

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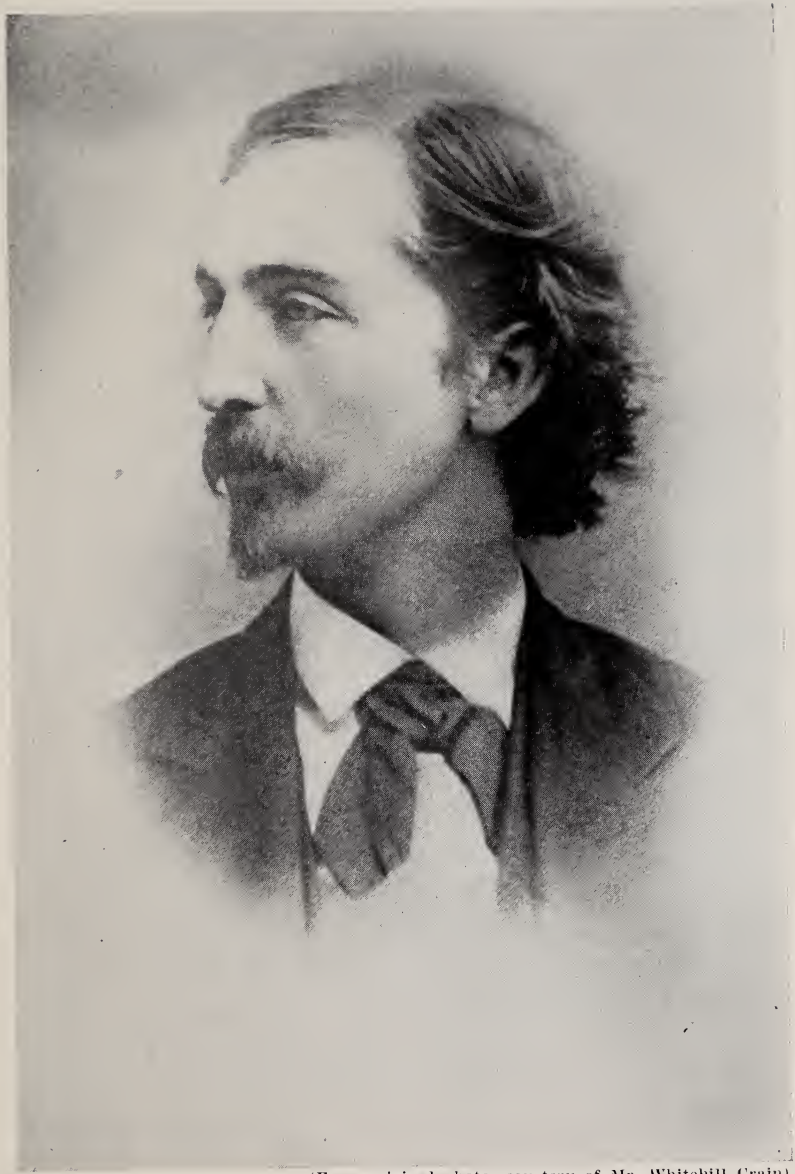
[2] Sincere thanks are due to Helen Bayne of the Research Library of Bellvue Medical Center for her kindness in furnishing information concerning Dr. Crain.

[3] In a list of the faculty members Dr. Crain wrote the city address of R. Ogden Doremus, M.D., Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology, 70 Union Place; and A. W. Wilkinson, M.D., Assistant to Chair of Chemistry and Toxocology.

At that time George F. Talman, Esq., was president of the Board of Trustees which also included Robert S. Hone, Esq., treasurer; four commissioners of Public Charities and Correction; Matthew T. Brennen, Comptroller of New York; Most Rev. Archbishop McCloskey, John J. Astor and ten other prominent citizens of New York.

Among Dr. Crain's papers is his diploma of graduation from Bellevue Medical College in Latin, showing his graduation March 1, 1867, and signed by thirteen professors and six members of the Executive Board.



(From original photo, courtesy of Mr. Whitehill Crain)

DR. RICHARD MOORE CRAIN

After graduation Dr. Crain practised medicine with his father, Dr. Joseph Crain, in Hogestown. He married Miss Mary Anderson and they became parents of two children, Anderson and Elizabeth. After the death of his wife Dr. Crain removed to the West to join his elder brother, Alexander Wills Crain, then in the Seminole Nation. The sight of Indian children running about without a stitch of clothing was a shock to the young doctor, and he advised clothing them with belts as youngsters were in India.

The following letter was addressed to Governor Cyrus Harris of the Chickasaw Nation, by the United States Indian Agent Breiner at the Seminole Agency, the latter himself a physician:

Seminole Agency. I. T.
June 30, 1874

To His Excellency, Gov. Harris.

Sir: It affords me pleasure to recommend to your favor the bearer of this, Dr. Richd. M. Crain and his brother Alex W. Crain, of Harrisburgh, Pa. I have been intimately acquainted with them for the last year. They have been here in the capacity of teachers, the former in the Seminole and the latter in the Creek Nation, and both have conducted themselves in a manner which has met with my entire approval.

They propose to go into your country, the Dr. as a practitioner of Medicine, and his brother as clerk and student of Medicine; and anything you can do for them in their profession will be kindly reciprocated.

I will say that I have examined the Dr.'s Diploma and find that he had received a regular Medical Education, has had several years practice, and is specially prepared for the practice of Surgery.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
Henry Breiner M. D.
U. S. Indian Agent.[4]

After Dr. Crain and Miss Neal were married they began housekeeping in the home of Elisha J. Brown in Wewoka, Seminole Nation. The Browns needed a large house as they were the parents of three sons and two daughters. Lilley, the elder daughter was named for the Reverend and Mrs. John Lilley, noted missionaries in the Seminole Nation. The younger girl was called Maynee which was Mrs. Lilley's given name. Mrs. Maggie Washburn, widow of Henry E. A. Washburn, and a sister of Mrs. Brown, kept a diary in a large ledger and faithfully wrote an account of affairs in it every evening before retiring. Unfortunately this valuable history was lost.

Elisha Brown was a white man and not related to the Seminole family of that name. He was owner of much stock and he had a store in Econtuchka. At his home he had constructed a large pit where he raised many plants which would not thrive in that climate in the open. He was the man who brought the Seminoles back from Kansas after the Civil War.

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[4] Dr. Henry Breiner took charge of the Seminole Agency at We-wo-ka December 12, 1870 when he relieved Captain T. A. Baldwin of the United States Army.

On July 8, 1880, United States Indian Agent John S. Shorb, wrote from the Sac and Fox Agency to Hon. R. E. Trowbridge, Commissioner of Indian Affairs:[5]

> I have the honor to enclose the diploma of Dr. R. M. Crain, whose appointment I herewith forward for approval, and request the return of the diploma.
>
> He is an excellent Physician and Surgeon, and having practiced for sometime in the Territory is well known, and liked by the Indians.
>
> Dr. W. Trim resigned and left for Mineral Springs, Ark., where he hopes to do better than here.
>
> I would be pleased to have your honor give this your early attention, as I have no Physician at Shawnee & Kickapoo now.

By the same mail Agent Shorb sent a "descriptive Statement of proposed changes in Employes at Sac & Fox Agency . . . . ." In that document he nominated: "Richard M. Crain, white, 36 years of age, married. Birthplace Pennsylvania. Employed Shawneetown. For what tribes Employed: Shawnees & Mexican Kickapoo. Date of Commencing Services: July 20/80. Compensation $1,000 per annum."[6]

Jacob V. Carter was agent for the Sac and Fox Indians when he wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs H. Price, November 8, 1882:[7]

> Dr. Crain, the Agency Physician for the Mex. Kickapoo and Ab. [sentee] Shawnee Indians, has for some time past, furnished his *own team*, and *feed*, for same, while engaged in his public dutys as Physician among the above mentioned Indians. In view of these facts as stated above, I respectfully request, that Dr. Crain have the privilege of feeding his team, the coming winter, with the Gov't. horses at Shawneetown.

Agent Carter wrote to Dr. Crain September 2, 1882, introducing Benjamin Miles, Superintendent of West Branch School and asking the physician to examine the children Miles proposed to enroll in the school, and to render him all the assistance he was able.[8]

During 1882, there arose the sensational "grandmother story" told by a Shawnee woman, in an attempt to prevent the Indians from adopting the white man's dress and ways. She declared that

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[5] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives Division, Sac & Fox, Vol. 8, pp. 3 and 4.

[6] *Ibid.*, "Sac & Fox & Shawnee Doctor" file.

[7] *Ibid.*, Sac & Fox Vol. 9, pp. 110, 111.

[8] *Ibid.*, Sac & Fox Vol. 9A, p. 215. Carter reported to the Indian Commissioner in September, 1882 that the Sac and Fox school had been kept open during the greater part of the year, with an average attendance of twenty-three students. "A good degree of interest in schools is manifested, and the prospect for this winter is rather flattering in this direction."

"eternal judgments were to be visited upon the unfortunate heads of each and every Indian" and her prophecy had some influence on the people as well as upon neighboring tribes. Agent Carter reported that "the effect seems to be gradually wearing away, and the prospect is now that the school will again be liberally patronized, and the former interest in civilized pursuits in general be re-established."

The *Report* of 1883 contains a letter from William Hurr, missionary to the Sac and Fox Indians, in which he wrote:[9]

> Two years ago last March I came to this agency as missionary, and was somewhat discouraged in finding so great opposition to religious work of every character. The former agent was an irreligious man, who had no sympathy whatever with attempts to christianize the Indian. During his stay both civilization and Christianity were greatly hindered. These Indians were thrown back several years in their progress during his administration.
>
> About the time he was removed by the Department another draw back occurred. An old Shawnee woman pretended to have had a vision, in which she was told by the Great Spirit that the Indian should not adopt the ways of the white man, but go back to and continue in the old ways . . . . . So when one obstacle was removed, the devil threw another in the way. There have been dark days to the mission work among the Sac and Fox Indians. The work has been against a strong current, but now the prospect is brightening. . . . .

A contemporary of Dr. Crain at the Sac and Fox Agency, in 1885, was the Shawnee teacher Thomas Wildcat Alford whose story has been so delightfully written by Florence Drake.[10] Agent Taylor stated that the school at Shawneetown, "under the charge of Thomas W. Alford . . . . is doing as well as could be expected considering the unsettled state of affairs existing among its patrons."

When Dr. Crain arrived at the Kickapoo Reservation he was astonished to learn that the accepted slogan of those Indians was: "Do not steal on the reservation, but take anything you wish outside." The Doctor's office was adjoining the agency building and one day when an Indian woman came in covered with a big blanket, he tossed the corner aside and discovered that the woman had hidden his small daughter's little doll under it.

A Seminole man told the Doctor that he was blind in one eye and he said: "Tother eye just like dat eye and dat eye just like dat eye." While living at the Kickapoo Reservation the Crains hung blankets at their windows when it was time to light the lamps so drunken men would not shoot out the lights.

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[9] *Report,* Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1883, pp. 86, 87. In 1883 seven children were removed from the agency school and sent to White's Manual Labor School at Wabash, Indiana.

[10] Thomas Wildcate Alford, *Civilization,* as told to Florence Drake (Norman, 1936), pp. 126-33. Mr. Alford was a descendant of Tecumseh, the noted Shawnee chief who was born in Ohio in 1768 and ocmmissioned as brigadier-general in the British Army during the War of 1812. Tecumseh was killed in the Battle of the Thames River, Canada, with American forces in 1813, under the command of General William H. Harrison. The Kickapoo Station where Dr. Crain served as physician was located about five miles east of the present City of Shawnee and near the then Kickapoo Village of wickiups and bark covered lodges, northeast of present McCloud in Pottawatomie County.—Ed.

On November 24, 1883, Agent Carter dispatched a letter to Dr. Samuel Coffin, Fairmont, Kansas, stating:[11]

> Esteemed Friend:
>
> Dr. Crain Physician for the Ab. Shawnee and Kickapoos has informed me that he will tender his resignation some time shortly if he should get a position in the Seminole Nation; I write to know if thy Son has a position? or if he would like to have the position . . . . . at Shawneetown at a salary of one thousand Dollars ($1,000.00) per annum? If he would I would be pleased to have him appointed; please inform me by the earliest opportunity.

Dr. E. B. Fenn, physician for the Sac and Fox Indians had notified Agent Isaac A. Taylor that he would not be an applicant for the position the coming fiscal year as he intended returning to his home in Kansas. Taylor notified the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John D. C. Atkins on June 26, 1885 that this was a "sickly time" of year in the locality.[12]

> I hereby call special attention to the necessity of some one being appointed to be on the ground by the time Mr. Fenn leaves.
>
> In this connection I wish to add in the way of a recommendation that in the event the position of Physician for the Abt. Shawnees and Mex. Kickapoos located at Shawneetown, thirty five miles south of this Agcy, is not allowed for the next fiscal year, on account of an insufficient appropriation, that Dr. R. M. Crain who is now filling said position at Shawneetown, be appointed Physician for the Sac & Fox Indians, as by his long experience among Indians and professional ability, he is in every way qualified for the position.

Agent Taylor reported in 1885 a great number of people in the vicinity of the Sac and Fox Agency suffering with malarial diseases and that for this reason the schools would not be filled. The report accounts for the fact that Doctor Crain was relieved of his position on January 14, 1886. He was replaced by Dr. C. A. Peyton, thirty-three years of age and a native of Illinois, who started work at the agency on January 15, 1886, at the same salary which Dr. Crain had been paid.[13]

Three days after Dr. Peyton took charge as physician at the Agency Dr. Crain died. He had not filled out his quarterly returns because of this illness and Agent Neal wrote the department to learn how the matter should be handled.[14]

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[11] Indian Archives, O.H.S., Sac & Fox Vol. 11, pp. 105, 106. (The Sac and Fox Agency, established in 1869 about five miles south of the present City of Stroud in Lincoln County was on the Sac and Fox Reservation to which the members of this tribe removed from Kansas and were making their homes by the winter of 1870. Other tribal groups living on neighboring reservations here were placed later under the supervision of the Agent at the Sac and Fox Agency, and included in addition to the Sac and Fox: Absentee Shawnee, "Mexican" Kickapoo, Iowa, Oto, Potawatomi. The villages of these groups or their stations were located in different parts of what are now Lincoln and Pottawatomie counties, some of them miles away from the headquarters' office at the Sac and Fox Agency.—Ed.)

[12] *Ibid.*, Sac & Fox Vol. 11, pp. 105, 106.

[13] *Ibid.*, "Sac & Fox & Shawnee—Doctors." Peyton's appointment was approved January 22, 1886.

[14] *Ibid.*, Sac & Fox Vol. II, pp. 364-65.

No settlement was made to Dr. Crain's widow when Agent Neal wrote Commissioner Atkins, May 11, 1886. He stated that since Dr. Crain was a white man and did not die in the service he could not make payment "to his wife the amt due him as salary but that it belonged to the Treasury Department to pay the sum due on presentation to that office of the proper letters of administration . . . . . " Therefore the amount due him for his services $38.89 was deposited "to the credit of the U. S. Treasury with Asst. Treasurer St. Louis Mo.—April 9, 1886."[15]

Dr. and Mrs. Crain became the parents of twin boys on December 15, 1880. They were born in Shawneetown, and named Richard Moore and Alexander Wills Crain, the latter in honor of Dr. Crain's brother. Both of these babies died in August, 1881. An account in the Sac and Fox sales shop states that $3.00 was spent for material and making of a coffin for the Crain's little daughter, Ruth, who was a year and a half old. She died the day before her father and was buried in the yard of the house where the Crains lived.

Dr. Crain died January 18, 1886 and the amount charged for making his coffin was $6.50.[16] On June 3, 1886, Agent Moses Neal wrote the department that when "Dr. Crain and child died—the weather was exceeding cold and disagreeable and situated as we are about 65 miles from the Rail Road it was not possible to get coffins to bury them—therefore I had the Agency Blacksmith to make the said coffins using lumber and etc. belonging to the Agency. Hence the claim against the estate."[17]

On the death of her husband Mrs. Crain moved to Muskogee with her three children, the eldest Agnes was only six years old. Addie died in Muskogee as a young girl and Whitehill, named for a distinguished family on his father's side, is still living in Muskogee as a retired Presbyterian minister.

Agnes Crain inherited her parents love for teaching, and upon graduation from Henry Kendall College in Muskogee, was an instructor in the Muskogee High School where she earned a fine reputation. She was the much-loved teacher of two generation of families in the city. Upon her marriage to Mr. Thomas H. Moore, a former citizen of Cane Hill, Arkansas, she continued teaching until her retirement in 1950. Mr. and Mrs. Moore live in a delightful stone house east of Muskogee, surrounded by books, family portraits, flowers and other adjuncts for a comfortable living. Both are deeply interested in the history of their country, and particularly of Oklahoma.

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[15] *Ibid.,* Sac & Fox Vol. 12, pp. 13, 14.

[16] *Ibid.,* Sac & Fox Doctors, March 31, 1886.

[17] *Ibid.,* Sac & Fox Vol. 12, p. 50. Dr. Crain played the violin and he made a flower garden wherever he lived.

HEALTH CONDITIONS IN INDIAN TERRITORY 1830 TO THE CIVIL WAR

*By Bernice Norman Crockett**

In 1832, plans were made by the United State government to centralize the work of Indian administration in this country. A Congressional Act on July 9, 1832, created the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the War Department, to have the direction and management of "all matters arising out of Indian relations."[1] The Office of Indian Affairs remained subject to the orders of the Secretary of War and the President from that time until 1849 when it was transferred by Congressional enactment from the War Department to the new Department of the Interior.[2]

Following the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes—Choctaw, Creek, Seminole, Cherokee and Chickasaw—from their old home lands in the Southeastern States to new country in the Indian Territory, an agent was appointed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to reside with each of these tribes. His duties were manifold in that he was "to counsel with them concerning the performance of treaty obligations, all problems arising in their new environment, and to report annually to the department of Indian Affairs on their condition and progress."[3] In turn he received reports from the missionaries, teachers, and "others having duties of a public nature to perform in the Indian country."[4]

Certainly not typical of all the individuals who became Indian agents, but representative to a degree, was one of the first appointees, Major Francis W. Armstrong of Tennessee. One of his first duties with public health implications in the Indian Territory was the taking of a census of the Choctaws before they left Mississippi, during the summer of 1831.[5] Later he was appointed Choctaw Agent, West, and in a few months, was also named Superintendent for the removal and subsistence of the Indians west of the Mississippi.

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* This paper on "Health Conditions in the Indian Territory from 1830 to the Civil War" has been adapted for publication in *The Chronicles*, from the thesis by Bernice Norman Crockett written on the History of Health in Oklahoma, in her work for the Ed.D. degree in the University of Oklahoma. Dr. Crockett is Head of the Department of Health Education in Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma.—Ed.

[1] Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30 (Washington, 1912), Vol. II, p. 107.

[2] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. I, p. 159.

[3] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), p. 427.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, biographies of Major Francis W. and Captain William Armstrong, Vol. II, p. 791.

Following the death of Major Armstrong in 1835, his brother, Captain William Armstrong was appointed in his place. Of these brothers and the services they rendered the Indians, Reverend William H. Goode, Superintendent of Fort Coffee Academy for Boys in 1843-1845, wrote high words of praise and ended on the wishful note: "Would that among the appointees of the government to Indian Agencies such examples were not so rare."[6]

One of the first observations, on the part of the Indian agents in regard to the deplorable condition of the Indians where lack of medical care was concerned, is found in the report of William Armstrong, the Acting Superintendent of the Western Territory, in 1837. He estimated that there were about eighteen or twenty thousand Creeks who were settled in the northeastern, eastern, and southeastern portions of the territory assigned them. He admitted that prospects for food for these people would have been much brighter if they had been able to get agricultural implements, and if they had not settled so late in the season. There were about eight thousand Cherokees who seemed to be making out better than the other tribes, since they had raised sufficient crops to feed emigrating Indians through government contracts. They were making eighty bushels of "excellent salt" every day, but they were also quite weak where intemperance was concerned. "The whole extended frontier of Arkansas and Missouri is settled with vendors of this pernicious article."[7]

The Choctaw Nation, which included the late Chickasaw imigrants, whites married into the nation, and Negroes, numbered about fifteen thousand and was improving rapidly. Armstrong's report stated: "They have almost all given up the chase for a living, and are engaged principally in the cultivation of the soil and raising stock."[8]

Salt was high in this nation and there were quantities of whiskey though its sale was prohibited by the Federal law. The Choctaws had a large tract of land and parts of it were adaptable to cultivation with an ample supply of water. In other parts the story was different: "It (the water) is so scarce that the inhabitants are compelled to use the water of creeks and branches, which became nearly dried up or stagnant during summer, causing much fatal sickness among them."[9]

Here the agent requested some sort of aid for all these people for the control of disease:[10]

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[6] *Ibid;* Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Armstrongs of the Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1952), pp. 292-308.

[7] *Report* 1837, Acting Superintendent of the Western Territory, William Armstrong, Indian Affairs.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 580.

[9] *Ibid.,* pp. 578-81.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 581.

> I would most respectfully suggest, that the government could render these unfortunate people some medical aid, either from the forts, or from any other quarter, and by furnishing medicines, etc. It would be an act of humanity, and go further to convince them of its humane and philanthropic intention than all the funds expended in endeavoring to educate them. While thousands are lavished to teach them to live, and love our modes of living, they are suffered to be swept off by hundreds in a settlement, without the hand of charity or of humanity being extended toward their preservation.

The Indian Appropriation Act approved August 18, 1856, contained an item for the payment of doctors in the Indian Service. However, very few Indian service doctors seemed to have been employed; and those who were, as Dr. Dale points out, ''seemed to be more for the benefit of the agent and his family and the other employees of the agency than for the Indians.''[11]

There was a smallpox epidemic among the Indian tribes in the Territory in 1838, appearing first among the Chickasaws and carried west by them to the Choctaws. A world of tragedy can be pictured as Armstrong's report continues: ''. . . . from the wandering dispositions of the sufferers, it was extended. Numerous deaths occurred, notwithstanding every exertion was made to confine the diseased and prevent their association with the well.''

Besides smallpox, which upon spreading through the nation temporarily disrupted the schools and caused the people to neglect their crops, there was also a great drought which caused a shortage of crops. The water failure was an event of July extending through September when streams disappeared entirely. Armstrong continued:[12]

> I attribute much of the sickness which the Choctaws have every fall, in a great degree, to the use of bad water. If wells were dug amongst them, this evil would be remedied. Some three or four intelligent half-breeds have succeeded in obtaining good water, but a common Indian has not the ability to undergo the cost of digging a well; and withal, persons qualified to perform the labor are rarely found in the Indian country. Medical aid is greatly needed, and the Indians are desirous of being attended by a white physician; could these two objects be accomplished, I feel satisfied that the health of the Indians would be better.

The agent expressed the belief that none of the tribes had increased any in population, even among the Choctaws whom, he felt, were better situated than any other tribe. Until the epidemic of smallpox in 1838, their population had remained stationary, but with the epidemic ''I think from four to five hundred have died.''[13] Besides disease and drought the prairies were on fire in August, and he feared a greater scarcity of food.

The Chickasaws lost ''from five to six hundred people from smallpox. Vaccination was resorted to, or the probability is that the disease would have been raging still. Every effort was made to prevent the disease spreading, but friends and relatives would not consent, even at the hazard of their lives, to being separated.''[14]

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[11] E. E. Dale, *The Indians of the Southwest* (Norman, 1949), p. 200.
[12] Report of William Armstrong, 1838, pp. 480-485.
[13] *Ibid.*

The Seminoles, as well as all the late immigrants, also lost heavily from the smallpox and from illnesses of other types. The agent rationalized thus: ''It is usual the first year; after which it is not so common; yet the whole Indian country is subject to chills and fevers.''[15]

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1842 reiterated the plea ''so long on the lips of those men who realized the importance of education for the final settlement of the Indian problem for improved legislation. For it was only through improved legislation that more emphatic measures for the welfare of the race could be effected.'' In his annual report to the Secretary of War in 1842, T. Hartley Crawford wrote:[16]

> The love of change, which is so striking a characteristic of civilized man, except in the highest stages of refinement and wealth, is not known to the character of the Indian, whose natural indolence and pride, and a long course of unbroken traditionary customs, bind him to his original cast. A tree is scarcely more tenacious of the earth than a savage man of his habits; hence the great difficulty of a meliorating his condition.

Proof that the Indian did not change his habits simply because of any rule or regulation set up by the white man is found in an incident related by one of the Indian agents:[17]

> They (the Indians) when hungry, will kill stock whenever they find it, regardless to whom it may belong. I am informed they killed a milch cow belonging to their blacksmith, Mr. Gillmore, in his presence, and boiled the meat at his own fire; and when Mr. Gilmore asked if they were displeased with him that they killed his cow, they replied, "No, but that they were hungry."

In recording the advantages the Choctaws had achieved in 1842, the Indian Agent's statement pointed out that in addition to having five stores (at Doaksville) there was also a resident physician, good tavern, blacksmith shop, wagonmaker, and wheelwright.[18]

The sale of whiskey and other spirituous drinks to the Indian people by unscrupulous white traders was a continuous occurrence which could not be completely checked. The picture given by one agent—among many others—on the effects of drinking, was more or less typical among the Indians:[19]

> When I first came among them, (the Quapaws) these people were in a wretched condition, spending most of their time in drinking—sometimes the whole tribe passing days, and even weeks together, in a state of intoxication.

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[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1842, p. 75.

[17] *Ibid.,* Report of Daniel Miller.

[18] *Ibid.,* William Armstrong, p. 439.

[19] *Ibid.,* John B. Luce, Neosho Sub-agency, p. 456.

> Literally, every dollar they could raise went for whiskey. Many of them lived on roots, and they were squalid and poverty stricken, the greater part in rags, the children generally naked.

Records of doctors living and working in the Indian Territory during this particular time are rather rare. Among the missionaries to the Cherokees, one finds a letter written in 1843 by Elizur Butler, M. D., of Fairfield Mission, who closed a report of his activities by stating: ''My own time is most spent in the practice of medicine, for which I receive but little compensation.''[20]

MEDICAL MISSIONARIES AND DOCTORS AMONG THE INDIANS

One of the strongest influences upon the Indians, where health practices and education for the improvement of their status as a people were concerned, came through the missionaries. History shows that there were conscientious, devout missionaries working with various tribes before the Removal who migrated with their people and shared their hardships, even to the extent of imprisonment. Elizur Butler, M. D., who was stationed among the Cherokees in Georgia in 1821, was imprisoned by the State of Georgia for his refusal to leave the Cherokee country when the state passed a law forbidding whites to live on the Indian lands. He later came west with the Cherokees in 1838, and was stationed at Dwight Mission.[21] Another missionary imprisoned because of his devotion to duty was Reverend Samuel A. Worcester who came west in 1835 to assume the superintendency of the Park Hill Mission.[22]

Records of other medical missionaries who served during the early territorial days included Dr. Marcus Palmer, missionary to the Cherokees who came in 1829 to Indian Territory to superintend the mission at Fairfield, fifteen miles north of Dwight in what is now Adair County.[23]

While fiscal affairs varied with the different tribes, the same pattern was observed in regard to the administration of the mission schools. In speaking of the Choctaws a report by Joseph Tracy, states:[24]

> The Treaty of 1830 provides that for twenty years 40 Choctaw youth shall be schooled under the direction of the President of the United States. $2500 is to be applied annually for twenty years, to support three teachers, besides which, an unexpended balance of former annuities, amounting to $25,000.00, is to be furnished with a school-house from this fund.

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[20] *Report* 1843, Elizur Butler to Gov. P. M. Butler, Tahlequah, Indian Affairs, p. 353.

[21] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 194-195.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

[24] Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," in *American Missions to the Heathen*, Spooner & Howland (Worcester, 1840), p. 552.

All missionaries in the Indian Territory were to report to the United States Indian Agent of the agency where they were located, on the work being done, the location of the school, the names of the teachers, etc.[25]

There was so much sickness among the various tribes that missionaries spent more time visiting and treating the sick than they did in carrying on their schools. The Reverend Ebenezer Hotchkins, Clear Creek Mission in present McCurtain county, reported that in his community in the Choctaw Nation of about five hundred souls, every babe under one year of age died during the year 1833.'' Mrs. Alfred Wright wrote that from June to the first of August, her husband, Dr. Wright, had attended 332 cases of illness at Wheelock, and the next year there was an average of one death to a family at the same station.[26]

From a report in a history of American Baptist missions, one finds that in 1832 a Reverend Charles E. Wilson located with the Choctaws in the agency on the Arkansas River and opened a school. This school was abandoned after one year because of sickness among the Choctaws. Reverend Wilson left in 1835 ''after spending his time entirely in visiting the sick and communicating religious instruction.''[27]

Reverend Wilson was followed by Reverend Ever Tucker and Dr. Alanson Allen who both started in teaching. ''They were all under direction of the Board [Baptist] but chiefly sustained by the government appropriations.''[28] Reverend Joseph Smedley and his wife also came as missionaries, but Mrs. Smedley died in July, 1835. ''They [the other missionaries at that post] were afflicted with severe sickness. After their recovery they resumed their schools, and besides the duties of teacher, Dr. Allen discharged those of a physician.''[29]

Other medical missionaries who came to live and work to improve the spiritual and physical health of the Indians included Dr. George S. Weed, who came to Indian Territory in 1832 and who was stationed at the regular mission station seven miles west of Fort Gibson. Failing health forced Dr. Weed's retirement and Dr. Roderick Lathrop Dodge took his place in 1835.[30]

Another important medical missionary of the American Board was the Reverend Alfred Wright who came to work among the Choctaws at the time of the main migration of that nation to the

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[25] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 199.

[26] W. B. Morrison, "The Choctaw Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VI, No. 2 (June, 1926), p. 180.

[27] Solomon Peck, *History of the Missions of the Baptist General Convention,* Spooner & Howland, *op. cit.,* pp. 552-3.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.,* p. 200.

Indian Territory in 1831. Although Reverend Wright was educated for the clergy, he had studied and trained himself in medical science, and became the only physician in his part of the country. At the time he was superintendent of both the Weelock and Norwalk missions, he was carrying on a large medical practice.[31]

Mention is made in the 1837 Annual Report of Indian Affairs of a Dr. John Thornton. In 1840, the Reverend Dr. Edward R. S. Ames made an investigation of conditions in the Indian Territory. He worked with T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to establish two additional academies for boys (there was one previously established, Spencer Academy) among the Choctaw Indians, and five schools for girls. Dr. Ames visited many of the tribes during his tour of investigation,—Choctaws, Cherokees, Senecas, Shawnees and Quapaws,—in order ''to thoroughly inform himself of the conditions and prospects of each tribe in behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church and missions.''[32]

Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock on his journey of investigation in Indian Territory in 1841 told of meeting a Dr. Palmer at Tahlequah on December 8th of that year. In talking with Mr. Joseph Vann, President of the committee of the Cherokees, he was told of the terrific death rate among the Cherokees during the migration. (An estimated four thousand died out of a total of 16,000 removed.) Mr. Vann said that many children died on the removal, but many who lived lost their parents and were dependent upon charity from the other people who could not even take care of themselves. There were very few insane among the Cherokees. Sickness was commonly ''fever and ague.'' He said that many of the people could arrest the ague but could not cure it. The people usually doctored themselves, but occasionally white physicians would come among them, and he mentioned one staying in the village at that time.[33]

A report of the Choctaw population in the territory in 1844 was recorded as 12,410. Agent William Armstrong wrote that ''During the immigration, and for two or three years subsequent, the mortality among them was very great. Of late years they have increased in numbers, though very slowly.[34]

Most of the improvements in living conditions and habits of the Chickasaws, the agent attributed to inter-marriages with the whites. They benefitted also from the establishment of Fort Washita which protected the people from wandering bands of Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, and other northern tribes. ''Some of the mixed bloods are intelligent, well-educated men. Many of them are wealthy.

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[31] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 710.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

[33] Ethan Allen Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, edited by Grant Foreman, (Cedar Rapids, 1930), p. 54.

[34] *Report* 1844, Indian Affairs, p. 451.

They raise large crops of cotton, and generally do all in their power to improve the country.''[35]

The Cherokee agent, in his report upon conditions among that tribe during 1844, stated that the health of the nation, during the past year had been:[36]

> . . . . . as good as that enjoyed by any population of the same amount west of the Mississippi river. Their climate is changable—cold and damp. This is the period most fatal to the inhabitants. Congestive fevers and rheumatism are very prevalent. The principal diseases of the country are chills and fever; occasionally bilious fever, not of a dangerous character, and easily controlled by medicine.

The whiskey problem among the Quapaws that same year inspired B. B. R. Barker, the U. S. Indian Agent, to write:[37]

> They (the Indians) would seldom go in pursuit of whiskey, did not this description of white people, (most depraved whites with the most diabolical designs) who settle themselves as near the frontier as possible, produce the article, and hold out inducements to the red man to come and drink; well knowing that, when once where it is, he will not be satisfied until he obtains a sufficiency to make him drunk, even at the sacrifice of his most valuable property.

Loss of lodgings and food from floods brought great suffering among the Seminoles who lived around the Arkansas and Little rivers. ''They have been driven from their homes, with the loss of all they had—not only destroying the crop in the ground, but sweeping off the old corn in the cribs.'' The two hundred and thirty-five who appealed to the agent of the Seminoles for help told him they had been living on berries and what they could obtain by begging. Temporary relief in the form of half rations was given. The agent requested that the tribe be transferred to the south side of the Arkansas, in the Creek country, so they would not suffer such hardships again.[38]

The Creeks suffered also from the floods during the June rise and the Verdigris river was particularly destructive. Besides the loss of food and homes the people also suffered from ''a noxious effluvia from the deposits left by the waters.''[39] There were the usual complaints of bilious and intermittent fevers which were more fatal during that season. ''Much sickness still exists in every part of the nation, although the season has arrived when it generally subsides and many deaths are still occurring.''[40]

A census report for 1844 showed the population of the various tribes in what is now Oklahoma to be: Cherokees: 25,911; Chickasaws: 4,111; Choctaws: 12,410; Creeks: 24,594; Quapaws: 411; Seminoles: 3,136; Senecas: 125; Seneca-Shawnee band: 211.[41]

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. 457.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 460.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 458.
[38] *Ibid.*, 1845, p. 471.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 514.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 514.

Discontent was voiced by one agent in 1845 in regard to the control of the tribe by the arbitrary methods employed in their rule by the chieftains. ''Generally speaking, they are extremely ignorant, are noted for their superstitious bigotry, for their old customs and ceremonies, and most bitter prejudices against all measures calculated to reform the condition or enlighten the minds of their people.'' Opposed to religion and to education because it tended to diminish their influence, the chiefs would extract a fine upon all non-attendants at their ''busks'' (green corn dance) and other ceremonials, or on any ''who would not drink the physic, a most nauseous compound of poisonous weeds.''[42]

The year 1846 was one of suffering for the border tribes of Indians among whom the usual autumnal fevers were prevailing to an unusual degree. ''These fevers, in the hands of the physicians, readily yield to medical treatment; and, indeed, with the grand specific quinine, at command, persons of ordinary intelligence, in the absence of medical treatment and with the poor and imprudent diet and irregular habits of the Indians, the fever often proves distressingly fatal.''[43] Thomas H. Harvey requested an annual sum of six hundred dollars to be invested in medicines and distributed to the Indians to prevent so much sickness and death.[44]

The year 1847 was outstanding because of an effort on the part of the government to control effectively, the sale of liquor to the Indians. An Act was passed making the sale of liquor or wine to the Indians a penitentiary offense (for two years) with a maximum fine of five hundred dollars.[45]

The *Journal* of Dr. R. Glisan, who served for nine years with the Military, depicts conditions in the Indian Territory at the middle of the 19th century.[46] One of his first assignments in July, 1850, was to a new post to be established in the Indian Territory. Asiatic cholera broke out after his company had embarked on the Mississippi river. The men—some two hundred of them—who were under his care, became panic-striken. They wanted to get off the boat and march overland but the doctor realized such a procedure would be a catastrophe. He requested the captain to "push on to Fort Leavenworth as fast as steam could carry him; and to stop for wood as seldom as possible." In writing of cholera Dr. Glisan stated:[47]

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[41] *Ibid.*, 1844, p. 315.

[42] *Ibid.*, 1845, p. 515, the Creek Agent Logan to William Armstrong. (This has reference to the "black drink," made by boiling the leaves of the *Ilex Cassine*—holly—in water, forming a tea having the effects of a diruetic and containing caffeine with stimulating effects of coffee or tea. This drink was used in the purification ceremony of the annual "Busk," or "Green Corn Dance," among the Creeks and Seminoles. The use of a plant called "red root" has been substituted sometimes in place of the *Ilex Cassine*, for making the "black drink" by these Indian groups in Oklahoma.—Ed.)

[43] *Ibid.*, 1846, Indian Affairs, p. 282.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[45] *Report*, 1847, Indian Affairs, p. 765, Regulation from War Dept. Nov. 17-18, 1847, by W. L. Massey.

[46] R. Glisan, *Journal of Army Life* (San Francisco, 1874), p. 23.

> Its native home is India, where it prevails both sporadically and epidemically. Commencing its devastating march from Bengal in 1817, it gradually spread, with numerous halts, until it invaded almost the entire world. It did not reach the American continent until 1832. It appeared first at Quebec on the 8th of June, and at Montreal on the 10th; thence moved rapidly along the St. Lawrence river, and the great chain of lakes, to the Mississippi valley, extending southerly so far as New Orleans, attacking on its way the United States troops who were being concentrated near the lake for a campaign against the hostile Indians under Black Hawk, living in the present state of Wisconsin, who commenced warfare upon the frontier settlers of Illinois.
>
> This fearful disease . . . . . before the end of 1832 it had spread to Charleston, S. C.; Havana, and Mexico. In the United States there were partial returns of the complaint in 1833 and 1834 . . . . .
>
> The rising generations of physicians in this country had never had an opportunity to see the disease until its second great visitation in 1849 and 1850. They will now be able to behold and investigate it for themselves; and after trying such remedies as their forefathers have sometimes found beneficial, yet others powerless, can seek for the as yet undiscovered specific in epidemic cholera.

Dr. Elisha J. Bailey was stationed at Fort Washita at this time (1850). Enroute Dr. Glisan stayed with him and his "estimable wife" at Fort Washita, and then proceeded west to his assignment, Camp Arbuckle, where he arrived in September, 1850.[48]

Malaria was widely prevalent Dr. Glisan recorded:

> . . . . . Every officer, private soldier, and other employee of the government, with the exception of myself, at this camp, have had a spell of some form of malarious fever, during our short sojourn at this place . . . . . at one period last autunm there were hardly enough well ones to carry on the regular routine of garrison duties . . . . . A fort established by the Dragoons several years ago, on the Canadian river, between here and Fort Gibson, had soon to be abandoned on account of the extreme prevalence of malarial fevers.[49] How we fare in this respect at our new camp remains to be seen.

Of the living quarters at Fort Arbuckle in 1851, Dr. Glisan wrote:[50]

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[47] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[48] The new post was Camp Arbuckle recently established (1850) by Captain R. B. Marcy on the Canadian River, located near the present Byars, in McClain County. The post was moved southwest to Wild Horse Creek in the spring of 1851, and was named Fort Arbuckle, the location of which was about seven miles west of Davis and near present Hoover in Garvin County. Dr. Glisan remained at Fort Arbuckle until November, 1854, the first physician stationed in Southwestern Oklahoma.—Ed.

[49] This was Fort Holmes established in 1834, by Lieut. T. H. Holmes, site near the present location of Bilby, in Hughes County.—Ed.

[50] Glisan, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-2.

> We are living, and are expecting to live for some months, in tents. The carpenters and extra duty men are engaged in erecting the men's barracks; which will be built of hewn logs, with the chinks stopped with small pieces of wood and clay loam. The floors will be of puncheons, and the room of clapboards. The chimneys will be constructed of stone and clay. The buildings will be arranged into an oblong rectangular parrallelogram, with a line of barracks on each side for the men—the commisary and quartermaster buildings at one end, and the officer's quarters at the other. The hospital, which will be erected so soon as the private soldiers are under cover, will be a long one-story log building, divided into four compartments—one of which will be used as a dispensary, with the steward's room adjoining—the next two wards for the sick—and the fourth as a kitchen. The building will be erected a short distance out side of the garrison.

Further mention of medical men with the army comes in a note included in Dr. Glisan's *Journal* about a Dr. Taylor who accompanied a party of dragoons who were sent in search of Captain Marcy's party. Marcy's detachment was reported massacred by the Comanches (an erroneous report) while exploring the Red River. His command consisted of 120 men and that party also included a physician, Dr. Shumard of Fort Smith.[51]

In October of 1854, Dr. Glisan exchanged posts with Dr. Lyman H. Stone of Fort Washita, and in November was relieved from duty to go to Baltimore. The physician who was transferred to Dr. Glisan's post was Dr. Thomas H. Williams.[52]

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[51] *Ibid.*, p. 97. (Dr. Thomas J. Bond, a practicing physician at Old Boggy Depot in 1859, was the first Choctaw physician and surgeon, having completed his medical studies in Kentucky. His wife was a daughter of the Reverend Israel Folsom, noted Choctaw leader. Dr. Bond served as a surgeon in the First Chickasaw and Choctaw Mounted Rifle Regiment in the Confederate Army, in the Indian Territory.—Ed.)

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE INDEX FOR *The Chronicles*, 1956

The Index for Volume XXXIV of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the quarterly magazine. Orders for this Index should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

NEW ILLUSTRATED BOOKLET ON THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND ITS COLLECTIONS

A new booklet has just been published by the Historical Society, illustrated by handsome photographs, some of them in colors, of many of the priceless relics and objects on display in the galleries of the Museum, in the Memorial rooms and the Archives of the Society. The descriptions and history notes in the text accompanying these beautiful illustrations form a brief review of Oklahoma's wonderful story. All those interested in Oklahoma history will be delighted to have this new booklet. It will be sent, together with two color post cards of painting in the Historical Building, postpaid for $1.00 forwarded with the order addressed to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building 5, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

SETTLEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE PANHANDLE

The southern boundary line of the Panhandle—old No Man's Land —,or that part of Oklahoma's boundary west of the 100th Meridian was in dispute between Oklahoma and Texas for many years, and was only settled by an Act of Congress in 1946. The bill (H. R. 3593) had been introduced in Congress by Hon. Ross Rizley, Representative of the Northwestern Congressional District in Oklahoma. Judge Rizley now serving as Judge of the United States District Court, Western District of Oklahoma, has kindly supplied the following notes on the history of this boundary dispute and its settlement, in a letter to the Editor, written on April 15, 1957:

''The dispute came about in this manner. The southern boundary of the Oklahoma Panhandle was fxed by what we call the ''Old Clark Survey'' and was fixed at 36 degrees 30 minutes, being the division line between free and slave territory. This line was established by the planting of zinc pots at certain distances, some of which became obliterated either by storm or otherwise.

"Subsequently, in attempting to again mark the boundary line, a surveyor (Chaney and Smith survey, 1881) started at the Hundredth Meridian on the east and at 36 degrees and 30 minutes surveyed westward to what would now be the New Mexican boundary line. After proceeding westward for some distance, the surveyor apparently veered to the north for a short distance and as a result left a no-man's-land strip running for a width of zero on the east to as high as 200 feet in some places. My recollection is that he got back to the line before reaching the western boundary.

"As a result of this no-man's-land strip, Texas treated the northern boundary for tax purposes as the northern extremity of the new survey. However, in disposing of its land, it was careful not to go north of the true line at 36 degrees 30 minutes, but buildings were erected in Texhoma, Oklahoma, and at some other points and were claimed to be in Texas. Local assessors were assessing them in Texas and finally in Oklahoma which brought such a disturbance that it was necessary to settle the matter once and for all.

"Of course, there never was any doubt as to the true boundary line, but in order to get the matter finally straightened out and settled, it seemed necessary to pass a bill especially since gas in large quanities and some oil were discovered all along the Panhandle boundaries of the two states.

NEWS ITEM ON B. F. COLBERT IN THE *Denison Daily News*, 1875

The following notes on B. F. Colbert of the Chickasaw Nation and his new bridge across Red River at the site of old Colbert's Ferry were reprinted October 29, 1955, by his grandson, Cecil C. Colbert, founder-owner of the *Northwest Oklahoman* at Shattuck, Oklahoma, taken from the *Denison Daily News* for August 29, 1875:

Frontier Denison Diary

Denison Plans a Grand Ball for the City's Third Birthday

Friday morning the writer accepted a kind invitation from C. Washington to get into his buggy and take a drive in the Nation. This furnished an excellent opportunity to examine the new wagon bridge just completed across Red River, by B. F. Colbert. And as we had the pleasure of dining with Mr. Colbert, we learned from him many particulars regarding the cost of construction, etc., which may be of interest. The work was commenced July 1, 1874, and was completed and the bridge thrown open to business on July 1, 1875. It was erected by C. Baker & Co., of St. Joseph Mo., under the immediate supervision of Mr. Baker himself, and C. Washington. It is 577 feet long, and 16 feet wide, with a "turn-off" in the center for passing teams 24 feet wide. It cost Mr. Colbert $40,000. This is a large sum of money for one man to put into such a work, but the value of the bridge to the public can hardly be over-estimated. Those who are not disposed to give the Indian credit for being progressive must confess that in Mr. Colbert they have a remarkable exception. Mr. Colbert is a Chickasaw, a cousin of Gov. Overton. He was born in Mississippi and removed to the Indian Territory in 1846. He established a ferry on Red River, just below the new bridge, 22 years ago, which was continued up to the first of the present month. Mr. Colbert owns a very fine plantation on the river where he has resided for over 20 years. He has 350 acres in cultivation and will break up 150 acres more next spring. Altogether he has about 800 acres under fence, in this tract. He also owns a farm on the Washita of very rich bottom land. Then he owns other tracts of several hundred acres each. At Colbert's Station he has erected a steam saw mill, grist mill and cotton gin—another illustration of the enterprise and public spirit of the man. Mr. Colbert is one of the few leading Indians in the Nation who are earnest advocates of throwing open the Indian Territory to settlement.

SOME HISTORIC AMERICAN FLAGS IN OKLAHOMA 1889 TO 1908

Many old drawings, lithographs and photographs show the United States flag floating over early military posts and other settlements in Oklahoma. Stories of flag hoistings are found in historical records. The governments of each of the Five Civilized Tribes held the Stars and Stripes as their national emblem. Old photographs show the American flag carried in the van of David L. Payne's "boomer" expeditions on their way to the Oklahoma Country. The story of the raising of a huge United States flag at Stillwater in August, 1889, reported in the *Oklahoma Standard* for August 31, 1889, is given in Dr. Berlin B. Chapman's book, *The Founding of Stillwater* (p. 102):

> Several days ago Fred Kropp suggested that a subscription be raised for the purpose of erecting a large pole and flag in the center of the town. The boys thought it a good idea and went to work immediately, under Fred's directions; 75 yards of bunting was purchased, and four great poles cut down, trimmed and spliced together, and bound with heavy iron bands. The ladies of Stillwater made the flag, and they deserve credit for their work.
>
> Wednesday afternoon the monster pole was raised, in the center of Ninth and Main streets, with the aid of a derrick and guy ropes. It is of cedar, and the total length is eighty-two feet, six feet under the ground and seventy-six above. After supper the flag, which is 28 x 18 feet, was sent up, and cheers arose from our citizens that could be heard a mile. Sam Gardner, the blacksmith, fired anvils thirteen times. The flag is a beauty and can be seen for miles in every direction. At dark a large red lantern was run up, and it will be kept there every night, to serve as a guide to belated freighters.
>
> Our patriotic citizens may well feel proud of their efforts. Stillwater is the first town in Oklahoma to unfurl such a flag—28 x 18 feet. Herald the news to Washington.

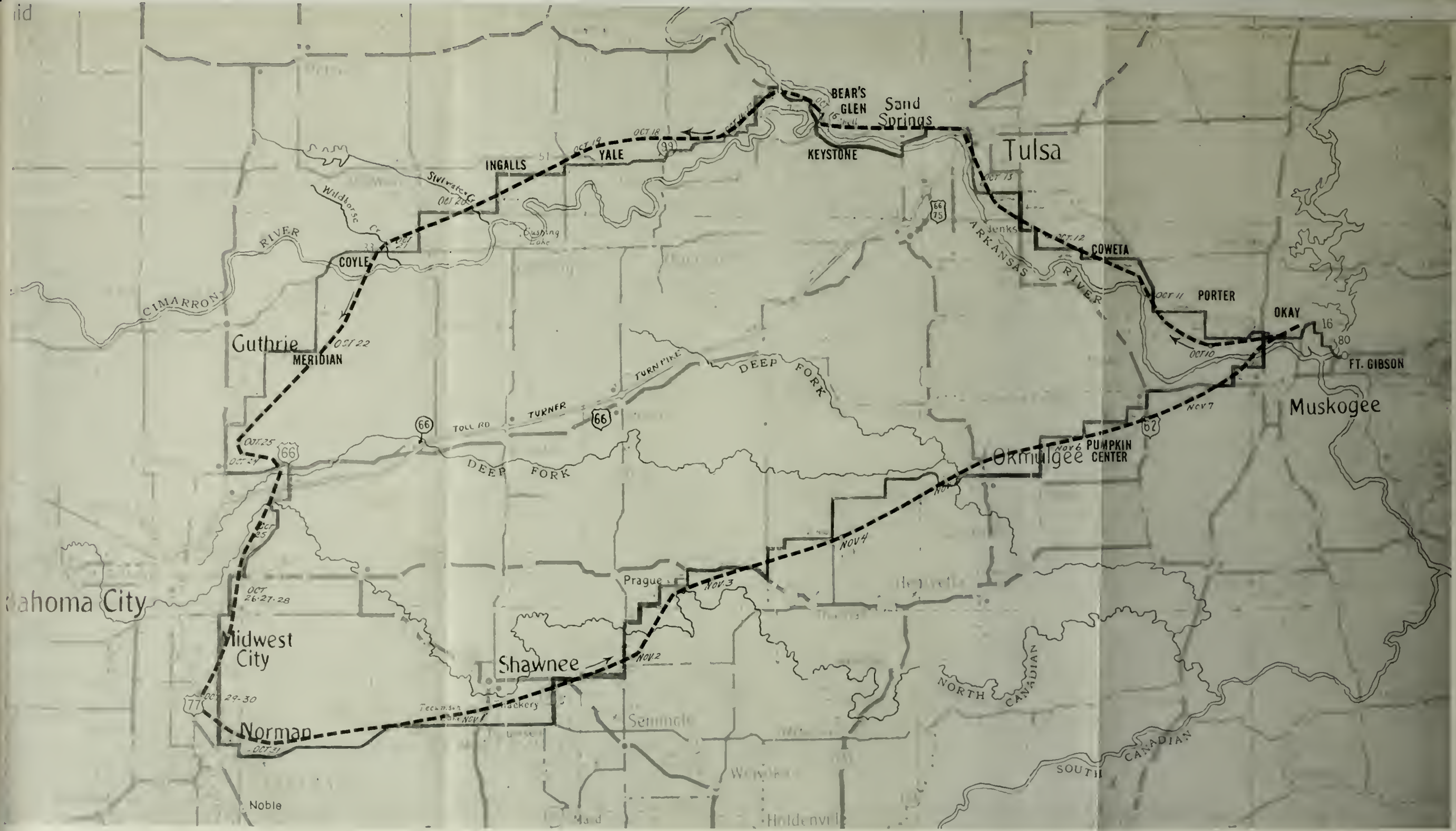
Though the Federal law on the National flag provides that the additional star for a new state is not included officially until the July 4th following a state's admission, a 46-star flag was quickly made by Oklahomans serving in Washington, and was flown atop the National Capitol immediately after President Theodore Roosevelt signed the Oklahoma statehood bill, on November 16, 1907. Congressman Bird S. McGuire brought the flag back to Oklahoma and gave it over to the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic who treasured it for many years.

Another most interesting story is that of Oklahoma's home-made official flag, the handiwork of ninety-two women at Guthrie, which was made at the request of the Philadelphia Betsy Ross Association. It was on this flag that Oklahoma's star appeared officially for the first time when the flag was flown from the flag-staff of Independence Hall in Philadelphia on July 4th, 1908. Today, Mrs. Ruth Eierman whose home is in Guthrie is the only one of Oklahoma's ninety-two "Betsy Rosses" living, and she loves to tell the story of this unusual incident in State history. She was the youngest of the ninety-two Oklahoma women, representing twenty towns in the new state, chosen by Governor Charles N. Haskell to carry out the suggestion and request of the Betsy Ross Association sent him by Mayor Reyburn of Philadelphia.

Governor Haskell received the request from Philadelphia on May 10, 1908, at the very time that the old territorial organizations of the Grand Army of the Republic were meeting at Guthrie to consider the merger of the Oklahoma GAR and the Indian Territory GAR as one statewide association, with William H. Hornaday of Lawton, a veteran newspaper man, and A. G. Centhorner, of Ardmore serving respectively, as the commanders of the two groups Governor Haskell called the two men into his office in the Logan County Courthouse, used as the state capitol, and asked them to arrange for the making of the new flag. A few hours later, he named the following GAR members to take the flag to Philadelphia: Colonel Tom Soward, Guthrie; William Query, Tulsa; R. F. Gunder, Bristow; Hosea Townsend, Ardmore; and Mr. Hornaday of Lawton.

At the suggestion of the GAR, Governor Haskell appointed the group of nintey-two patriotic women to make the flag and to report at Guthrie on June 16. They met on that day at 9:00 a. m. in the Guthrie Carnegie Library, and proceeded to make the first offical flag for Oklahoma, two women for each of the forty-six stars to be placed on the flag, all completing their work that day. The flag was kept in the courthouse vault for safekeepng until Colonel Soward and his committee took it to Philadelphia in time to be unfurled on July 4. In the big celebration with its enthusiastic throng of people in the Quaker City, presentation of the flag was made by Colonel Soward and the response was given by Mayor Reyburn, the red, white and blue with the forty-six stars floating over Independenct Hall all afternoon. The Oklahoma-made flag was brought back to the state by the GAR: It was later given to the *U. S. S. Oklahoma,* and is reported to have gone to a watery grave when that great warship was sunk in the attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941.

(M. H. W.)



MAP SHOWING IRVING'S TOUR OF 1832 (broken line) AND THE NEAR TRAIL (heavy solid line) TO BE FOLLOWED ON THE TOUR TODAY, 1957. DATES GIVE LOCATIONS OF CAMPS AND PROGRESS OF IRVING'S PARTY, IN 1832.

ALONG THE WASHINGTON IRVING TRAIL IN OKLAHOMA*

In today's Soonerland, the open road and a drive across Oklahoma's hills and prairies offer many thrills. A special kind of tour is one combining all of the pleasure of modern driving with the following of a trail blazed more than a century ago by one of the most famous American men of letters, Washington Irving. No safari to today's farthest frontier wilderness could provide the excitement as well as personal hardship experienced by Irving and his companions, while on the world-famous *Tour on the Prairies.* Intended by them as a happy-go-lucky trek beyond civilization's borders, their month during the Fall of 1832 on Oklahoma's then uncharted and little known plains was almost more than bargained for by the travelers.

What took them a month to encompass may now be traveled in a day, with plenty of time for pictures and sight-seeing. It is fun to travel the exact route of Irving and his comrades, to see the same spots and landmarks that engaged their attention, and to trace from the comfort of the automobile the path they made on horseback, and sometimes on foot.

Washington Irving had spent a number of years in Europe, and had earned his spurs as the foremost American literary figure of his time. On the return voyage from Europe, he made the acquaintance of two fellow travelers, Charles J. Latrobe, and his young protege, Count Albert de Pourtales from Switzerland. Rumor had it that Albert had just been disengaged from a bad love affair, and that his parents had arranged for Latrobe, a brilliant and popular Englishman, to accompany the young Count on a trip to America to forget it all. The three men became warm friends, and they agreed to stay together for further travels.

During the late summer of 1832, they were on a Great Lakes' steamer out of Buffalo, New York, when they made the chance acquaintance of Henry L. Ellsworth, just appointed by President Andrew Jackson as a special emissary to the Indians west of Arkansas, and charged with the task of helping certain of the tribes to determine the extent and areas of their newly designated lands. Ellsworth, a Yale graduate, and a lawyer from Connecticut, was the son of Oliver Ellsworth, former Chief Justice of the United States. The new task weighed heavily on his mind, and he was anxious to have companions on his distant and uncertain trip to the Far West. An invitation from him for the three travellers to go along and see the sights seemed to fit right into the plans of all, and before the steamer had docked, arrangements were made. Soon the four were off together for Fort Gibson, then a remote army post in the region of the Three Forks, beyond Fort Smith. Three Forks was named from the fact this place is where the Verdigris and the Grand Rivers join the Arkansas. The region had long been known to traders and early settlers. In fact, Sam Houston, who later won everlasting fame in Texas, operated a trading post which he called "Wigwam Neosho" near the Three Forks, and the Government had located there the Agency for the western group of the Creek Indians.

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* Reprints of "Along the Washington Irving Trail in Oklahoma," by George H. Shirk, published here are available for thirty-five cents per copy. Order from Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.—Ed.

The four men arrived at the Three Forks on October 8, 1832, in high spirits and anxious to be off for the wild and unknown West. They found that a detachment of Rangers, Uncle Sam's mounted infantry, had left a few days earlier for a scouting trip as far west as present Oklahoma City; and losing no time, word was sent ahead for the soldiers, under Captain Jesse Bean, to halt and await the newcomers. Since he was on official business, Ellsworth assumed command of the expedition. As the other officials had not yet arrived at Ft. Gibson, Irving acted as temporary secretary of the government commission, and in that manner he, too, served in an official capacity. Latrobe and Pourtales were welcomed along for the trip, and on the morning of October 10th, the four together with a small detachment of soldiers departed to overtake the Rangers for their memorable journey.

Irving's little volume, *A Tour on the Prairies,* became a best seller of its day, and is yet fine reading. Latrobe, too, left a journal of the trip in his *A Rambler in North America.* Both have been reprinted and are easily available.[1] Today's tourist would do well to review one or both of these accounts before starting out along the Irving Trail, and by all means, he should keep them in the car's glove compartment for ready reference. The entire circuit can be completed in one day, but actually it is more fun, with longer time for the sights, if two days are allotted.

The trip should start from Muskogee, for it was from nearby Fort Gibson that Irving departed. A stop in Muskogee the night before would insure plenty of time for an early start the next morning. With a few hours extra there are sights to see in Muskogee, such as Bacone College and the old Union Indian Agency. Then, too, on the way to Fort Gibson, a mile north of U. S. 62, just east of Bacone, is the site of old Fort Davis, with an ancient Indian mound at the center. This post was named for Jefferson Davis, and was one of the strongholds of the Confederate Army early in the War Between the States.

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[1] Two complementary reprints with illustrations and maps showing the day by day camp sites of the 1832 *Tour* in the Indian Territory are: (1) Washington Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies,* annotated by Joseph B. Thoburn and George C. Wells (Harlow Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, 1955); and (2) Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in Oklahoma,* annotated by Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk (Harlow Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, 1955). A 1956 reprint of Irving's *Tour on the Prairies* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman) evaluates this classic in Oklahoma history as a literary production with an introduction and annotations by John McDermott, the well-known Missouri author.—Ed.

Here follows in these pages, a detailed route of the tour, giving each stop made by the Irving party as accurately as is known today, all planned for your comfort, with a minimum of unpaved roads, and with all necessary instructions for staying close to the path of Irving's famous loop through the western wilderness. Some nice day should be selected when it is certain that the roads would be dry and at their best.

—George H. Shirk

On Irving's Tour Today

Go east from Muskogee on U. S. 62 to Fort Gibson, staying on the highway through the main part of Fort Gibson until the highschool is reached on the left. There, the Oklahoma Historical Society marker tells of the Fort and its past; turn left at the marker, and follow the black-top up the hill to the site of the army post. Almost at the foot of the water tower, and due east of the old barracks building, is a stone marker telling that it marks the site of Irving's tent. Legend records that while waiting to start his tour, Irving pitched his tent encampment at this spot. At this stone marker our tour will start. It took Irving 28 days to make the circuit, and today it may be accomplished in less than the same number of hours.

After a look at the army post, go down the hill to the old stockade. A stop here is important. It is a faithful reproduction of how this early military post looked during the days of Irving, Sam Houston, and other notable Americans. A marker at the front entrance gives more of the details on Irving and his three friends. By all means, you should have a camera for a shot or two of each of the Irving markers that are now to be encountered along the route of *A Tour on the Prairies*.

After a visit to the stockade, cross the Missouri-Pacific Railroad tracks, turn right, go down the gravel road to the river bridge and across. This is almost the identical spot where the old government ferry was located, and it is where Irving and Ellsworth crossed Grand River. After crossing the bridge, follow the gravel road to the town of Okay. The route is easy to follow. Just keep the same road for a short distance along the tracks; then one and one-half miles west, one mile north, a half mile west, and again one and one-half miles north to Okay. At the town, two left turns bring you to the Verdigris River bridge and the Three Forks marker. The historic details of this site are on the stone, placed there by the D. A. R. It was here that Latrobe and Pourtales joined the travelers from Fort Gibson. On the east side of the river was the Western Creek Agency, while just across the stream on the west bank was the Osage Sub-agency. From this spot after lunch on October 10th, they started west to overtake the Rangers.

Be sure the mileage part of the speedometer is in good working condition, as it will be a vital necessity in following the turns and the road here laid out for your trip: Do not plan to rely solely on the modern highway map, for Irving did not have one either. A careful eye on the speedometer mileage is all that is needed.

Cross the Verdigris River bridge near the D. A. R. marker, and follow the black-top on its curve to the left for 1.4 miles. Then, make a turn to the right and go due west across two railroad tracks. The turn is a little hard to see, so don't hurry past it. Follow the good graveled road west for four miles, with the Katy Railroad tracks to the left, coming upon U.S. Highway 69. Continue across Highway 69, and there State Highway 51B takes off to the west. A sign on the railroad tracks reads Anchor, Oklahoma. This is Irving's exact route to the west, so for sure you are on his trail. An even mile west of Anchor, in a grove of trees on the right is the site of Tullahassee Mission, founded by Alice Robertson's father, and the place where Oklahoma's first Congresswoman spent many of her childhood years.

Highway 51B turns right 1.5 miles west of Anchor, and at this point the Irving pilgrimage turns left, or south. Go one-half mile south, and turn right at the section line road. A nice farm home is at the corner just beyond the turn. On their first day Irving's group traveled almost due west, so you must leave 51B for it would take you too far north for the trail. Now, go west on the farm road for exactly five miles. There is one slight jog to the right and then back, but this will cause no trouble.

At the end of the fifth mile is the town of Clarksville. It was in this vicinity, perhaps a little farther west, that Irving spent his first night. Here his party came upon a frontier farmhouse, owned by a settler named Berryhill, in whose farm yard the travelers pitched their tents and settled down for a night's rest.

With an eye on the speedometer, at the end of the fifth mile turn right to the north, and proceed 2.5 miles north and rejoin Highway 51B at Porter. There, turn left, then through town on the main street, following 51B, as it turns west. Go almost seven miles, until the road reaches the Arkansas River. From there, follow the gravel road as it turns to the north. At the turn, the town seen to the right on the heights is Redbird; it was along this same route that the travelers journeyed during the afternoon of October 11th, 1832. Across the river to the west may be seen the "beautiful champaign country, of flowery plains and sloping uplands, diversified by groves and clumps of trees," admired and described by Irving. About two miles beyond the right turn at the river's bank is the Irving camp site for the night of October 11th. The explorers camped on "a fine stream of water close by," and several likely creeks are near, any one of which could be the one mentioned.

Four miles after the turn north on State 51B, the tracks of the Katy Railroad are encountered on the right. Stay on the gravel road as it leads into Coweta from the south. Without doubt the travelers passed very near to the site of Coweta, and in this neighborhood they turned more to the west. The town was named for the old Creek Indian town of Coweta in Alabama. The site of the old Koweta Mission, established in 1843 by the Presbyterians, is just east of the town on State Highway 51, and is worth a stop for a visit.

Highway 51B comes into Coweta from the south. Halfway along Main Street, at the two water towers by Voss Service Station, leave the highway and turn left to the west, on the black-top. Go three blocks west, then turn right, and go north a half mile. Then, following the gravel road, turn with it as it swings to the left. Here again the modern road will follow very closely to the Irving route. Except for a jog to the right around a hill, the road is due west for six miles, and by using Shahan Baptist Church and Wilson Chapel as guide markers, you are sure that you are on the right path. The view south across the Arkansas River is a fine one, greatly admired by the travelers. Without doubt your road is within short distance of the path made by Irving's party.

At the end of the sixth mile, a black-top road mark the county line of Tulsa County is encountered. Here turn right and go north one mile, and then turn left to the west at Seller's Grocery onto an asphalt road. Approximately two miles west on this road, you will pass very near the Arkansas River. It was at this location that the travelers stopped on the river bank to water their horses. The county road now followed is at places certainly within yards of the Irving trail. This route passes along some of the state's finest fruit orchards. How such a sight would have amazed Irving and his friends!

After exactly six miles driving to the west, a paved county road runs to the north. There turn right. This places you on old U. S. Highway 64, its location before the new bridge was built north of Bixby. Somewhere near your turn, is the site of Irving's camp for the night of October 12th. His party had travelled farther than planned that day, in their unsuccessful effort to overtake the Rangers. The order to make camp was welcome. All were so tired that the rain during the night did not disturb them.

Go two miles north on old U. S. 64, now bearing the name of "Mingo Road," then jog one mile west to present U. S. 64, turning north onto it. This route takes one as close as possible to the camp-site and to the route followed by Irving the next morning.

After reaching U. S. Highway 64, Memorial Road, go north four miles to the junction with State Highway 51, and there turn left to the west. In this mileage, Irving's path on his way to reach the Rangers has been crossed again.

Upon turning left at the State Highway 51 junction, go west five miles to where the pavement ends at the river's edge. Just after the fourth mile and immediately before the Riverside Drive-in Theater, Jill Creek is crossed, It was on this creek, probably within a mile of your car, that Irving overtook the Ranger detachment under the command of Captain Bean. There the united expedition made camp for the night of October 13th. Here they found a large tree with a cache of wild honey in its hollow trunk. The small ridge mentioned by Irving could be any of those seen north and east of the drive-in theater.

Back again to the trail: West of the drive-in, turn north to the right, and proceed north for two miles on Peoria Street. At the intersection of 51st Street, travel a few blocks to the west, and then take Riverside Drive north into Tulsa. All of this is very close to the Irving trail for the 14th, which was the day the party passed over the site of the future "Oil Capital of the World," Tulsa. Keep on Riverside Drive to the north and pass under the second bridge, and then make a slight curve to the right, only a few degrees, up the hill and onto Denver Street. With this direct route through Tulsa, proceed north through the business district, using the railroad underpass, and go north to Edison Street. There, turn left, and drive due west. A few blocks after the turn, a pause must be made to see a unique marker in the center of the pavement, showing the corner of three Indian Nations—the Osage, the Creek and the Cherokee. The street is wide at this point, and there is no trouble in securing a good look at this remarkable memento of Oklahoma's past.

From the Three Nations marker, proceed west for several blocks to Quanah Street, turning left at Quanah for a short detour to see Tulsa's fine Washington Irving monument. After driving south on Quanah for several blocks, turn right at Easton Street. To the west at the top of the hill in the center of the parkway will be seen the state's most imposing memorial to Irving and his friends. Use any of the cross streets to jog back north to Edison Street. Upon again reaching Edison, turn left to the west, and you are again on the trail.

After a mile or so west on Edison Street by keeping eyes sharp to the right, there are several glimpses of Bald Hill, lifting its bare knob up through the trees and other obstructions. This was a famous early day landmark and was well known to all. Its mention by one of the travelers establishes that Irving passed nearby. Follow Edison Street about three miles and follow its turn south through a portion of Sand Springs. After about a mile to the south, cross the rails and turn right onto U. S. Highway 64. At this time and for the next several miles, you are again very near the Irving Trail. Follow U. S. 64 all the way to Keystone.

There is no bridge across the Arkansas River near Keystone, which fact require today's only major digression from the trail, but not having a boat, nothing can be done about it. West of Sand Springs, the Arkansas makes a bend to the north, and it was doubtless at this point that the Irving party again reached the river. They had determined to cross the stream above its confluence with the Cimarron, which in Irving's day was called the Red Fork. The party had been unable to reach the Arkansas before dark on the 14th, so their camp for that night was probably a mile or so west of Sand Springs.

The Arkansas River was crossed on the 15th of October amid much excitement, and for a while they were not certain that all would be succesful in the crossing. As one drives west between Sand Springs and Keystone along U. S. 64 south of the river, the heights across on the north bank are easily seen, and it is fun to speculate how the flats our route traverses must have appeared to the travelers from their vantage point across the river.

Proceed through Keystone on U. S. Highway 64 crossing the Red Fork on this highway. Just north of the bridge the paved road swings sharply to the left. Here one must leave the pavement in order to pick up the trail once more. To make certain of everything, check the speedometer carefully just as you leave the pavement and follow the country road to the north and east. After exactly 1.2 miles, a shallow scooped-out cut will be found on the ground, running at right angles from the road and east to the Arkansas River. This is the site of U. S. Crossing, an important and well known ford where many years later a ferry was operated across the river. This crossing was used by part of the Irving expedition. Now, again following the same country road north for a distance of exactly two miles from where you left the pavement, and at a small bridge, a deep ravine will be seen extending into the woods on the left toward the west. This is Bear's Glen, the site for the camp of October 15, 1832, and is the "wild, rocky dell" described in great detail by Irving and his friends. The large rock at the head of the Glen may be the one mentioned by Irving as that which overhang the spring and where he amused himself "by watching the changing scene" in the canyon. Again, cameras should not be overlooked.

From the Glen you must retrace the road to U. S. Highway 64; and at the pavement turn right and follow the highway as it leads away north from Keystone. After the Rangers left the Glen on the morning of the 16th, they followed a "too northerly course." Today's traveler must follow the trail north along the paved highway to keep in the exact path of the Irving expedition. Watching the speedometer from the point where you came back upon the pavement, follow U. S. 64 for 7.7 miles. Then, just before reaching the bridge over Bear Creek, and at the Findley farm place, turn left to the south, upon a section line road. It was about at this point that the members of the expedition realized they were pointed too far north, and decided to alter their course more to the south. From the turn off U. S. 64, proceed one mile south, turn right (the wires along the road turn left) and travel one mile west.

Here the road turns to the left and comes out upon a better quality gravel county road. At the junction, turn left to the south, and follow this country road running between Mannford and Cleveland. Go 3.4 miles, following in places close along the west bank of the Cimarron. The Irving Trail is probably a mile or so to the right, but your car is as close as possible. Then turn right due west, and proceed an even mile; then turning again south to the left, drive in that direction for a little over a half mile; then turn sharp right to the west, and cross the Frisco Railroad tracks. Driving west on this road, you are on the line between old Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory. Now, Pawnee County is on the right, and Creek County on the left.

Less than a mile after crossing the railroad, you will come to a large bridge with a sharp turn to the left just beyond. This bridge is over House

Creek, and somewhere near this place, in the fine flat on either side of the road, the explorers made their camp for the night of October 16th. Irving describes the spot as "a beautiful peninsula, made by the windings and doublings of a deep, clear and almost motionless brook, and covered by an open grove of lofty magnificant trees." After camp was made a day of rest was decided upon. All next day was devoted to hunting, and the preparation of a bivouac for those believed in too poor health to travel farther. Captain Bean issued an order permitting the soldiers to hunt any game up the creek, but not down the river, and designated twenty of his men, the best marksmen, to replenish the larder.

Now to take up the route followed after the extra day at the rest camp. From the bridge on House Creek, proceed half mile south, and then turn right to the west, and drive for two miles. During the first mile, after the turn, a fine view of the Cimarron may be had, well worth a snap shot, and it is the same view that was so much admired by Irving and his friends. This road turns left, goes a half mile south and then again right to the west. Upon this last turn, the road after a mile passes a pretentious, but abandoned school building which will be reassurance that you are on the right trail. It was in this area, with the "poor hungry soil mingled with sandstone" as Irving recorded, that his horse suddenly went lame, forcing this man of letters to walk for the remainder of the day's march. How Irving would marvel if he could see visitors today in horseless machines gliding swiftly along his route of weary, footsore travel! Several miles beyond the school, the road joins or comes to a dead-end at a cross road. Here the turn is to the right, and two more miles to the west will bring you suddenly up a sharp hill and to State Highway 99. Don't miss the stop line!

For the last two miles before the pavement is reached, following along on the left is Lagoon Creek. It has some fine fishing holes, and along its banks, west of the present highway, the party camped for the night of October 18th.

Turn left to the south, on State Highway 99, and within half a mile Lagoon Creek is crossed. Irving's camp for the night of the 18th was some where on this creek, two or three miles west of State 99. State Highway 51 is reached a half mile south of the Lagoon Creek crossing. From there, follow the curve to the right, towards Yale. You are now several miles south of the 1832 route of march for October 19th. It had been a bad day for the travelers, with heavy rain, and everyone was wet to the skin.

Follow State Highway 51 into Yale, and by the time Yale is reached, you are again very close to the Irving Trail. Just before entering Yale, the municipal park may be seen to the right, north of Highway 51. In the center of the park grounds is a plaque marking the camp site for the evening of the 19th.

After crossing the railroad tracks at Yale, continue due west with the paved highway curving away on the right. Go up over the hill, heading straight west. From the top of the hill straight ahead is a fine view of the Twin Mounds, a remarkable landmark, well known in Oklahoma history. Oddly enough, none of the travelers mentioned these Twin Mounds, so they must have been on a course that by chance did not afford a good view of the mounds. Two miles after leaving State 51, there is a large stream called Salt Creek. The camp pitched during the afternoon of October 19 was near its east bank. Again it had been a disagreeable day, with plenty of rain and low spirits; and in Irving's words, they spent "a gloomy and unruly night."

A mile and a half after crossing Salt Creek, you come upon a paved cross road, State Highway 18. There turn left to the south. After crossing Salt Creek, the 1832 travelers marched southwest, so your own trail today must be in that direction. Go south one mile on State Highway 18, and then turn right to the west, on the section line county road. After the turn, drive west seven miles to a point just beyond the scattered buildings of the town of Ingalls. Five miles on the way after leaving State 18, another large stream has been crossed. This is Council Creek, and is the one that the Irving party had to follow for a mile along its north bank before a crossing could be located.

Now a modest little town, the present appearance of Ingalls beguiles the fact that it was the scene of one of Oklahoma's worst out-law encounters. On September 1, 1893, a posse of five United States marshals engaged the notorious Dalton gang in a desperate gun battle. Two marshals, Dick Speed, and Lafe Shadley, were killed, and the Dalton gang of ten was badly shot up but none was killed. That day marked the beginning of the end of Oklahoma's outlaw days. Any old-timer is glad to relate the circumstances of Ingalls most famous day in history, and a stop there is worth the time.

A half mile west of Ingalls, and an even seven miles from State Highway 18, turn south on the section line road. The views are fine, with the "immense extent of grassy, undulating, or, as it is termed, rolling country, with here and there a clump of trees" that so much excited the appreciation of Irving and his comrades.

Two miles after the turn to the south, the road goes up over a hill, and ahead on the right is a large pile of unusual and oddly shaped rocks. This is Irving's renowned Cliff Castle, or as the other members of the party named it, "Irving's Castle." It reminded Irving, and for that matter, you will have the same impression today, of "the ruins of some Moorish Castle, crowning a height in the midst of a lonely Spanish landscape." The cedars on the north side of the Castle were planted in recent years, and while they are picturesque, they detract from the exact appearance seen at the time of the Irving visit. Too, the rocks have weathered and some have been hauled away for modern building, so the pile is not as prominent as it was more than a century ago. However, a stop for photographs is important, and a request to the landowner, whose home is to the south, will secure permission for a visit. Standing on the highest rock, today's visitor will have at least one view that surpasses even Iring's finest descriptive pen, for to the northwest, rising just above the horizon, may be seen the towers of Oklahoma's A. & M. College.

Our trail on the section line runs south for a total of four miles from the turn west of Ingalls. About one and one-half miles south of the Castle, turn right to the west upon a black-top road. About two miles east of this turn, the Cimarron River makes a wide sweeping bend to the north, swinging several miles away from a straight-line course. This is what brought Irving "once more in sight of the Red Fork, winding its turbid course between well wooded hills, and through a vast and magnificent landscape." After the turn west onto the black-top, the pavement ends two miles farther on. Continue straight west across the Santa Fe Railroad tracks and through Mehan. The point where the black-top ends, one half mile east of the railroad tracks, is very near the location where the Irving party encamped the night of October 20th. Camp for that evening was in "a beautiful grove watered by a fine spring and rivulet." Just to the south is Berry Ford, a well known crossing on Stillwater Creek, and may have been the crossing utilized by the expedition on the following morning.

Irving records that his companions had traveled only a short distance on the morning of the 21st when they were delayed by a large stream, the creek now known as Stillwater Creek, where they were required to reconnoiter for a considerable distance before they found a fording place. Even then the crossing was difficult because of the steep, crumbling bank with thick undergrowth and brambles. The crossing caused plenty of excitement. A low hanging grape vine "as thick as a cable" pulled Irving from his horse into the mud. For those who care to compare today's appearance of the ford with Irving's vivid description, to determine if it is indeed the same place, only a few minutes hike is required. By turning south on the section line a half mile east of the railroad tracks, where as mentioned the black-top ends, you can drive to the road's end at the tracks. There a hike down the rails for a hundred yards or so to the trestle will be rewarded with a good view of the crossing area on the left, or the downstream side.

Back again to the road and west into Mehan. The route now runs due west six miles to State Highway 40. If the timing is right, there a detour to the right into Stillwater for a visit to the College would be worth while, especially if meal time is near. After this stop, return and rejoin the trace of the Irving route. Somewhere along State 40, probably a mile or more north of its junction with State Highway 33, you will have crossed the line of the Irving march, and it is interesting to spectulate about the exact spot where the two paths have crossed. Here is the "vast and glorious prairie" that so delighted Irving.

At Perkins Corner, turn west and follow State Highway 33 as far as Coyle. Three miles west of the turn-off from State 40 is a schoolhouse on the left. At the northwest corner of the school grounds is a marker telling of Irving's camp for the evening of October 21st. Almost a mile west of the schoolhouse State Highway 33 crosses a fine creek, and Irving's camp site is believed to have been less than a mile to the north.

This was the "Camp of the Wild Horse." Even today the creek bears the name of Wild Horse Creek, honoring that long ago visit and the story told in the evening around the camp fire, about the famous gray horse that by legend had ranged the prairies of the neighborhood for six or seven years. The evening was climaxed for certain when Beatte, the guide, brought to camp in the flesh, much to the excitement of all, a fine two year colt just captured from among a herd of six wild horses.

The next morning the visitors altered their course more to the south, but today's travelers prefer the highway in crossing the Cimarron, so stay on State 33 and cross the conventional way at Coyle. Just west of the crossing of Wild Horse Creek, the highway is within a mile of the Cimarron, and at that point along the river Irving and his friends crossed the Red Fork in single file. Their path into the stream had been marked for them by Beatte leading his captive of the night before by the bridle.

Today's trail, however, crosses the Cimarron six miles higher up the stream, so you will miss the "thick cane brake, which at first sight, appeared an impervious mass of reeds and brambles" which gave so much trouble on the south bank of the Cimarron. After passing through Coyle, about a half mile west of the town, leave the paved road and make a half left turn to the south onto a section line road. Driving due south, in a short distance, you will pass a large highway marker, square in the center of the road, and marking the town of Langston. Badly faded paint on this now uncared for shaft tells of the days when it marked the main route from Guthrie to Stillwater, and for old-timers the large letter "S" will recall the Stapleton Trail.

From this marker, drive due south for seven miles on a good section line road. This road is the Indian Meridian, the line from south to north across Oklahoma that divides all of the land surveys in the state, except those in the Panhandle. On the right of the Indian Meridian are the "West" ranges for the land calls, and on the left are "East" designations.

A seven mile drive to the south brings you to the town of Meridian, and nearby is the site of the "Alarm Camp" where the Irving travelers camped for the night of October 22nd. That was a wild evening. Excitement from a prairie fire had hardly passed, when a new alarm, this time "Pawnees!

Pawnees!" placed the camp in an uproar. Rumors flew back and forth thick as the brush of the surrounding blackjacks, and soon the campers believed they were surrounded by three hundred red skins. A state of siege was effected, but all for naught, as the cry of "Pawnees!" had turned into a false alarm.

At the south side of Meridian, just seven miles from the marker at Langston, turn right to the west, and drive in that direction for five miles. A half mile west of Meridian, a rather large stream is crossed, now known as Bear Creek. It was on this stream that the Irving party found a fine beaver dam "containing several families of that industrious animal, though not one showed his nose above water." Three miles west of Bear Creek, *Irvin School* is passed and if there were just one more letter in the name, it might be assumed that it is the namesake of the famous traveler who once passed so near.

At the end of the five mile drive to the west, turn left to the south, and drive south on the section line for a distance of six miles. Then, turn west again to the right, and drive west two miles, two miles south; and again three miles west brings you to U. S. Highway 77. By now you are in the heart of the "Cross Timbers." How thankful is today's visitor when he glances at the side of the road and knows that he need not thread a trail through the dense and difficult "cast iron blackjack" which gave the early day travelers so much concern.

Upon reaching U. S. 77, turn south to the left, and follow the road to its junction with U. S. Highway 66. There, turn left to the east. Irving's march for October 23rd was fourteen miles in length, and camp for the evening was pitched just east of U. S. 77, and about three miles north of U. S. 66. Camp that evening was a serious one, and after long consultation, the members of the party decided to alter their course to the east, and not go farther west as originally planned. Later events proved the decision to be a wise one, for even with this they experienced great hardship on the return to Fort Gibson.

On October 24, the party traveled almost due east, the trace now paralleling U. S. 66 to Arcadia. There, probably in the fine field just east of Arcadia, the adventurers camped for the night. Irving records that the day was spent "along a gentle valley" and this stream is now named Coffee Creek, flowing into the Deep Fork near Arcadia. At the junction of the two streams was a beautiful grove of elms on the site of an abandoned Osage encampment. On U. S. Highway 66, east of Arcadia, are two markers, commemorating the visit of October 24th. Irving refers to their camp for that day as the "Buffalo Camp."

For today's trail, drive east on U. S. 66 from the two markers one mile, and then turn south on the fine country road that runs on the east side of Lake Hiwassee. This is actually a mile too far east for the Irving path, but if you try to follow his route more closely, you will find it blocked by an obstacle unheard of to Irving: the Turner Turnpike. Four miles south of the turn off of U. S. 66, turn right to the west on another county paved road, called Memorial Road. This is followed for two miles, and exactly at the end of the second mile, turn south on the section line road. Just a few hundred yards south, you will suddenly come upon a fine, beautiful valley, lying up from the north bank of the North Canadian River. The first glimpse is an unexpected and as exciting as it was to the long-ago travelers. Here it was that they spent a great day in sport, "Ringing the Wild Horse."

Grazing on the green on the right was a fine herd of wild horses, and likewise on the left, was a small herd of buffalo. Plans were completed by Irving and his friends for the "great hunting maneouver" and several horses were captured.

Now by all means, a stop is essential at the point just as your automobile descends into the flat, and from this vantage may be pointed out the location of each of the high moments of the exciting day. To the school child of almost a century ago, this was one of the most famous spots in America. The chapter "Ringing the Wild Horse" from Irving's volume was reprinted many times in school readers and exercise books. Ringing the wild horses was glorious sport, but how peaceful and civilized by comparison the same fields of alfalfa appear now.

Upon resuming the journey, proceed straight south and across the North Canadian, and turn to the left at the first cross road. After a one mile drive east, turn south again to the right. A drive south of two miles brings the traveler under the Frisco Railroad tracks, and onto the county pavement from Jones, in Oklahoma County. After a turn to the right, follow this road through Spencer and to Northeast 23rd Street, east of Oklahoma City. Irving camped for the evening of the 25th "in a valley, beside a scanty pool, under a scattered grove of elms, the upper branches of which were fringed with tufts of the mystic mistletoe." This site is somewhere just north of Spencer, and yet today plenty of mistletoe remains to mark the general vicinity.

After reaching Northeast 23rd Street, proceed west for one half mile and then turn left, to the south, on the paved county road leading to Midwest City. A mile south of Northeast 23rd Street is Crutcho Creek. Here on its banks, the party spent three days in their "foul weather encampment" so well described by Irving. Soon after they had camped for the afternoon of the 26th, a "drizzling rain ushered in the autumnal storm that had been brewing." Three nights were to elapse before the travelers were able to resume their march, and then only after a complete soaking and a thoroughly disagreeable experience.

About ten o' clock on the morning of the 29th, they resumed their march. More than likely they passed directly over the area of the great run-ways and buildings of Uncle Sam's Tinker Field. What an experience that would have been, if they could have in some fashion visualized what some day would be found at the point where they emerged "from the dreary belt of the Cross Timber."

Upon reaching Tinker Field at Southeast 29th Street, turn right and drive three miles west along the fine double-lane highway. At Sunny Lane Cemetery, turn left to the south, and drive down Sunny Lane Road to its intersection with old U. S. 77, at Hollywood. The second bridge or culvert south of Hollywood crosses Little River. It was on Little River farther up stream to the northwest that the Irving party camped for the night of October 29th.

This route is one that passes to the east of Moore, but a turn-off seven miles south of Southeast 29th Street, for a two mile detour to Moore would permit a visit to the Washington Irving marker in the grounds of the Moore High School. If this detour is made, old U. S. 77 may be utilized south to the Hollywood corner to rejoin the route.

The next day was destined to be an exciting one. It was spent by the travelers ranging all up and down the "Grand Prairie," as far south perhaps as Noble, hunting buffalo, without regard to distance or location. When evening came, it was discovered that young Count Pourtales was lost, necessitating an extra night at the same camp with hours spent in search for Latrobe's friend. Fortunately the next day a party of Rangers found the lost and frightened young Swiss, who had climbed high into a tree and there had completely abondoned himself to his fate.

From the junction of U. S. 77, drive south two miles to the north corner of the Norman I. O. O. F. Cemetery, and there turn left, to the east. This route makes sure a close following of the Irving Path, but precludes a visit to

Norman. As at Stillwater, a detour is in order, so that a visit may be possible to the campus of the University of Oklahoma in Norman.

If the turn to the east is made at the Norman Cemetery corner, proceed east four miles, then turn right to the south, and drive two miles to the paved road of State Highway 9; whereas if Norman is decreed on the route, leave that City eastbound on State 9. Follow State 9 due east to Earlsboro.

Seven miles east of Norman, State Highway 9 crosses Little River. It was near the west bank of this stream, possibly a mile north of our present highway, that Irving camped for the night of October 31st. After the buffalo hunt, and the Pourtales' near-disaster, it was decided to reach Fort Gibson as quickly as possible on the return journey. More miles were traveled each day, the distances were greater and there was little seen along the way that aroused the interest of the tired and weary travelers. Little River was forded early on the morning of November 1st, and the route for the day lay almost directly east. State Highway 9 follows the trail closely and lies not more than a mile to the south of the hurried trace made by Irving and his friends.

Slightly more than five miles after your Little River crossing, Little Axe School will be seen on the left. Using this as a guide marker, exactly two miles east of the school is a detour one mile to the south for a visit to an Irving marker hidden in the brush of the Cross Timbers and now almost forgotten. Turn south exactly two miles east of Little Axe School, and drive one mile. Then turn right, and on the right, near the road and perhaps fifty yards west of the turn, is a shaft recalling that Irving once passed near by. Almost desolate in its setting, the marker looks out upon a terrain that would appear very familiar to Irving could he return.

Camp for the evening of November 1, 1832, was somewhere quite near Tecumseh. It was there, lying awake under the stars, that Irving recalled "to mind the exquisite text of Job. "Canst thou bind the secret influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bonds of Orion?' " State Highway 9 enters the then fearsome Cross Timbers between present Norman and Tecumseh. There the travelers noted with displeasure the point where they left the "Grand Prairie" and again traveled among the brambles and brush of the blackjacks.

At Earlsboro turn north, to the left, on State Highway 9A, and drive five miles to the intersection with U. S. Highway 270. There turn right to the east, and continue due east for about seven miles to a junction with State Highway 99. Within a mile after entering U. S. 270 leave the pavement when it makes the turn to the right. Care should be made that the driver does not follow U. S. 270 towards Seminole, rather than keep in due east direction, as one must here leave the pavement for the gravel road. Shortly beyond this point the jog to the left marks the old boundary between Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory. Considering the Seminoles as a Nation, this line was in fact an "international" boundary.

At State 99, turn left to the north, and continue on the pavement through the village of Little, and continue across the North Canadian. This is the river that Irving by inadvertance refers to in his notes for November 2nd as the "North Fork of the Arkansas." His camp for that evening was on the south side of the river, in the vicinity of Little, and the traveler today has crossed his trace at least twice between Earlsboro and Little. The Rangers had difficulty in finding a good camping place, and it was late before a suitable site was selected.

After the North Candian is crossed, proceed north for a mile and a half, stopping at the Keokuk Falls historical marker, seen on the right of the highway. One of Oklahoma's true ghost towns, this once thriving place was located in the extreme southeast corner of Oklahoma Territory, with the

Creek Nation less than a mile to the east, and the Seminole Nation across the river to the south. Little remains to show for the many saloons and taverns that once made the place famous. A few yards south of the marker enter the section line road to the east and drive two miles. Those wishing to make the visit to Keokuk Falls should turn right to the south at the two mile point, and in less than a mile the foundation stones, relics and some fine old trees will mark the townsite.

The Irving Trail however, turns left to the north, at the two mile point, so you must return there to resume the journey. A mile north from the point brings you to Giles Cemetery, and there turn right. A few hundred yards to the east, the road jogs to the left, and this marks the line between the "Twin Territories" Oklahoma and Indian Territories, this time with the Creek Nation on the east side of the boundary. From the boundary, drive east on the gravel for one and one-half miles; then one mile north; then one mile east; and again one mile north; then turning right to the east, just before you reach an old iron bridge. The creek is now crossed on a fine new county bridge. From the last turn, drive east two miles; then drive almost two miles north to the junction with U. S. Highway 62.

Irving and his party crossed the North Canadian on the morning of November 3rd somewhere near Keokuk Falls, and continued the march to the northeast, very close to your zig-zag route north and east from the North Canadian crossing. The Rangers made camp soon after noon that day, so they could use the afternoon for hunting, in hope of replenishing their depleted provisions. Their camp for that day was somewhere near where you came upon and entered U. S. 62, between Boley and Paden.

Upon reaching U. S. 62 turn right and continue east on this highway to its junction with State Highway 27, just west of Castle, exactly 9.5 miles east of the point where you first entered U. S. 62. There take State Highway 27 to the north for exactly three miles, and turn right to the east, at the section line road crossing the pavement at a fine school building. On the morning of November 4th, the Irving party traveled north and east, and their path came within a very short distance of the point where you turn east away from State Highway 27. After the turn, proceed two miles; then one mile north; and then five miles east, through Morse, to State Highway 56.

After this last turn to the right, and after a drive of one mile east, you will come upon one of the finest vistas of your entire trip. Ahead is seen the "fine champaign country" mentioned by Irving as "a noble prospect, over extensive prairies, finely diversified by groves and tracts of woodland, and bounded by long lines of distant hills." A mile east from this view is the crossing of Buckeye Creek, and the driver should be careful to take the jog to the right, so as to keep on the section line road headed east. Turn left onto State Highway 56 at the Morse Baptist Church corner. This route from Boley to Morse keeps you very close to the line of March for November 4th, a march described by Irving as "a forced march of twenty-five miles, that had proved a hard trial to the horses."

After reaching State Highway 56, turn left, and continue on this highway to Okmulgee. Four miles north of Morse, the highway turns east at Haydenville; and about three miles east of this turn is the crossing on Nuyaka Creek. It was probably on this creek, not more than a mile south of the highway that the Ranger party made camp for the night of November 4th. For several hours after the camp site was selected, the stragglers continued to come in, with each looking more exhausted than ever before. A heavy rain was experienced during the night, and the "morning dawned cloudy and dismal." Eight miles on State 56 after the turn at Haydenville, is the historical marker for old Nuyaka Mission. The Mission was founded in 1822 through the efforts of Alice Robertson, later to be remembered as Oklahoma's first woman representative in Congress, and her sister Augusta.

One of the mission buildings remains, and a detour one mile north and a half mile west from the site of the marker is worth the extra time.

Five miles east of the Nuyaka Mission corner, State Highway 56 bends and curves to make room for Lake Okmulgee, and a mile east of the Lake is the crossing on the Deep Fork. On the west side of Deep Fork, perhaps very near to the highway, the Rangers camped about four in the afternoon of November 5th, and there spent the night. The heavy rains that the group had experienced while weathering the storm on Crutcho Creek were now having their effect in the Deep Fork, and they found the stream very high and hard to cross. Stragglers continued to come up until late that evening; and the night "was cold and unruly."

By remaining in this camp until noon of the next day, the Ranger had time to hunt and permitted the others to devise a means of crossing the river. A number of trees were felled, with hope that they would fall across the stream and make a bridge, but with little success. At last the travelers waded across on half submerged logs, with a good soaking as the reward for their efforts. Some of the horses were too weak to attempt the swollen stream, so a party of twelve soldiers was ordered to remain at the camp for their care. It was afternoon before the march was resumed on November 6th.

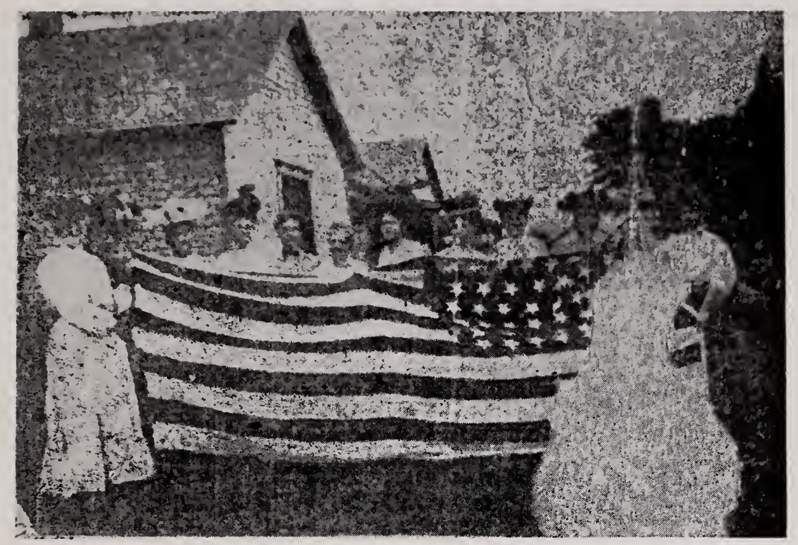
Continue on U. S. 62 through Okmulgee, with a stop if desired for a tour of the Indian Museum and the Old Creek Capitol Building. Five miles east of Okmulgee, the paved highway turns due south to Morris. At this turn, continue east a few yards, and then turn left to the north at the first section line road. It is a good gravel road, and with an eye on the speedometer, drive exactly four miles, and then turn right to the east. After the turn, proceed east five miles through Pumpkin Center; then north for one mile, and then again turn east to the right, and continue east five miles; then north to the left two miles; and then right again to the east, for two miles until U. S. Highway 62 is reached.

The path of the hungry wayfarers in their haste to reach security and civilization has thus been followed closely. The stream at Pumpkin Center is Cane Creek, and perhaps is the one described by Irving as "one of the tributary streams of the Arkansas" where the party camped for the night of November 6th "admist the ruins of a stately grove that had been riven by a hurricane." Here was the hunger camp, and with their supplies, even salt, exhausted, the meal that evening was a frugal and dismal one. Breakfast the next morning consisted of turkey bones and a cup of black coffee.

On the present route from Pumpkin Center to rejoin the U. S. 62, Anderson School is passed and four miles later, Cole School; the pupils of each should have a special interest in reading *A Tour on the Prairies* because its author passed within a mile of their schools on the morning of November 7, 1832.

After entering U. S. 62, travel north two miles, and follow the highway as it turns east at Jamesville toward Muskogee. Headed toward Muskogee, the village of Taft is passed. It was in this vicinity that Irving found hospitality in the frontier home of a settler named Bradley, whose wife produced, to the great delight of all, plenty of boiled beef and turnips. Only a hungry person could ever describe as Irving did the effect produced by the sight of hot food. After the hearty meal, Irving decided to push on to the Osage Agency at the Falls of the Verdigris, while most of the Rangers determined to remain at the Bradley place for the night of November 7th.

For today's trail, about four miles east of Taft, on U. S. 62, the Muskogee Cemetery is passed, and just east of the main gate, take the first section line road to the left turning north. Being faithful to Irving and his route, one should not take unfair advantage and stay with the paved roads and thereby leave his trace afield. After a drive north two miles, turn right, to



Oklahoma Betsy Rosses and the official flag showing Oklahoma's 46th star, flown over Independence Hall at Philadelphia, July 4, 1908.—Old print of photo taken at Guthrie, published in *Saint Louis Globe Democrat*, June 28, 1908.

Mr. and Mrs. F. O. Eierman, at their Golden Wedding Anniversary.

the east, and three and a half miles later is U. S. 69. Somewhere on the left, driving east, is the spot on the Arkansas River where Irving crossed the stream, with the help of friendly Creek Indians. About a mile upstream from the present bridge was located a well known Indian ford, and it may have been at this point that Irving and his comrades made their way over to the north bank.

Driving east, before coming to the juncture with U. S. 69 on the left is the fine, wonderfully landscaped home of Mr. Jack Bemo. A short distance in the rear, and on the grounds of his premises is the site where the Western Creek Agency was located from 1853 to 1876. Mr. Bemo is most hospitable, and upon request, one will always be rewarded with permission to visit the exact spot where the Agency and its buildings were situated.

After crossing the Arkansas River on State Highway 69, drive north to the intersection with State Highway 51B, and one finds like Irving that his party is again on the outward route. Five miles to the east is the Falls of the Verdigris, now the town of Okay. It is a thrill to be back to the point where the *Tour on the Prairies* had started. The route back to Okay, and from there to Fort Gibson, is already well known.

A trip that required a month for Irving, Ellsworth, Captain Bean with his Rangers and the others may now be accomplished in a day. The landmarks, the streams, the vistas, and even Irving's Castle, are all the same. they are readily identified, and with a careful eye on the milage indicator of the speedometer, the trail may be followed without mishap or difficulty. No one should be concerned too much if he cannot locate the *exact* site for each day's camp, for chances are that if Irving or any of the others were in the car, they would be unable to guide the driver to each halt and the location of every stop. Those details are not too vital, but the really important thing is that upon the return to Fort Gibson, today's traveler has made the same circuit, and has seen the same countryside with its rolling prairies and wooded hills, the cast iron blackjack and the "champaign country," as that seen and enjoyed by Irving and his comrades in the days before highways, motor cars and barbed wire.

The fact that Oklahoma's section lines run in squares requires the driver to make right angle turns and to zig-zag rather than to go straight across the country; but, it is safe to say, not counting the exact sites such as Bear's Glen and Irving's Castle, that the trail laid out here for today's traveler will cross and recross Irving's path, wherever its exact line may be, at least fifty times. That surely is sufficient; and will be considered good enough to know that you too have had your own *Tour on the Prairies.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition. By Henry Thompson Malone. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1956. XIII and 238 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliographical notes, index. $4.50)

In 1932 Dr. Grant Foreman centered attention of historians on the Five Civilized Tribes in his book *Indian Removal* and since its publication many scholarly books have been written concerning member-tribes. Comes now Dr. Malone of the Georgia State College of Business Administration in Atlanta who, in eleven chapters—the first, "Primitive Forest Children", the last, "Ebb-Tide"—traces the Cherokee from the early 1700's to the mid 1830's and removal; most of the text pertains to conditions of the Cherokee Nation after 1800.

Although the book is not written to excite sympathy for the Cherokees, this tragic era is best understood if one recalls the great majority of the tribesmen had become a people of fixed habits and tastes. They were not nomads; they were much less inclined to wander to strange places than interloping frontiersmen. True, the Cherokee West had departed for Arkansas and Indian territories twenty years before coercion and bayonets forced a general exodus, but the Cherokee Republic in the East still numbered over 16,500 members in 1835.

The Cherokees loved their hills and valleys, forests and streams, and had a passionate attachment for the earth which held the bones of their ancestors and relatives, and for their busk grounds and their council houses. They were rooted in the soil as the Choctaw Chief Pushmataha said, "where we have grown up as the herbs of the woods." At the turn of the century the Cherokees inhabited some 43,000 square miles of Southern Appalachian country; thirty years later, this was reduced to 15,000 square miles. Doublehead, Cherokee Chief, was assassinated by tribesmen in 1807 for manipulating a land cession: This presaged the fate of removal advocates in 1839.

The principal theme presented by Malone concerns social institutions of the Cherokees—the influence of missionaries and Indian Agents, the establishment of subscription, later, tribal schools, the education of Indian boys in northern states, the establishment and observance of a written legal code in 1808, and a Republican form of government in 1817, the widespread knowledge of Sequoyah's syllabary, the influence of Cherokee *Phoenix* and the translation of religious tracts into the native language, home and communal life, the ownership of Negro slaves, the progress made in agriculture and trade. This is a difficult subject: A people in transition, a minority people faced with the perplexities of a different culture and harassed by the majority while making the transition cannot be stereotyped. Some of the Cherokee remained as savage as renegade whites who robbed and killed, some were as good as those few missionaries who labored so tediously among them. Malone's research traces the transition to civilized pursuits.

The author has prepared an extensive bibliography, rich in unpublished manuscripts and government documents. Of local interest is that he examined manuscripts at Northeastern State Teacher's College, Tahlequah; in the Phillip's Collection, University of Oklahoma; the Cherokee File of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and the Foreman Collection deposited there of Indian-Pioneer History, rich in social background of the period covered. Many references to publications of Oklahoma writers on related subjects appear in the footnotes and bibliography—Bass, Eaton, Dale, Litton, Moffitt, Starr, and Wright.

Of particular interest are excellent pictures of Indian leaders and missionaries of the period.

There is an adequate index. Mechanically, the book is attractive in print and binding.

J. Stanley Clark

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Oklahoma Revolution, By William D. McBee. (Modern Publishers, Inc., Oklahoma City, 1956. Pp. 179. $3.50)

Oklahoma has been the scene of many incidents of intense drama, some colorful and some bordering on the unique. The appearance upon the Oklahoma political stage in the early 1920s of John Callaway Walton was with all the rush of an Oklahoma tornado. Jack Walton was born in Indiana. His family moved to Fort Smith, Arkansas, while he was a boy. From there he saw his first employment on a railroad construction gang, later becoming a brakeman and a fireman. After a sojourn in Mexico, fate brought him to Oklahoma City at the age of twenty-four. Many adjectives have been used to describe this remarkable figure. Words such as ''dynamic,'' ''magnetic'' or ''spectacular'' are all trite but out of necessity must be used to adequately portray his character. The fact that within sixteen years after his arrival in Oklahoma City, he would be the State's elected Chief Executive is ample proof that the words are aptly used.

No such person as he ever occupied the Governor's chair of Oklahoma or of any of its sister states. He and his entourage of political hacks, cronies, camp followers, and all the rest soon converted the Governor's Office into a sight to behold. Of course, his motives and personal intentions are dependent entirely upon the political views and personal conclusions of the person now reviewing the scene.

Within a few months, the State House was in such an imbroglio that the word "revolution" is indeed an excellent choice as used here by Judge McBee. The capitol building became an armed fortress; and in fact, it had the outward semblance of a military strong point.

The test of power between the Chief Executive and the Legislative Branch that ensued would seem incredible if it were not within the memory of many of us. The leadership of the opposition or impeachment group in the Legislature devolved under William D. McBee, an attorney from Duncan. He became Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Special Impeachment Session. How fortunate that Judge McBee has taken time to record for history in this volume the events of this fantastic episode. Drawing from carefully compiled scrapbooks made at the time, he has presented in an extremely objective fashion the entire affair.

So often when a leader of one side of an experience such as this puts the same into memoirs, such a writing is merely a justification for the writer's personal course of action or is at best mere subjective writing. This volume is exactly the opposite. Objectively written in every detail, this should be the source book for the student and historian, and the point of departure for anyone desiring to review the events of those exciting days.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Anaconda, Life of Marcus Daly, The Copper King. By H. Minar Shoebotham. (The Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pa., 1956. Pp. 217. $4.50.)

The word "Anaconda" signifies power, strength and endurance. Marcus Daly chose the name well when he bestowed it upon "the richest hill on earth," the mountain of red-metal that built the phrase "Anaconda Copper" into world-wide significance. The story of Anaconda Copper is the story of Marcus Daly. He arrived in America, an Irish immigrant of fifteen, with only fifty cents in his pocket. When he died, at the age of fifty-eight, he had scored firsts in a number of fields: copper mining, newspapers, politics, railroads, horse racing and human relations. Above all, he was a master in the latter field.

America first saw Daly in 1856, when he came from County Cavan in Ireland. He made his way to the Northwest, working in the gold mines of California, Utah and Nevada before discovering Montana, the State he helped build, and which saw him build Anaconda Copper. He arrived in the Northwest in the era when Custer was making his last stand on the Big Horn, and Chief Joseph was leading his Nez Perce warriors on their ill-fated retreat through Montana.

Marcus Daly's life was so closely interlocked with the State of Montana that the growth of the two could never be separated. Every day spent at work was a serious one with Daly. He was not content merely to labor. He learned as he labored. A born geologist and engineer, he studied every phase of mining, from the lowliest job underground to the actual use of the bright metal. The year Marcus Daly looked at a hill overlooking Butte and "had a hunch" the green outcroppings meant that here lay the "richest hill on earth", was a vital one in America: Alexander Graham Bell exhibited the first model telephone; Edison took out a patent on the incandescent lamp, and perfected the first electrically-operated automobile; telegraph wires shouted a need for a superior metal. The world was ripe for copper when Marcus Daly sought help from the firm of Hearst, Tevis and Haggin in San Francisco. It was Haggin who had such unlimited faith in the alert Irishman that he signed a book of blank checks and told Daly to proceed with the Anaconda. Daly proceeded. He thought only large thoughts, planned only large plans. He hired the best miners, the best smeltermen, used the most advanced mining and smelting methods. Convinced he could profit more by building his own smelters instead of shipping ore to Wales for smelting, Daly planned and built the city of Anaconda, which for a long time wrangled with Helena for the capital.

Daly scorned highly-educated technical men, at least until they had rubbed their noses in the red-metal earth of Montana mines and had obtained actual knowledge of ore as he himself had done. He provided a training school for beginners which eventually became the Montana School of Mines.

Meanwhile, Anaconda Copper became a power. It produced at its peak almost half as much copper ore as the seventeen, working Lake Superior mines which were Daly's big competition. An almost-constant feud existed between Anaconda and the Superior mines. Some days the Anaconda treated six thousand tons a day. Daly's smelters processed the metal. He scorned Unions, handling his own grievances. He paid good wages, compensated widows and families of ill-fated miners. Copper was his life, and he had vast concern for the men who mined it for Anaconda.

Marcus Daly established a newspaper, *The Anaconda Standard,* which vied with Metropolitan papers of the east in quality. Angry with the railroads' high charges, he built a railroad of his own. He raced thoroughbred horses that set records across the country. Marcus Daly was a man who liked to win, and he won almost every battle. He was accused of controlling the political affairs of

Montana. He claimed he did only what was best for Montana and Anaconda and that the people agreed with him.

The life of Marcus Daly is an inspiration. Geologists and engineers are encouraged by it, for Daly was the perfect explorer, believing that "the earth rarely yields its treasure to the timid soul." His story is a challenge to all aspiring Americans, for the tale of this Irish immigrant who landed with fifty cents is an amazing one. This undaunted Irishman lived to control millions. He is one of the legends of America, for Anaconda Copper is a vital part of America, and Marcus Daly was truly Anaconda Copper!

—Mary Agnes Thompson

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Presbyterian Enterprise: Sources of American Presbyterian History. Edited by Maurice W. Armstrong, Lefferts A. Loetscher, and Charles A. Anderson. (The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1956. Pp. 320. $4.50.)

Most of the originals of the one hundred seventy carefully selected documents which constitute this volume may be found in the Library of the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia. Their publication in 1956 was a logical contribution to the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the first Presbytery in America. Here is recorded not only the growth and development of the Presbyterian church organism in the United States but also the special contributions made by Presbyterians to American culture generally. Although of particular interest to readers of Presbyterian persuasion, these selections will attract others who may desire further insight into what has made Presbyterians tick in the past and what motivates them at present. The official position of the church on many matters of vital public interest from colonial times to the present is clarified for those interested.

The three editors, each well qualified by his training and present responsibilities, have arranged their selections in chronological order. The documents are grouped in three divisions, which are further subdivided into a total of twelve chapters with such headings as "The Great Awakening" (2), "The Irrepressible Conflict" (8), and "Intimations of Fresh Creativity" (12). The first division concerns the colonial and revolutionary periods of American history (1706-1783). It opens with the minutes of the first Presbytery (1706) and features not only the Presbyterian share in the struggle for religious freedom, as illustrated by Francis Makemie's defiance of the royal governor of New York, but also in the fight for the separation of church and state and the cause of human freedom in general. The desire of Presbyterians for an educated ministry can be seen in documents such as the one headed "Prevent Errors

Young Men May Imbibe by Reading Without Direction'' which was presented to Synod in 1738.

The second section documents the organization of the first General Assembly in 1784, the problems arising from westward expansion, the beginning of the modern American foreign missionary movement, and the intra-church conflicts which reflected the national issues during the period of the slavery controversy, the Civil War, and reconstruction. The third large group of documents illustrate the official Presbyterian resistance to social and cultural change during the late Nineteenth century and the gradual adjustment to such change which characterizes the dominant Presbyterian attitude during the Twentieth century. The final document, ''A Letter to Presbyterians,'' exemplifies the specific application of the Calvinistic doctrine of the sovereignty of God to the problem of Communism today:

> . . . just because God rules in the affairs of men, Communism as a solution of the human problems is foredoomed to failure. No political order can prevail which deliberately leaves God out of account. Despite its pretention to be striving after 'liberation,' Communism enslaves in the name of freedom. . . . .

Incidentally, the editors have written an excellent introduction for each document and the index is adequate.

Oklahomans may be disappointed by the omission of any documents which deal directly with the achievements of the Presbyterian enterprise in the Sooner State. Any possible resentment on this score will be stifled by a pride in the overall Presbyterian contribution to the ''American Mission'' as graphically portrayed by this collection of letters, journals, diaries, minutes, and other official records. For the development of the characteristics of a successful representative democracy by the Presbyterian church is illustrated here as an example for the nation as a whole.

All Presbyterians with any awareness of the historic mission of their denomination will thrill at the triumph of tolerance over bigotry depicted again and again, tolerance not only for wide differences of belief within the denomination but also for the ''aberrations'' of those outside the Presbyterian fold. The need for Presbyterian principles in today's wilderness of Protestant sects is emphasized. As Charles A. Anderson, secretary of the Presbyterian Historical Society, states in the foreword: ''Tolerance is a delicate plant which still needs cultivation.'' John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary as well as the World Presbyterian Alliance, uses these words: ''Presbyterians . . . are charged by God to see to it that the resurgence of denominationalism, which is manifest around the globe, shall not become sectarian, but shall become and remain ecumenical in character.''

This Presbyterian (Southern division) wishes it were possible to make this book required reading for all his fellow Presbyterians and any others who might benefit from a realization of the necessity for tolerance in this or any other day, past or future.

—James D. Morrison

Southeastern State College,
Durant, Oklahoma

Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains. By Frank Raymond Secoy. (J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, New York. 1953. $2.75.)

This work gives an excellent picture not only of the changing military patterns in the western portion of the United States generally known as the Great Plains from the early part of the Seventeenth Century through the early part of the Nineteenth Century, but it also gives a vivid picture of the impact of the Spanish, French and English cultures upon the lives and customs of the Indians who inhabited the Great Plains during said period. It is an exploration into the manner of life of these people, and at the same time a challenge to the correctness of the views of some of the earlier writers in the same field. It is a valuable contribution to our more or less limited knowledge of these people who inhabited the Great Plains prior to the coming of the white man.

The evolution of the military patterns is clearly delineated. As the book is read, one sees at first two lines of foot soldiers facing each other at varying distances, armed with bows and arrows, spears and clubs, trying to impress one another by sheer force of numbers, while their individual champions challenge each other from the ranks, as David and Goliath did in centuries past. With the coming of the Spaniards, bringing with them the horse and gun to the Great Southwestern Plains, the picture immediately began to change, and the final evolution of the Indians on horseback armed with carbines has been referred to by some writers as the finest light cavalry in the world. It is interesting to note how the arrival of the horse and gun changed the lives of many of the tribes from that of dwellers in the pueblos, or rancherias living a horticultural life, to that of wandering nomads of the plains hunting the great herds of bison. One also gets an excellent view of how the arrival of the horse and gun through these centuries affected the lives of these people of the Plains from a commercial standpoint. The avid desire of the various tribes to possess both the horse and gun, particularly the latter, led them into raiding and stealing and trading not only the furs and hides of the animals they killed in the hunt, but even men, women and children captured were sold into slavery in exchange for these priceless possessions. As late as the Nineteenth Century, even the personal charms of the wives and daughters of some of the tribes became the subject of barter.

On the whole, it is a very interesting picture of the changing panorama of the lives and customs of these people on the Great Plains and their changing military patterns, as the Spaniards sought constantly and in vain for the Seven Cities of Cibola and their fabulous fortunes in the southwestern portion of the Plains; as the French settled in Louisiana and their adventurous voyageurs in their canoes followed the Mississippi, the Arkansas and Red Rivers into the southeastern portion of the Plains in search of trade and fortune; and as the French and the English traders from Canada and the northern United States traveled ever westward in search of the valuable pelts of the beaver and other furs offered in trade by the different tribes inhabiting the Great Plains and the timbered borders.

—W. R. Withington

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING JANUARY 24, 1957

At 10:00 a. m. on Thursday, January 24, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society assembled in regular quarterly meeting. The session was held in the Board of Directors room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building.

With General W. S. Key, President of the Society, presiding, the first order of business was roll call. The following members of the Board answered present: Mr. Kelly Brown, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge R. A. Hefner, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, Mr. George H. Shirk, and Judge Baxter Taylor. The following absentees were excused on the adoption of a motion presented by Judge Hefner and seconded by Mrs. Korn: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Judge George L. Bowman, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Mr. Exall English, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mrs. Willis Reed, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

A delegation representing the Five Civilized Tribes appeared at the meeting for the purpose of presenting to the Oklahoma Historical Society a picture of the charter members of the First Intertribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, which was organized in 1949. Judge N. B. Johnson, a member of the Board, was presented by General Key, who in turn introduced Hon. Floyd Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaw Indians. Mr. Maytubby, after thanking the Board of Directors for the opportunity of appearing before them, introduced Chief Justice Earl Welch of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, who made the presentation speech. General Key accepted the gift on behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society and thanked the donors. A tape recording was made of the presentation speech by Judge Welch and has been filed in the library of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

In addition to those appearing on the program other members of the delegation were: Mrs. Roley Canard, Mrs. Raymond Dunson, Mr. Roley Buck, Principal Chief of the Creek Nation, Mr. Lewis Alexander, Mr. Hugh Maytubby and Mr. George Harjo.

Motion was made by Judge Taylor and seconded by Mrs. Korn that the picture be accepted and that the donors be thanked for their thoughtfulness and generosity. When put the motion was unanimously adopted.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read by the Administrative Secretary. After the minutes were read, General Key stated that satisfactory progress was being made in efforts to erect, on the Oklahoma Historical Society grounds, a memorial to Oklahomans who had served their country in time of war. He asked if any member of the Board had any questions or comments regarding the memorial. All members indicated the report met with their approval.

Mr. Joe Curtis moved that Mrs. Imogene Moore Rockwood, daughter of Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, be voted an honorary Life membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society. He pointed out that Mrs. Rockwood had been of great assistance to her mother in activities relating to the Oklahoma Historical Society. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Korn and adopted by the Board.

It was reported by General Key that the matter of the creation of a historic sites commission was now before the Legislature and that it seemed that the work of such a commission was likely to be placed in the hands of the Oklahoma Historical Society, due to the fact that it was well fitted to do that type of work.

Mr. Fraker related that a considerable number of pictures of the Joseph B. Thoburn family were now in the files of the Oklahoma Historical Society and that it was the recommendation of Miss Wright, Editor of the Chronicles, that these pictures be returned to the family. He said that none of the pictures in question was of historic significance to Oklahoma, but all were family materials. Judge Hefner, with the second of Judge Johnson, moved that the Administrative Secretary be authorized to send the designated Thoburn pictures to the proper members of the family. The motion was approved by the Board.

It was requested by Mr. Fraker that the Board grant him authority to have an audit made of the Society's Special Fund for the calendar year. Judge Johnson moved that this authority be granted to the Secretary and that the Secretary be designated as acting Treasurer. Upon the second of Mr. Harrison the motion was carried.

Mr. Fraker made a brief report on the financial condition of the Society. He pointed out that there would not be any appreciable increase in the Special Fund until income tax paying time was over.

It was reported by Judge Hefner that his committee on Legislation was more or less marking time until the bills relating to the Historical Society were actually up for consideration by the Legislature. He stated that the Legislative Committee and the Secretary were keeping in constant touch with the situation.

At this point the meeting was recessed for lunch which was served in the Board of Directors room.

At 1:30 p. m. General Key again called the Board to order. He announced that the dedication of the marker for the Sherman House at Ft. Sill would be held on March 16 and expressed the hope that as many members of the Board of Directors as possible would attend. A majority of the Directors indicated they expected to be present for the dedication.

General Key then reported that the Portrait Committee had recommended the acceptance of a painting of W. G. Skelly of Tulsa. Mrs. Korn moved that the recommendation of the Committee be accepted. Her motion was seconded by Judge Hefner and passed by the Board.

Mrs. Korn presented a letter to the Society which had been written to her by Woodrow Wilson when he was President of the United States. She reported that she had received the letter while attending the National Convention of the United Daughters of the Confedracy in 1923. Keneral Key expressed thanks on behalf of the Society to Mrs. Korn for her generosity in giving the letter to the Society.

An outline for the 1957 annual tour of the Oklahoma Historical Society was presented by R. G. Miller. He stated that the tour would be held May 16, 17, and 18 and that it would start at the Oklahoma Historical Society Building at 7:30 a. m. on May 16. He listed many places of interest that would be visited on the tour including the old Sac and Fox Agency south of Stroud, the old Whistler House, Woolaroc Museum, Hillside Mission near Skiatook, Wealaka Mission, Dripping Springs, Old Ft. Wayne, gravesite of Stand Watie, old Splitlog Mission, old Council Hill, Creek Indian Museum, at Okmulgee, and the ghost town of Keokuk Falls near Prague. Mr. Miller said that the tourists would be quartered at the Sequoyah Lodge on both nights. On the second evening out, the party will go for a cruise aboard the Cherokee Queen on Grand Lake. Dinner will be served that evening on board.

It was stated by Mr. Miller that literature would soon be prepared setting forth the costs and all details of the tour and that such information would be made available to all who were interested.

In a discussion concerning sales by the Oklahoma Historical Society, Mr. Miller observed that there was a big demand for Oklahoma State Flags. He expressed the opinion that the Society should investigate the possibility of making such flags available for sale in the Historical Society Building. General Key recommended that authority should be given for the purchase, out of the Special Fund, of flags to be offered for sale by the Society and that an adequate registration book and display case be provided. He further voiced the opinion that it might be well to hire a temporary receptionist and temporary guide to work during the busy season, and that the salaries of such receptionist and guide to be paid from the Special Fund. It was moved by Judge Hefner and seconded by Mr. Harrison that such authority be granted by the Board. The motion was approved.

That a movement was under way in El Reno to try to get a Federal Cemetery located at old Ft. Reno, was reported by General Key. He observed that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society had taken no official action on the proposal and that it might be well for the Board to give an expression of its view on the matter. A motion was made by Mr. Miller that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society go on record as supporting the proposal to create a Federal Cemetery at old Ft. Reno. The second was made by Mis Seger and was unanimously adopted by the Board.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that the five members of the Board of Directors whose terms were expiring with the January meeting be re-elected for another five year period. Miss Seger seconded the motion which received the unanimous approval of the non-retiring members of the Board. Those re-elected to another term on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society were: Mr. Joe Curtis, Mr. R. G. Miller, Judge George L. Bowman, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, and Mrs. Anna B. Korn.

On a secret ballot, Judge J. G. Clift of Duncan was elected to fill the vacancy on the Board which had been created by the recent death of Mrs. Jessie R. Moore.

Judge Johnson reminded the Board that Judge Albert Hunt, a member of the Oklahoma State Supreme Court, had pased away last summer. He suggested that an article of recognition of the work and accomplishments of Judge Hunt be carried in the Chronicles of Oklahoma. On the motion of Mr. Miller and the second of Judge Taylor the Board approved the proposal.

Motion was made by Judge Johnson with a second from Judge Taylor that a group picture of the present Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma be placed in the Historical Society Building. The motion was approved by the Board.

There being no further business to come before the Board, the meeting was declared adjourned by President Key.

W. S. KEY, President

ELMER L. FRAKER, Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED

LIBRARY:

Petroleum Industry Safety Standards, Bureau of Factory Inspection Book No. 11-A, (1956 Edition).

Women and Children in Industry, Laws regulating and restricting the hours and working conditions, (1956 Edition).
Donor: Jim Hughes, Commissioner of Labor, Oklahoma City.

Combat Connected Naval Casualities World War II, by States 1946: U. S. Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard. Volume 2: Montana through Wyoming and other areas.
Donor: Victor Wickersham, Congressman, 6th District, Oklahoma.

Saga of Oklahoma, A Poem of Progress and Growth, Souvenir Edition for the Semi-Centennial of Oklahoma Statehood (Oklahoma City, 1956).
Donor: Leslie A. McRill, the author.

Minutes of the Annual Session of the Arkansas Valley Baptist Association, held with Roland Missionary Baptist Church, October 18, 1956.
Donor: W. M. Carney, New Hope Missionary Baptist Church, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Proceedings, in Memory of Thomas A. Edwards (Judge) and Thomas R. Phillips (Chairman, State Pardon and Parole Board).
Donor: Dr. E. E. Dale, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

Lieutenant Samuel Smith: His Children and One Line of Descendants and Related Families, 1953.
Donor: James William Hook, 80 Temple Street, New Haven, Conn.

Grant Smith and Irons Families of New Jersey's Shore Counties, (1955).
Donor: James William Hook, New Haven, Conn.

"Certificate of appointment Post Master, Albert R. Phillips, Waynoka, Oklahoma Territory, Woods County, February 20, 1906." Last appointment made before statehood.

Plat Book: Woods County (1906).
Donor: C. L. Godfrey, Wawnoka, Oklahoma.

Japanese paper printed in Japanese.
Donor. Robert V. Surrett, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Photostatic copies of "Plat for townsite of Oklahoma City O. T., 1889," with letters pertaining to same.
Donor: Dr B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Pictures: "Rheims Cathedral." (1918-1919); two views from small originals, and other historical items brought from France in 1919 by Dr. J. H. Maxwell, Surgeon, U. S. Army Corps, A. E. F., 1918-1919.
Donor: Mrs. John B. Fink, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Pictorial Brochures: Old Virginia City, Nevada, 1880's; Album of California, 1873; Album Lake Tahoe region, 1890; *The Slim Princess,* the story of the Southern Pacific R. R. (Narrow Gague) in the 90's.

The Story of Bodie, (ghost town), by Ella M. Cain, on sports, churches, and historical buildings.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. John B. Fink, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Family of Thomas Scott and Martha Susan Scott, a Century in America.
Donor: George Tressler Scott.

Conquering the Frontiers, a biography and history of one branch of the Ball family, (1956).
Donor: Roy Hutton Ball, the author, Silver Lake, Oklahoma City.

The Charles P. Goad Family and Collateral Branches.
Donor: E. E. Stephens, the author.

The Corn Families of the United States, Section III, (1956) History.
Donor: C. E. Corn.

Buyer's Guide, Complete directory, greater Pittsburg.
Donor: Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce.

"Sun Rise Ranch, Ft. Gibson Cherokee Physician—Indian Guide to Health," by George Darwin Wilson, M. D. Ashville, N. C. Reprint, *Quarterly of Phi Beta Pi*, Volume 50, No. 4 and Volume 51, No. 1 (1954).
Donor: Fred E. Woodson.

Biblioraphy, Artillery Unit Histories, Special No. 6 (Books, brochures, journals, articles, and mss.) The Artillery & Guided Missile School Library, Ft. Sill, Oklahoma.
Donor: O. Willard Holloway, Librarian, Ft. Sill.

History of the City of Chickasha, pictorial brochure.
Donor: Jack Linn, Mayor of city of Chickasha, Oklahoma.

Keil's Heritage-Centennial Celebration, and
History of the Congregation of the First Lutheran Church. Centennial 1956, Geneseo, Illinois.
Donor: Mr. Paul Bennett, Semco Color Press, Oklahoma City.

MUSEUM:

Scrap book; three newspapers; G. A. R. Blue Book; Canteen used in the War Between the States.
Donor: L. M. Nichols, 700 N. W. 97th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Tickets to Chicago Worlds Fair; tickets to Republican Convention in Philadelphia in 1900; lists of Confederate money for sale by dealer; Confederate notes and bills.
Donor: L. M. Nichols, Oklahoma City.

Beaded cane used by Geronimo.
Donor: J. W. Davis, Rochester, Michigan.

Choctaw dictionary.
Donor: Philip McBride, Minneapolis 10, Minn.

Discharge papers, Union Army; Certificate of Promotion.
Donor: Ivan R. Suddeth, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Small bell used at the Modoc Mission.
Donor: Lawrence Zane, Miami, Oklahoma.

Old fashioned green glass pop bottle.
Donor: Ira Smith, Oklahoma City.

Quilting frames.
Donor: Mrs. Paul Brown, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Pictures received for Museum:

Masonic Home for the Aged.
Donor: Olin Stephens, Oklahoma City.

Oil portrait of Sen. Robert S. Kerr.
Donor: Friends of Sen. Kerr.

Ten pictures of Philadelphia Centennial Buildings.
Donor: L. M. Nichols, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Shades well.
Donor: Mrs. George E. Ellison, Guymon, Oklahoma.

Moonhead (Benjamin Quapaw).
Donor: Velma Nieberling, Miami, Oklahoma.

Two photographs of James Moffitt.
Donor: Muriel H. Wright.

Quanah Parker and wife.
Donor: Mrs. W. E. Rose.

Senator E. H. Moore.
Donor: Mrs. W. E. Rose.

Portrait of Mathias Spitlog.
Donor: Lena Guild, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

Color photograph of John Wagoshe, Osage.
Donor: Mrs. Russell Wagoshe, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

Adams General Store in Chandler in 1907.
Donor: Mrs. Daniel Webber, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Will Rogers.
Donor: R. R. Hornbeck.

Washita River near Cloud Chief in 1898; Home of Quanah Parker; First Court House in Cloud Chief; Sod House in Cordell in 1903; Court House Cordell 1902; Cheyenne Sun Dance; Indian Parade; Picking Cotton near Cordell; First Cotton Gin at Cloud Chief 1897; First Washita County Officers 1892; Scene at Cordell 1910.
Donor :R. R. Hornbeck, Los Angeles, California.

Cowboys Corral, 1889; Cowboy Outfit; Covered Wagon.
Donor: Claude E. Hensley, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS:

Arnote, Walter J.	McAlester, Okla.
Guffey, Chan	Oklahoma City, Okla.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS:

Talbot, J. D.	Bartlesville, Okla.
Evers, Jesse Bushyhead	Bristow, Okla.
Crane, Ross C.	Chandler, Okla.
Caldwell, Tom J.	Drumright, Okla.
Brummett, Jay	Duncan, Okla.
Ross, William McKinley	El Reno, Okla.
Janzen, Dr. A. W.	Enid, Okla.
Waller, DeWitt	”
Ford, H. C. Jr.	Granite, Okla.
McClendon, Mrs. Mattie	Henryetta, Okla.
Wagner, J. H.	Hobart, Okla.
Thompson, Leach	Hollis, Okla.
Tucker James O.	”
Hendrix, J. G.	Idabel, Okla.
Morning, Mrs. Amy	Lindsay, Okla.
Arnote, James S.	McAlester, Okla.
Jones, William	”

Wiebe, Mrs. M. Linda	Medford, Okla.
Baugh, John H. Jr.	Meeker, Okla.
Sanders, Mrs. Corrigan C.	"
Davis, B. E.	Muskogee, Okla.
Dornette, Rev. Ralph M.	"
Scales, Martha E.	"
Yeakley, Charles C.	"
Kemp, Raymond H.	Norman, Okla.
Peterson, Mrs. Robert V.	"
Christian, Miss Gwen	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Clark, William Stewart	"
Cook, Vern Stanley	"
Dovell, Mrs. Pearl A.	"
Griffin, G. Lyle	"
Henley, Clarence	"
Hogue, Mrs. Mary E.	"
Lloyd, James Benton	"
Locke, Miss Alece	"
McGrew, Mrs. J. R.	"
Masters, Mrs. Olive	"
Mills, Jack Russell	"
Roark, Mrs. A. L.	"
Sheppard, Dr. Mary V. S.	"
Smith, Bernard Francis	"
Thompson, Bob L.	"
Whiteman, Mrs. Vera R.	"
Sessions, Ted	Okmulgee, Okla.
Medlock, Julius Lester	Pauls Valley, Okla.
Meador, William Ralph	Ponca City, Okla.
Smith, Lester	Proctor, Okla.
Davis, O S.	Ringling, Okla.
Spurr, Mrs. Pearl	Stillwater, Okla.
Locke, Miss Vivia	"
Greenfield, Henry F. Jr.	Tishomingo, Okla.
Greenfield, Mrs. Vera A.	"
Allen, C. E.	Tulsa, Okla.
Allison, Edward L.	"
Clarke, Edward	"
Freese, John M.	"
Goen, Dr. Rayburne W.	"
McShane, Dr. William Robert	"
McWilliams, Kenneth Ryburn	"
Newman, Richard Oakley	"
Powell, W. S.	"
Webb, Ann Lucille	"
Bennett, Cody	Vian, Okla.
Godfrey, Clifford L.	Waynoka, Okla.
Kiker, Mr. and Mrs. V. L.	Wewoka, Okla.
Watson, Elbert	East Gadsden, Ala.
Glass, E. Claude	Gardena, Calif.
McDonald, Mrs. Ira	Los Angeles, Calif.
Ross, Mrs. Mary G.	"
Goforth, Mrs. Nancy	Rosemead, Calif.
Fowler, Mrs. Thomas E.	Van Nuys, Calif.
Doenges, R. S.	Colorado Springs, Colo.
Simmons, H. O.	Pomeroy, Ohio
Butt, E. A. Jr.	Chicago, Ill.
Salmon, Dr. George W.	Houston, Texas
Houser, Allan	Brigham City, Utah
Deerinwater, Lloyd E.	Wichita Falls, Texas
Albert, Hon. Carl	Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL DATA FOR PRESERVATION

In The

RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY

THE APPLICANT WILL PLEASE FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING

Full name (including middle name or names, spelled out)

....

Scholastic degrees, if any:..

Religious, Fraternal and Club affiliations:.....................................

....

....

....

Military service:...

....

....

Present business, occupation, profession or official position:—

....

....

Native state:..

Date of settlement and place of location in Oklahoma:...............

....

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Date.. 19........

To the Oklahoma Historical Society:

In accordance with an invitation received, hereby request that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society elect me to Annual, Life, membership in the Society. In order to expedite the transaction, I herewith send the required fee $...

(Signed) ....

P. O. Address..

....

....

The historical quarterly magazine is sent free to all members.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP due (no entrance fee), three dollars in advance.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP fee (free from all dues thereafter), $50.00. Annual members may become life members at any time upon the payment of the fee of fifty dollars. This form of membership is recommended to those who are about to join the Society. It is more economical in the long run and it obviates all trouble incident to the paying of annual dues.

All checks or drafts for membership fees or dues should be made payable to the order of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Nominated by

OK.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

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Summer, 1957

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GRAND SEAL OF THE TERRITORY OF OKLAHOMA

The facsimile of the Grand Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma appears on the front cover of this number of *The Chronicles,* in colors selected in the Editorial Department when the engraving for the cover was ordered made. The Grand Seal was provided by an act of the Second Session of the Territorial Legislative Assembly that convened at Guthrie, the Capital of the new Territory, on January 10, 1893.

Officials of Oklahoma Territory at this time were Abraham J. Seay, Governor; Robert Martin, Secretary of State; Horace Speed, United States Attorney; Edward B. Green, Chief Justice, John H. Burford and John G. Clark, Associate Justices, of the Territorial Supreme Court; and William Grimes, United States Marshal.[1]

The Legislative Assembly was made up by the Council (Senate) of thirteen members, with W. A. McCartney as President; and by the House of twenty-six members, with T. R. Waggoner as Speaker. Among the prominent leaders in the Territorial Assembly who had made the run into the "Oklahoma Country" in 1889 and who were well known both in the Territory and later the State of Oklahoma, were Charles H. Carswell, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee in the Council, who afterward served in Territorial official positions; Dan W. Peery, member of the Judiciary and other committees in the House, newspaper man who later served as a member of the State Legislature and subsequently as Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society (1930-1936); Frank H. Greer, Publisher and Editor of the *Oklahoma State Capital* newspaper at Guthrie, who was a member of the Committee on "Labor, Manufactories and Home Industry" in the House, 1893.

It was in the office of Frank H. Greer at Guthrie that the Grand Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma was designed. Few pioneers of Oklahoma who came here in 1889 touched the life, civic ideals and institutions like Frank H. Greer in his activities and influence. He was one of the organizers of the Oklahoma Territorial Press Association in 1890, and served as vice-president in 1894-95, and was president in 1904-05. He was one of the leading organizers of the Oklahoma Historical Society in the meeting of the Press Association at Kingfisher, on May 26, 1893, the date of which was shortly after the adoption of the Grand Seal of the Territory by the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Greer was a member of the first Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and served continuously on the Board and was vice-president for

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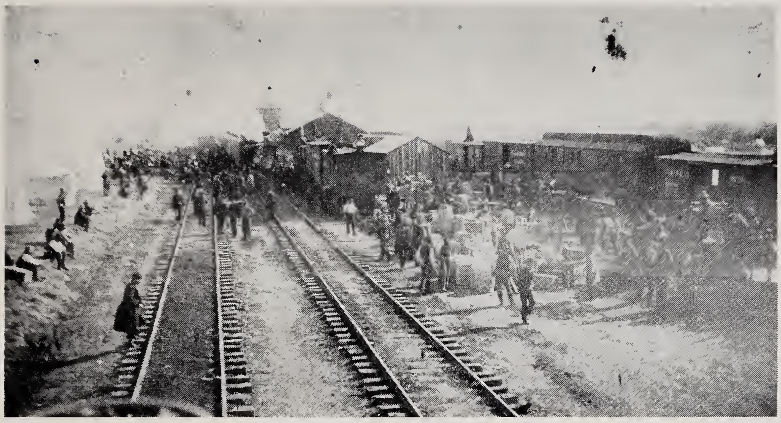
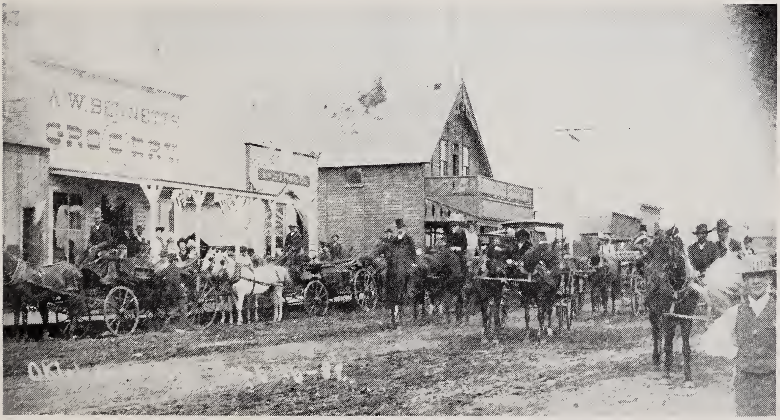
[1] *Journal* of the House and the Council, Second Legislative Assembly, 1893.



Frisco Railway Station, Guthrie, at the Opening in 1889.



Oklahoma Avenue, Guthrie, Sept. 16, 1889

a number of years. He was strongly partisan in the struggle for Guthrie to hold the Territorial Capital from the time of the First Legislative Assembly (1890-91). He set about to make Guthrie the dominant city of Oklahoma Territory, in this fight facing every form of townsite rivalry and promotion scheme yet he built as a leader one of the most colorful and picturesque commonwealths that the West ever knew. At the death of this pioneer Oklahoman on August 8, 1933, a friend told how Frank Greer had put his wonderful brain power and magnificent courage into every page of the morning paper to hold for Guthrie the first place that a leading newspaper of a state or territory can give a city. This same friend, the late Walter Ferguson, himself a newspaper man in his younger days and the son of the sixth Governor of Oklahoma Territory, Thompson B. Ferguson, paid him further tribute:[2]

> Frank Greer was a striking personality of the early days, perhaps, and certainly to me, the most outstanding. He was a vigorous, aggressive, courageous editor. Every issue of his paper reflected his remarkable individuality. The files of the old Guthrie *Capital* comprise a history of early Oklahoma, and the proud lines penned so fearlessly and so tirelessly by Frank Greer constitute the saga of its people.
>
> He was the poet and the prophet of that vast romance and to those in the years to come who read his chronicles, he will ever be the embodiment of the spirit of Oklahoma.

These glimpses into the character and life of Frank Hilton Greer help to explain the detailed description of the text in the law that provided the adoption of the Territorial Seal. Mr. Greer introduced *House Bill No. 66*, "An act to establish a permanent grand seal for the Territory of Oklahoma," before the Assembly on the afternoon of February 6, 1893. The Bill passed the House on February 23, 1893, by a vote of 20 to 1, Dan W. Peery being one of its active supporters along with Mr. Greer. It passed the Council on March 10, 1893, on roll call of 9 to 2, those voting in the affirmative being Carswell, Fegan, Lane, McCredie, Pringey, Pulliam, Ross, Shaffer and Mr. President; those in the negative, Clevinger and Pitman. *House Bill No. 66* was signed by the President of the Council, W. A. McCartney, and by the Speaker of the House, T. R. Waggoner, in open session on the same day. This law is as follows:[3]

[Took effect March 10, 1893]

AN ACT to establish a permanent Grand Seal for the Territory of Oklahoma.

(5991) Sec. 1. The permanent official Grand Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma shall be as follows: Under the motto "Labor Omnia Vincit" shall be Columbia, as the central figure, representing Justice and Statehood. On her right is the American pioneer farmer, on her left is the aboriginal American Indian. These two representatives of the white and the red races are shaking hands beneath the scales of Justice, symbolizing equal

---

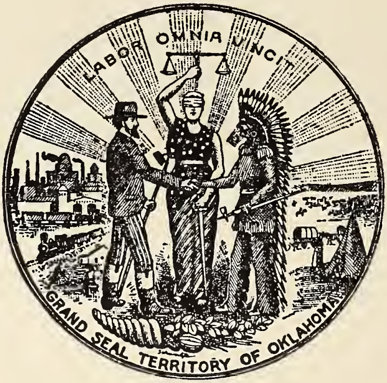
[2] Joseph B. Thoburn, "Frank Greer," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (September, 1936), pp. 265-94. This biography contains some of Mr. Greer's own reminiscences.

[3] *Statutes of Oklahoma*, 1893, p. 1129.

justice between the white and the red races of Oklahoma, and on the part of the Federal Government. Beneath the trio group is the cornucopia of plenty and the olive branch of peace, and behind is the sun of progress and civilization. Behind the Indian is the scene depicting the barbarous, nomadic life of the aborigines—tepees, emigrant train, grazing herds, etc., representing Oklahoma in her primeval wildness. Behind the white man is a scene depicting the arts of civilization—farmer plowing, rural home, railroad train, compress, mills, elevator, manufactories, churches, schools, capitol and city. The two scenes are symbolic of the advance of the star and empire westward. The peaceful conquests of the Anglo-Saxon and the decadence of the red race. Under all shall be the words "Grand Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma."
(5992) Sec. 2. The said Grand Seal shall be engraved in a circle not to exceed three inches in diameter and shall conform to the design beneath attached, marked Exhibit A.

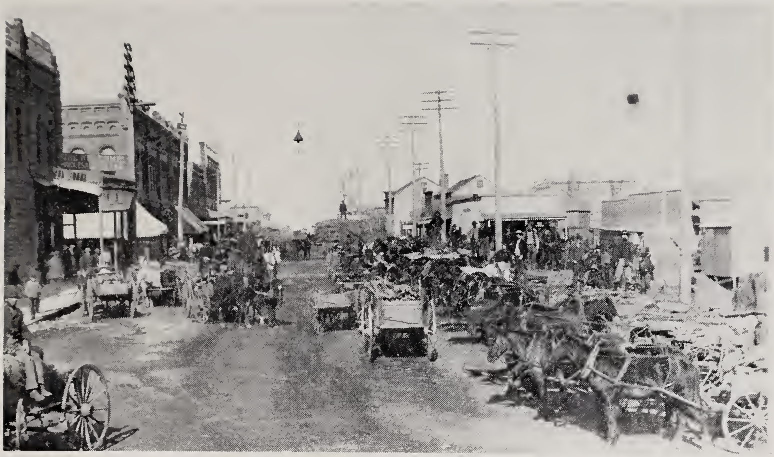
Exhibit "A"

Labor Omnia Vincit

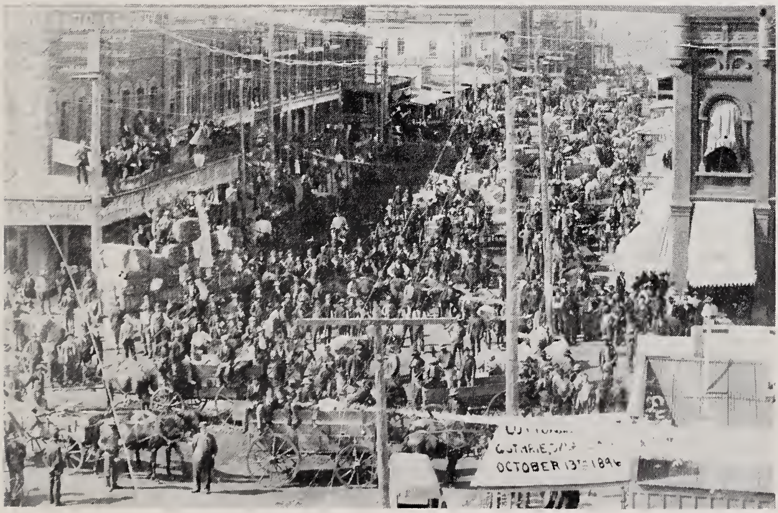

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT
GRAND SEAL TERRITORY OF OKLAHOMA

(5993) Sec. 3. The said Grand Seal shall be placed with titles of all Territorial Reports published, and so far as is practicable, on all Territorial stationary, bonds, and official documents.
(5994) Sec. 4. This Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage and approval.

Special legislation was necessary to provide a territorial government after the run for homesteads on April 22, 1889, into the Unassigned Land, a tract of nearly 2,000,000 acres better known as the Oklahoma Country, and later as "Old Oklahoma," in the center of the Indian Territory. For more than a year, the people who came here lived without any laws except the few Federal statutes that were in force on all public domain since the Presidential Proclamation opening the Unassigned Land had made no provisions for a government. Yet the new communities comprising a population of about 60,000 in the area were governed by common consent; life and property were protected, public enterprise encouraged and general progress made in a way unequaled in any new country in the history of the World.



Wood Market at Guthrie in 1890



Cotton Market at Guthrie, October, 1896

Congress passed the Organic Act approved May 2, 1890, providing the organization of the Territory of Oklahoma. The law provided for six counties, each designated by number, in the Old Oklahoma area, and annexed No-Man's-Land—the present Oklahoma Panhandle—as a seventh county. The names of the six counties were chosen by a vote of the people in the first election held on August 5, 1890: First County became Logan; Second County, Oklahoma; Third County, Cleveland; Fourth County, Canadian; Fifth County, Kingfisher; Sixth County, Payne. Guthrie in First or Logan County was made the temporary territorial capital by the Organic Act. It also provided for the annexation to Oklahoma Territory of all Indian reservation lands whenever these were opened to public settlement. At the end of its seventeen-year existence, Oklahoma Territory comprised the western part, a little over half, of the present state. At the same time, the eastern part, about one-half of the present state, remained known as Indian Territory comprising the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes and a small tract in the northeastern corner (part of Ottawa County now) belonging to several remnant tribes under the Quapaw Agency.

The seven governors of the Territory of Oklahoma appointed by the presidents of the United States, in its seventeen-year history, were George Washington Steele, May 22, 1890-October 18, 1891; Abraham Jefferson Seay, February 2, 1892-May 7, 1893 (Robert Martin, Secretary of State, served as Acting Governor October 18, 1891-February 2, 1892); William Cary Renfrow, May 7, 1893-May 24, 1897; Cassius McDonald Barnes, May 24, 1897-April 15, 1901; William Miller Jenkins, April 16, 1901-November 30, 1901; Thompson Benton Ferguson, November 30, 1901-January 5, 1906; Frank Frantz, January 5, 1906-November 16, 1907.

The first elections under provisions of the Organic Act for members of the Council and the House in the Territorial Legislative Assembly were held on August 5, 1890, and on August 29, the First Assembly was organized and ready for business in Oklahoma Territory. It was at once evident that the permanent location of the Territorial Capital was the first order of business before the legislators, with intense rivalry between Guthrie and Oklahoma City for the honor. *Council Bill No. 7*, first up for debate on September 16, provided that Oklahoma City be the Capital, and that all Territorial government offices be moved to this new location between February 1 and 15, 1891. Governor Steele took his time and finally vetoed the bill on October 13, 1890, all legislative work having ceased in the tense rivalry that had arisen with crowds of excited people thronging the Governor's offices awaiting his decision. From this time, the removal and the permanent location of the Capital was a heated issue in the political life of the Territory from year to year, at different periods the names of Kingfisher and Shawnee being entered in the contest with the hope of winning the prize through the action of the Territorial Assembly. Guthrie remained the seat of Government but no public buildings were erected, the Territorial offices being located in rented quarters in the Capital City.[4]

The establishment of a public school system was one of the first orders of business before the First Legislative Assembly, the sum of $50,000 having been provided by Federal appropriation under the Organic Act for the support of schools in the Territory until the necessary revenues could be raised by local taxation. A battle arose in the First Assembly for the location of several institutions of higher learning, with political trading of influence and votes in naming these locations based on the recent bitter fight for the capital location. Before adjournment, the Assembly established the University at Norman, the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater and the Central Normal School at Edmond, Some years before the end of the Territorial period, the Assembly had also established the Northwestern Normal at Alva; the Southwestern Normal at Weatherford; the University Preparatory School at Tonkawa; the Agricultural and Normal School for Negroes, at Langston. During this same period, a number of church schools were founded and developed in the Territory of Oklahoma, including Kingfisher College (Congregational) at Kingfisher; Phillips Christian University at Enid; Oklahoma Methodist University at Guthrie; Oklahoma Baptist University at Shawnee; and the Catholic College and St. Joseph's Academy at Guthrie. It may be added that Henry Kendall College in the Indian Territory was moved from Muskogee to Tulsa in this same period.

The many land openings in the Territory make the history of Oklahoma different from any state in the Union. As each area was opened to public settlement, it was organized into counties and schools were established under the Territorial government. There were nine of these land openings in this period.

The Public Lands in the Panhandle, also called No-Man's-Land or the Neutral Strip because it had not been a part of any territory or state since 1850, was added to Oklahoma Territory under provisions of the Organic Act. This large area far northwest

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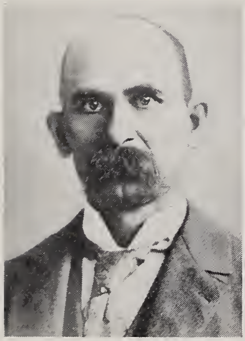
[4] Letter dated March 11, 1953, to the Editor, from Mr. T. H. Harman, President of the Co-Operative Publishing Company, Guthrie, in reply to a request for these data states: "By consulting Mr. Fred L. Wenner, our present City Treasurer, who was a newspaper reporter at the time Oklahoma was opened to settlement (1889), and has more historical knowledge of the growth of Oklahoma, than possibly anyone in the state, he states the first Legislature was held in 1890 in the Royal Hotel which was then just built. After that the Legislature met in the Coyle and Smith Building at the corner of Second and Harrison, just across the street east from the Co-Operative Publishing Company building. The 1905 session of the Legislature was held in the City Hall which was built in 1905. The 1907 session of the Legislature was held in a Convention Hall which was just then finished by the City of Guthrie, and is now the east part of the Masonic Cathedral on the east side of Guthrie."

The University at Norman. Building completed 1893.

The Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater. Building completed in 1894.

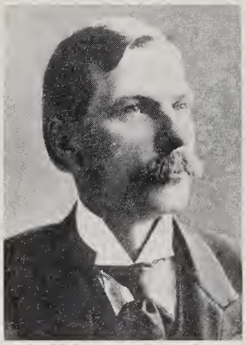
George W. Steele

Abraham J. Seay



William C. Renfrow

Cassius M. Barnes



William M. Jenkins

Thompson B. Ferguson

Frank Frantz

was 167 miles long and 34½ miles wide, approximating 3,681,360 acres. It was named and organized as Beaver County, Territory of Oklahoma, in August, 1890.

The Sac and Fox, Iowa and Pottawatomie reservations, approximately 1,282,434 acres, were opened for settlement on September 22, 1891, under a Presidential Proclamation issued four days before the date. This tract was opened by run, an early Territorial governor's report stating that the opening "was conducted on the 'horse race' plan, every contestant running for something and taking what he could get, provided he was not beaten out of that." Settlers experienced the usual pioneer life and their share of contests and disputes over priority rights on the land claims. The tract was in the eastern part of the Territory, and was never organized as a single county, portions subsequently being added to Cleveland, Pottawatomie, Logan, Lincoln, Payne and Oklahoma Counties.

The opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in the western part of the Territory took place on April 19, 1892, the great tract comprising 3,500,000 open to the public after the Indian allotments had been made. The area added six new counties in the Territory, designated as "C," "D," "E," "F," "G," afterward named by the voters in the counties, respectively, Dewey, Day, Roger Mills, Custer and Washita. The opening was made by run for homesteads. This region was in the "short grass country" where there were many big cattle ranches on former Indian lease lands. Much of the country remained unclaimed by settlers until later years. There followed here the old pattern on the western frontier of controversies and disputes between the new settlers and the cattlemen. These local troubles were finally stopped through the firm stand of Governor Ferguson during his administration.

The greatest land opening of all time was that of the Cherokee Outlet, popularly called the "Cherokee Strip," on September 16, 1893. This wide strip extending west from the Osage Reservation to Beaver County, across Northern Oklahoma, comprised 6,014,239 acres. The country was opened by run, "the horse race feature," every aspirant required to register at one or another of the Government booths set up at intervals around the borders. The Tonkawa and Pawnee reservations were also opened to public settlement at this time. These areas were organized in the Territory as Pawnee, Noble, Kay, Grant, Garfield, Woods and Woodward counties, with a small part in Payne County.

The Kickapoo Reservation lands were opened by run at noon on May 25, 1895. The Kickapoo tribal members had been allotted less than 100 acres each, leaving a tract of 175,000 acres to be opened by public settlement, which was attached to the Territory as portions of Lincoln, Oklahoma and Pottawatomie counties. Since new Indian lands were getting scarcer, there were many more aspirants in this ''horse race opening'' than available homestead claims. The full history of the opening of the Kickapoo Reservation has never been published. It involved questionable procedure and advantage taken of the Kickapoo Indians in giving up their lands as well as fraudulent practices at the time of the run and disputes over ''sooner'' claims.

Greer County in the Southwest on Red River was attached to Oklahoma Territory by Congressional Act on May 4, 1896, comprising a total of 1,511,576 acres. This had been disputed country, Texas having claimed and organized it as Greer County in that state. The Organic Act (Sec. 24) on May 2, 1890, directed the United States Attorney General to commence action in the Supreme Court to determine the ownership of the area. The decision was handed down by the Court on March 16, 1896, and the tract subsequently organized as a part of the Territory. Land claims were allowed settlers through the Government land office at Mangum, Greer County then including the area north of Red River, and west of the North Fork to the 100th Meridian.

The last great opening was in the southwestern part of Oklahoma Territory on August 6, 1901, when the surplus lands of the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache and the Wichita-Caddo reservations of almost 4,000,000 acres were opened to public settlement. Instead of a race for claims, the lands in this area were opened by lottery. This great ''land lottery'' aroused much excitement even in far away states. Under Government rules, all claimants had to register at the land offices recently set up at El Reno and Lawton. The some 160,000 registrants each received a number which corresponded to that on a sealed envelope containing his name. All envelopes were placed in specially made, revolving boxes, and thoroughly shuffled on August 6, the day of the drawing under Government supervision. Since there were about 13,000 homestead tracts for distribution in the area, there were only that many lucky registrants who could qualify for land claims when the numbers on the envelopes containing their names were drawn. Three new counties—Caddo, Comanche and Kiowa—were organized as a part of Oklahoma Territory from lands opened to settlement in 1901.

A tract of 500,000 acres had been reserved from settlement in the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation, and became known as the ''Big Pasture'' in southern Oklahoma Territory. The area was opened to public settlement by sale in tracts, to the highest bidders in December, 1906. The ''Big Pasture'' lands were added to Comanche County in the Territory.

The lands in the Oto, Missouri, Ponca and Kaw reservations were all allotted to the Indian tribal members living there, leaving no surplus lands for public settlement. An Act of Congress, in 1904, attached these former Indian reservation areas to the Territory, and they were made additions to Kay, Noble and Pawnee counties.

The Osage Reservation was considered in the Oklahoma Territory region though it was never organized as a county under the Territorial government. Osage allotment of lands and settlement of tribal properties were made under a special Act of Congress, and were thus delayed until near the close of the Oklahoma Territorial period.

Congressional legislation that affected the development of Oklahoma Territory was promoted by elected delegates to Congress. These representatives from the Territory and the years that they served in office as delegates were David A. Harvey, 1890-1893; Dennis T. Flynn, 1893-1897, 1899-1903; J. Y. Callahan, 1897-1899; Bird S. McGuire, 1903-1907. The enactment of the "Free Homes Bill" by Congress, which became a law on May 4, 1900, was a great boon to settlers in Oklahoma Territory, the measure having won largely through the efforts of Delegate Dennis T. Flynn. During his first term in Congress in 1894, Mr. Flynn had declared that the people of the Territory were entitled to free homesteads, as a matter of right and justice, and had promised every possible effort in behalf of such legislation.

When the Oklahoma Country was opened to settlement in 1889, the lands were all free to every settler who selected a homestead and lived on his claim five years. When the Indian reservation lands were opened to public settlement, beginning with the Sac and Fox and the Iowa and Pottawatomi lands in 1891, a price of $1.25 to $1.50 per acre was fixed which the settler would have to pay before he secured title, even though he complied with all the requirements of the Federal Homestead Law. Settlers in the Territory as early as 1892 felt that the new provision was unjust and contrary to the spirit of the Homestead Law. Drought and hard times from year to year made it difficult for them to meet their land payments. Delegate Flynn succeeded in securing relief for many settlers by an extension of time in 1893, for their land payments, and began his work for a Free Homes law. A Territorial Free Homes League was organized at Perry in 1895, and the Territorial Assembly in session at the time made an appropriation of $500 to further the object of the League. Delegate J. Y. Callahan during his term in Congress sought Free Homes legislation.

Flynn's Free Homes Bill enacted by Congress in 1900 is said to have saved the settlers $15,000,000 in Oklahoma. It provided that all Indian reservation lands opened to settlement before

1900 could be entered free from any payment, except land office fees; and any unpaid balances were not to be collected. Governor Jenkins reported in 1901 that money saved by this Act of Congress had been a prominent factor in the general progress and building of the Territory, the farmers having put their spare funds into improvements of their homesteads—houses, barns, livestock, implements and comforts for their families.[5]

The scenes described in such detail in the law of 1893, providing the Grand Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma, had come to pass in large measure by 1907. And strangely, the title of Frank Greer's *House Bill No. 66*, "An Act to establish a permanent Grand Seal for the Territory of Oklahoma," was prophetic. This Grand Seal has been permanently preserved as the device in the center of the large five-pointed star that forms a part of the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma.

—*Editor.*

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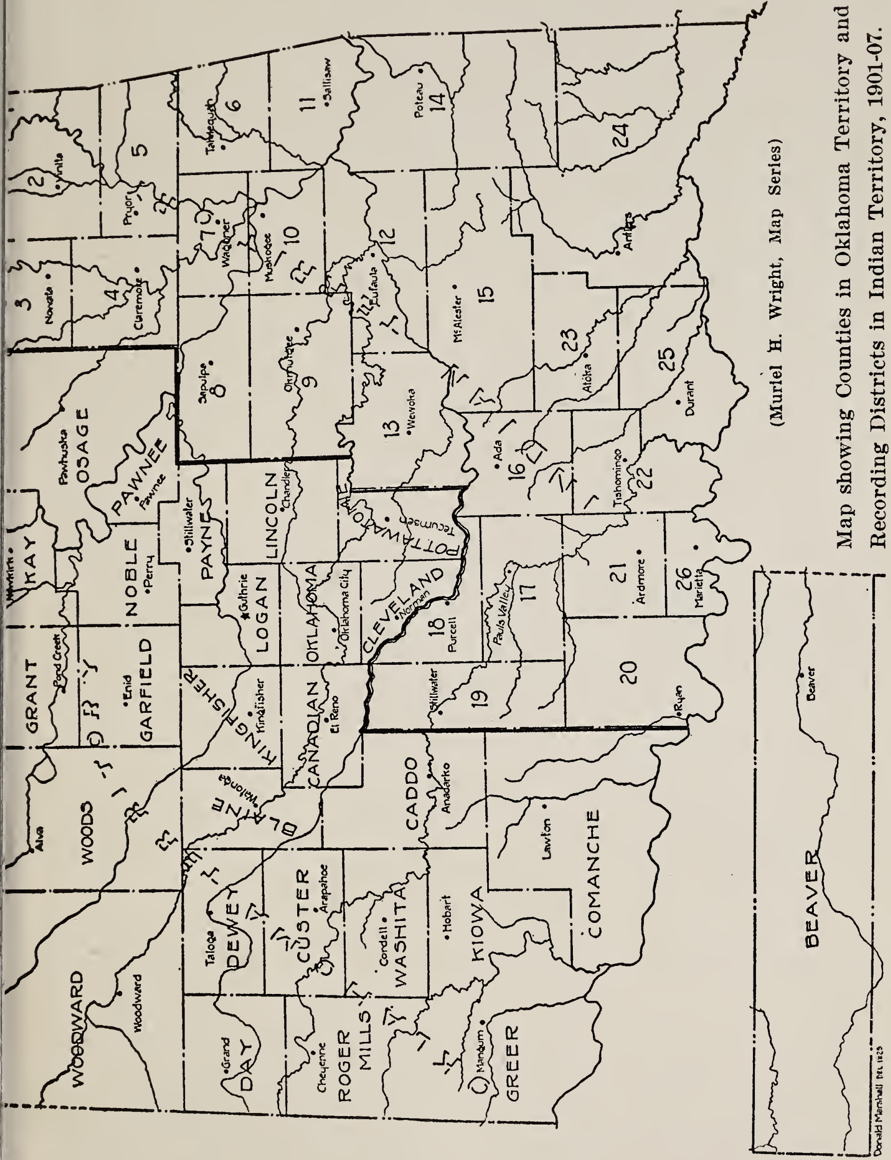
[5] *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma*, 1901, to the Secretary of the Interior, pp. 86-7.

Among the many references that may be cited on the history of Oklahoma Territory, are: Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. II; Seth K. Corden and W. B. Richards, compilers, *The Oklahoma Red Book* (Oklahoma City, 1912), Vol. I; Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, 1955); Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1957), Vol. I.



(Muriel H. Wright, Map Series)

Map showing Counties in Oklahoma Territory and Recording Districts in Indian Territory, 1901-07.

THE BIG PASTURE

*By Charles M. Cooper**

The last Indian land tract opened to public settlement in Oklahoma was the Big Pasture. Set aside at the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache lands August 6, 1901, the Big Pasture was one of several grazing reserves in the leased district so designated and chosen by the Secretary of The Interior. In area, it comprised 488,000 acres covering parts of present Comanche, Cotton and Tillman counties in Oklahoma. In all, the pasture reserves were of 505,000 acres.[1]

Physically, the Big Pasture had varied topography, but was predominently an area of plains with some wooded draws along the two Cache creeks. Captain Randolph B. Marcy, in his search for the source of Red River, in 1852, noted that timbered regions along Cache creek were the last of any size until the foothills of the Rocky mountains were reached.[2]

The Big Pasture, at its extremes, was 29 miles in depth on a north-south line and 36 miles wide along a line just south and west of present Temple, in Cotton County, Oklahoma. Starting at the north bank of the Red river 9½ miles south and 3 east of Temple, the boundary line proceeded 7½ miles due north; west 6 miles; north 18 miles to a point 6 miles south of Lawton; west 9 miles; south 3 miles; east 1¾ miles; south ¼mile; east ¼mile; south 2¾ miles; west 23 miles and south 16 miles to the north bank of the Red river again.

The Plains Indians were probably inhabitants of the area prior to the development of the counry and evidences have been found that indicate Coronado, in his search for Quivera passed approximately through the middle of the Big Pasture and left at least one of his cohorts near Eschiti townsite.[3]

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* Mr. Charles M. Cooper is the Publisher of *The Temple Tribune*, at Temple, Cotton County, Oklahoma.

[1] Muriel H. Wright, *The Story of Oklahoma* (Webb Publishing Co., 1929), pp. 264-65.

[2] Capt. Randolph B. Marcy, "Exploration of the Red River": 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., *Senate Exec. Doc.* 54.

[3] *The Temple Tribune*, August 22, 1907: "Eschiti, Oklahoma.—While excavating on a right-of-way near here a party of scraper drivers unearthed a historic tombstone that appears to have been set in a graveyard that once existed here. The stone is carved into a diamond shape and consists of a granite base to which is cemented a triangular marble with the vortex pointing upward. The base is about ten inches high, six inches wide and three feet long, and the marble about two feet square, the diamond outline of the entire piece being perfected by a triangular composition of cement and adamatine substance attached to the bottom of the granite and holding the entire piece in its upright position.

From 1901 until final approval date of March 20, 1906, three separate legislative attempts to open the pasture lands to settlement were made. Representative B. R. Stephens, of the 16th Texas Congressional District, Vernon, Texas, was author of the bills.[4]

Interest in the opening of the new lands to settlement was high. Most of the land was rich and fertile and would eventually provide homes for 2,337 families less than a year after the opening.[5] Citizens in the new country—with towns only four years old—felt the opening of the Big Pasture would mean more to the area than statehood.[6]

Twice, bills for the opening of pasture and wood reserves had passed the house under Stephens' sponsorship only to fail in the senate. Opposition of Secretary of the Interior A. E. Hitchcock and Indian Commissioner F. E. Leupp was blamed for the Senate's lack of action.[7]

The third bill introduced by Stephens, *House Bill 431* (*34 Statutes,* 80), was passed by the Senate as received from the the House. However, it also met opposition of Leupp, Hitchcock and, in turn, President Theodore Roosevelt. The bill was finally recalled from the president, where it faced certain veto,[8] amended, re-passed and signed into law June 5, 1906.[9]

Opposition to *House Bill 431* unamended was due to lack of provisions for Indian allotments and a minimum price of $1.50 per acre. Roosevelt, on his famous wolf hunt of 1905, had been in parts of the Big Pasture and was given credit for being familiar

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"On the front of the marble slab is an inscription printed in undiscernable Spanish, above the inscription being the name 'Don Juan Valerez El Padre, Madrid Senor de la Bonito Senorito.' Beneath the inscription is the date, '1542.'

"The tombstone was discovered about ten feet beneath the surface and has been taken to Fort Worth for safe keeping by the railroad company. It is known in history that the Spaniards were in this part of the country in the year recorded on this piece of imperishable monument."

Apparently the "safe keeping" was permanent, for I (C. M. Cooper) have been unable to find anyone who knows anything of the monument. I have contacted two different railroads, one of them the successor to the L,WF, and NW and have drawn complete blanks.

[4] *Ibid.,* March 15, 1906.

[5] A petition prepared during the financial panic of 1907 seeking a moratorium on the first annual payment listed 2,337 families as Big Pasture residents.

[6] *The Temple Tribune,* May 31, 1906: "When the news reached this place Saturday that the Senate had passed the Pasture bill without a dissenting vote, the news spread among the people like wild fire The citizens of Comanche county have been looking forward to its passage with great eagerness, and in fact have felt as though the opening of the pasture meant more to this country than statehood would."

[7] *Ibid.,* March 15, 1906.

[8] *Ibid.,* March 22, 1906.

[9] *Ibid.,* June 14, 1906.

enough with land values to discern a discrepancy in prices. Stephens' amended bill rectified these omissions, providing that each child of Indian parentage of the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache tribes should receive an allotment of 160 acres and also set a minimum price of $5 per acre for the land.[10]

House Bill 431 was activated by presidential proclamation September 19, 1906, with the document calling for the Secretary of the Interior to open the lands to settlement within six months. Included in the opening were four pasture reserves; the Big Pasture; a reserve in Kiowa county; one north of Fletcher in Comanche-Caddo counties and one in eastern Comanche county.[11]

Allotments were made to Kiowa, Comanche and Apache children born since June 6, 1900.[12] In all, 3,445 allotments were made on this reserve between the years 1900 to 1910.[13] Most of the Fletcher reserve was taken up with Indian allotments of 160 acres each. In many instances, when left to their own choice, Indians chose quarter sections with wood and water located thereon, although agents in charge of allotments, John P. Blackmon and Sub-agent W. I. Silcot, advised the Indians to choose level lands.[14] In the first part of the opening, 128 Indians chose land for the most part in the richly wooded bottomlands of West and East Cache creeks.[15]

Even before the earliest opening of the Kiowa-Comanche reservation in 1901, the Big Pasture had been leased to Texas ranchers. A primal reason the 1901 opening was delayed was due to the ranchers' objections.[16] Grazing leases were of six miles width in the Big Pasture and ran the full length. According to a Suggs wrangler, the Wagoner range was the west side of the pasture; the Burnett grazing rights were for the middle, while the Suggs cattle grazed the east portion.

Other activity in the Big Pasture prior to official opening was leasing for agriculture purposes quarter-sections in the area. Fourteen families left Temple in February, 1906, for the area around what is now Randlett. This action was taken by the Interior

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[10] *Ibid.*, March 29, 1906.

[11] *Ibid.*, March 1, 1906.

[12] *Ibid.*, April 5, 1906.

[13] Bureau of Indian Affairs Realty Requirements June 3, 1957, pp. 258-50. An excerpt from the report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1907 (House Docs., 60th Cong. 1st Sess., XXVI [5295], pp. 21, 49), shows that in that year there were 1,235 Kiowas, 1,440 Comanche and 159 Apaches, for a total of 2,834. In view of this report, the number of allotments, even for a 10-year period, at first seems excessive. However, studies of the life of the Indians around the turn of the century shows that extremely high mortality and birth rates prevailed.

[14] *The Temple Tribune*, May 17, 1906.

[15] Map here published.

[16] Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

Department following failure of the Senate to approve opening legislation.[17]

Quarters were leased for a five-year term at the rate of 25¢ per acre, or $40 per year. Other lease stipulations were that at least 120 acres had to be "broken out" in the life of the lease and quarter sections to be fenced with a four-wire fence.[18]

Following President Roosevelt's proclamation of September 19, machinery was rapidly put into operation for the opening of the Big Pasture. Rules and regulations governing the opening were formulated and announced by Secretary Hitchcock a month later on October 19, 1906. Regulations stated lands would be sold by sealed bids with a minimum price previously stated. A sum equal to one-fifth of the total bid was to be enclosed with each bid as a deposit. The balance was to be paid in four equal annual payments. Only qualified entrymen, *i. e.,* a citizen of the United States, 21 or older, not owner of more than 160 acres of land who had not previously filed upon any lands subject to homestead entry, or those who were a head of a family, were permitted to bid. Second entrymen were also qualified. All bidders had to furnish affidavits of entrymen qualifications with bids.[19]

Original date of receipt of bids had been scheduled for December 3, 1906, at the Lawton Land office. Receipt of bids, however, was postponed one week and bids were first received Monday, December 10, 1906. Bids poured in between the hours of 9:00 a. m. to 4:00 p. m. daily until Saturday, December 15. During that period, 7621 bids were received representing an estimated $2,286,300 and some 13,000 bids under original estimates of more optimistic citizens.[20]

Prior to the announcement of rules and regulations governing the sale, a difference of opinion developed over the best method—sealed bids or public auction—of land disposal.

Interior Department officials had announced their decision that the sealed bid method would be used until Delegate Bird McGuire made an emphatic protest and at the same time made a heated request for sale of lands at public auction.[21]

Delegate McGuire made his protest directly to President Roosevelt. However, Commissioner Leupp, a close personal friend of Roosevelt, finally prevailed in his sealed bid proposal. The President backed Leupp even over objections of General Commissioner W. A. Richards' official subordinates who actively championed the public auction disposal method.[22] Chief Quanah Parker, who had earned the respect and admiration of white men and Indians alike, was said to have favored the public auction method, which, in his opinion, would have raised more money for the Indian tribes.[23] Prior to that, however, Parker was said to have opposed the opening.[24]

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[17] Personal recollection of P. H. Page, Temple, one of original lessees,

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Rules and Regulations, a Secretary of State Document, October 19, 1906.

[20] *The Lawton State Democrat,* December 16, 1906.

[21] *The Temple Tribune*, September 13, 1906.

Opening of bids at the Lawton office began the following Monday, December 17, and continued daily, Sundays and holidays excluded, according to the rules. Final results showed that slightly over $4 million was gained from the bid plan representing sale of 396,000 acres. Sale money was deposited in the U. S. Treasury to the credit of members of the three tribes, Kiowa, Comanche and Prairie Apache. Money so deposited, according to rules and regulations, was to bear 4% per annum.

Bids ranged from the $800 minimum per quarter section to the high of $7,376 bid by T. B. Best for NW¼ Sec. 26, T 4 S., R 12 W. M. S. Trope bid $6,333 for the same quarter, which was near the projected Randlett townsite.[25]

Following the bid openings, successful bidders were notified and for weeks newspapers carried names, by towns, of successful bidders. Dates were given for successful bidders to file for entrymen permits at the Lawton office beginning March 15, 1907. Entry could be made any time after filing with the office but must be completed within six months, the rules stated.

Miss Olive Jones qualified as the first entryman, filing as soon as the office opened for business on March 15. The first married woman qualifying under the "or head of the house" provision of entrymen rules, was Mrs. Mary A. Ashurat, San Jose, Calif., for the NW¼ Sec. 24, T 2 S., R 14 W.[26]

A number of multiple bids were made. Mrs. Adele French, of McAlester, bid on 1,820 separate tracts of land in the Big Pasture according to a current newspaper report. Homestead provisions had to be followed and only one quarter could be purchased by any one person.[27] Several reports were current, however, that persons put up the money for the purchase, having a figurehead owner for the record. At a later date, the lands were then assigned back to the financier.

For the opening and bidding, field notes, plats, maps and other descriptive literature were at Anadarko, Hobart, Frederick and

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[22] *Ibid.*

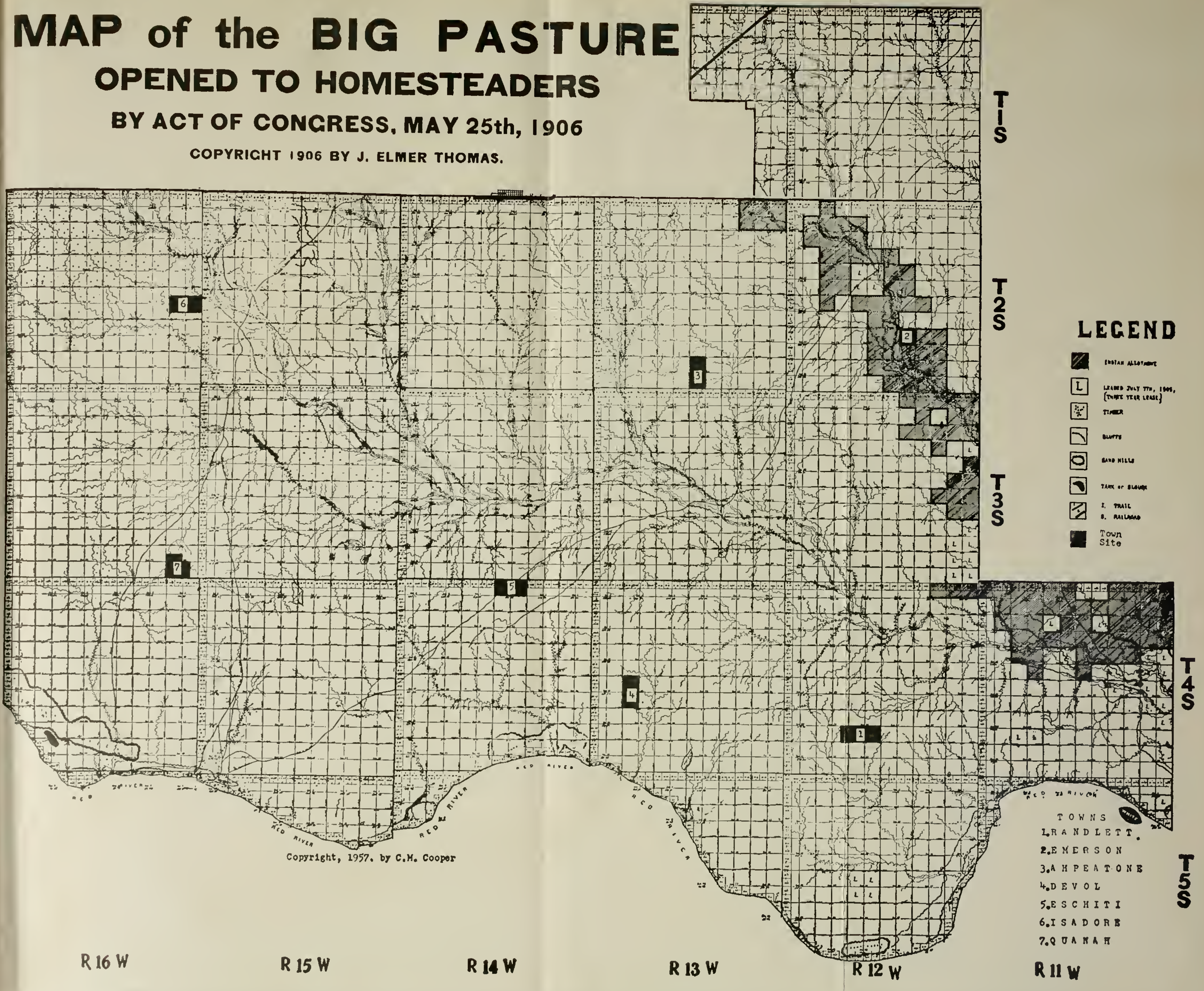
[23] *The Lawton Constitution*, December 20, 1906.

[24] *The Temple Tribune*, March 22, 1906.

[25] *The Lawton Constitution*, December 20, 1906.

[26] *Ibid.*, March 21, 1907.

[27] *Ibid.*



MAP of the BIG PASTURE
OPENED TO HOMESTEADERS
BY ACT OF CONGRESS, MAY 25th, 1906
COPYRIGHT 1906 BY J. ELMER THOMAS.

Copyright, 1957, by C.M. Cooper

Map of the Big Pasture, published before the opening in 1906, with some historical data added in 1957. The area shown is within the boundaries of Cotton County, Oklahoma.

Lawton, with representatives of the Interior Department stationed at the latter two towns. Prior to the opening, the Department had appointed a commission to survey five government townsites in the Big Pasture.

The commission was organized at Anadarko and was comprised of Agent W. L. Miller as president and Professor J. H. Haddon, of the Comanche Indian school, as secretary. George W. Hooper was chief surveyor for townsites and allotments. Actual selection of location was made secretly, leaked out once and apparently were changed by Agent J. P. Blackmon and Supervisor Dickson. Final townsite approval for location and names was gained from Judge Thomas Ryan, acting Secretary of the Interior, on September 12, 1906.[28] Blackmon and Dickson selected the sites and Commissioner Leupp selected the names.

Location of townsites as finally surveyed and plated and the names were:

Randett: S½ of Sec. 28 and E½ of SE¼ of Sec. 29, T 4 S., R 12 W, 400 acres. Randlett was named after Colonel J. H. Randlett, for many years agent at the Indian Agency at Anadarko. Colonel Randlett was much revered by the Indians.

Eschiti: N½ Sec. 3 T 4 S, R 14 W, 320 acres, named in honor of the second chief of the Comanches. Chief Eschiti is said to have belonged to an unprogressive division of the Comanches for many years, but he then was head of the van for progress and development.

Quanah: SW¼ and S½ of NW¼ and W½ of SE¼ Sec. 36, T 3 S, R 16 W, 320 acres. Quanah, of course, was named as a memorial to Quanah Parker, head chief of the Comanches.

Isadore: S½ of NE¼ and S½ of NW¼ and N½ of SE¼ and N½ of SW¼ of Sec. 24, T 2 S., R. 16 W., 320 acres. "Isadore" was named in honor of Father Isidore, of the St. Patrick Catholic Mission at Anadarko. A friend and counselor of the Indians, Father Isidore held the respect of all classes of citizens.

Ahpeatone: W½ of Sec. 34, T. 2 S., R. 13 W, 320 acres, was named after the principal chief of the Kiowas. Ahpeatone was made chief, it was said, because he did not sign the "Jerome Treaty," thus remaining in position to lead his people back to their old reservation.[29]

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[28] Department of Interior letter, September 12, 1906, which is given in the *Appendix* of this article. A photostat of this letter was received in a communication from D. G. Bruce, Acting Chief of Branch of Realty, Department of Interior, dated June 3, 1957, to the writer.

In the small pasture number four southwest of Hobart, one other town was platted and surveyed, "Koonkazachey." It contained 160 acres and was named after the chief of the Apaches. He was better known as Apache John. He held the honored place in his tribe for many years while its members had dwindled down until they numbered little more than 100 (159 actually in 1907). Koonkazachey was located on S½ and S½ of N½ of NW¼ and N½ of N½ of SW¼ of Sec. 13, T 5 N., R 19 W. (160 acres).[30]

Sale of town lots in the five government towns was made by public auction. Sale was set up, publicly announced and well advertised. Quanah was the first sale scheduled and Interior Department officials soon began to fear for the future of the townsite sales. Only about one-half of Quanah's lots were sold as was the case at the Isadore sale. In Isadore lots went from $1 for residential lots to $100 for the choicest of "business" lots. Eschiti's sale was held on Friday, May 24, 1907 with prices ranging from $150 to $360 for businsss lots and from $5 to $200 for home sites.[31] Ahpeatone's lot sale was held four weeks later to the day with the highest bid being $135 for a business lot.[32]

The Randlett sale was apparently the most attractive to potential buyers with approximately 4,500 people present for the sale. Lack of interest at Isadore and Quanah brought their sales to a close.

Another factor entering into the picture was the proposed expansion of the Lawton, Wichita Falls and Northwestern railroad which had platted a railroad townsite called Emerson (NE¼, Sec. 27, R 2 S., R 12 W) under provisions of another Stephen's sponsored bill which provided for opening of railroad townsites. The Emerson sale was held July 28, 1907 and lots went from $475 for a choice corner business lot down to $10 for remote residential areas.[33]

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[29] Ahpeatone (or *Apiatan*) was a nephew of old Chief Lone Wolf of the Kiowa tribe, and had been sent forth to investigate the truth about the Indian messiah who was reported among some of the northwestern tribes, during the "Ghost Dance" religious craze in 1890-91. The old reservation mentioned here has reference to the lands assigned in Western Oklahoma and the Texas Panhandle, to the Kiowa and Comanche by the Treaty of the Little Arkansas on August 15, 1865. The "Jerome Treaty" was the treaty drawn up by the U. S. Cherokee Commission ("Jerome Commission") and signed by Kiowa and Comanche leaders on September 28, 1892. The Jerome Treaty was repudiated by the Indians who had signed the document, stating that they had not understood its terms. Congress did not ratify the treaty until June 26, 1901.—Ed.

[30] House Docs., 60th Cong., 1st Sess., XXVI (5295), pp. 21, 49, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1907.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *The Lawton Constitution*, May 30, 1907.

[33] *Ibid.*

Randlett and Eschiti, actually, were the only government townsites which thrived. Randlett soon was a growing community and at one time had a population around 1,800, two newspapers and two banks. Eschiti also enjoyed a brief spurt of activity until the railroad, (now MKT line) put through about a mile south of the townsite. The railroad set up another townsite called Kell, after president of the line, two miles to the west. For a time a bitter rivalry beween the two towns was nourished. Eschiti was recognized by the government and held the post office; Kell citizens, not to be outdone, one night stole the small frame post office building from Eschiti and moved it to the Kell townsite. Troops from Fort Sill helped reclaim the post office for Eschiti but only briefly. The two towns soon combined to form the present Grandfield.

Another railroad town which sprang up was Devol to the east of the present Grandfield. Devol ("loved" spelled backwards), at one time, boasted around 3,000 people and was a strong railroad shipping center for the new country.

Of the towns, only Randlett and Devol retain any identity as towns, with the exception of Hollister and Loveland, both railroad towns in the western part of the pasture. Only schools remain at the other towns.

Appendix

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington.

September 12, 1906.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
Sir:

I have considered your letter of the 10th instant, relative to the selection of townsites in the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache pasture lands, under the Act of Congress approved March 20, 1906, (34 Statutes, 80), and under instructions approved July 21, 1906.

You state that Agent Blackmon and Supervisor Dickson, who were designated to select said townsites, report that they have selected five sites for towns in the "Big Pasture" (Pasture No. 1) and one in Pasture No. 4, and that no selection was made in Pasture No. 2, as there are already towns conveniently located on three sides of said pasture. The selections made in Pasture No. 1 are as follows:

Town No. 1. South half of section 28, and East half of south east quarter of section 29, Township 4 South, Range 12 West; area 400 acres.

Town No. 2. North half of section 3, Township 4 south, Range 14 west; area 320 acres.

Town No. 3. Southwest quarter of section 36, south half of northwest quarter of section 36, West half of Southeast quarter of section 36, Township 3 south, Range 16 west; area 320 acres.

Town No. 4. South half of the northeast quarter and the South half of the northwest quarter; the north half of the southeast quarter; and the

North half of the Southwest quarter of Section 24, Township 2 south, Range 16 west. (area not stated).

Town No. 5. West half of section 34, Township 2 south, Range 13 west; area 320 acres.

The selection made for the townsites in Pasture No. 4 is as follows: South half, and South half of north half of the Northwest quarter, and the North half of the North half of the Southwest quarter of Section 13, Township 5 north, Range 19 west, containing 160 acres.

Messrs. Blackmon and Dickson make no recommendation as to names for these townsites, but you suggest that the following names be given them:

No. 1,	Randlett,
No. 2,	Eschiti,
No. 3,	Quanah,
No. 4,	Isadore
No. 5,	Ahpeatone,
and Pasture No. 4,	Koonkazachey.

In accordance with your recommendation, the selections made by Messrs. Blackmon and Dickson, as indicated above, are hereby approved, and the names selected by you for the townsites are also approved.

The enclosures of your letter are herewith returned.

Very respectfully,
Thomas Ryan,
Acting Secretary.

8914 Ind. Div. 1906.
4 enclosures.
JES

UNCLE SAM'S HORSE-RACE FOR LAND: THE OPENING OF THE "CHEROKEE STRIP"

*By J. S. Wade**

Yes, I was there! I saw it! It was nearly sixty-three years ago, and I was then a lad of only thirteen years. But the memory of it is like that of yesterday. It stands out over the years, from the perspective of a long life-time, as the most intensely dramatic single happening in real life that I have ever witnessed.

The *event* was the opening to settlement of the Cherokee "Strip." It was one of those remarkable actions which the conditions in no other country in the world make possible—the migration of a huge population on a given day into a wild and hitherto unsettled district.

The *Place* was at the border line between the State of Kansas and the old Indian Territory, now Oklahoma Territory, and was some two and a half miles directly south of the once frontier town of Caldwell, Sumner County, Kansas.

The *Time* was high noon, September 16th, 1893. It was an hour that had been anticipated, with varying emotions of hope and promise, by countless thousands—their rush for settlement being far greater because our country in 1893 was at the depth of one of the very worst depressions it had ever known.

The *background* was that this was almost the last remaining of the large blocks of government land in the United States. One after another, blocks of land in other parts of the country acquired by the Government in previous years had been opened to the public for homestead settlement, the Indian tribes that had formerly occupied them having been removed to other and generally smaller reservations. There were many openings of such lands to homestead settlement in Oklahoma, beginning with the run into the Unassigned Lands in 1889, yet the largest tract of all in Oklahoma Territory was the six and a half million acres popularly known as the "Cherokee Strip," ceded to the Government out of the old Cherokee hunting "Outlet." This great tract, with the Tonkawa and the Pawnee reservations adjoining, lay south of the south border of Kansas and west of the Osage Reservation. Presidential proclamation gave notice of the date of the opening of the Cherokee Strip and the Tonkawa and Pawnee lands several weeks before the time, and great masses of people—farmers, speculators, adventurers including women—gathered on the border all that summer, some from far distant places, to await the moment of admission for a possible land claim. So, this "run" for farms and town lots became one of the most dramatized episodes in the history of the West.

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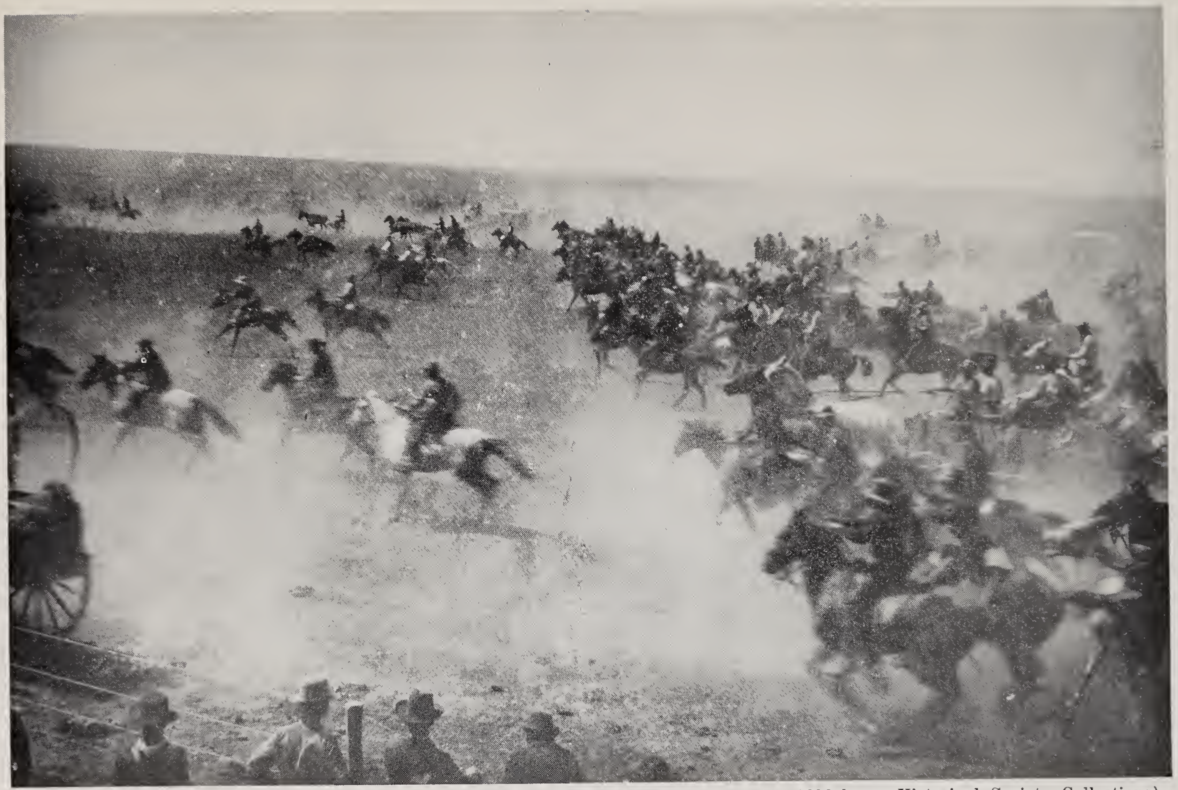
* Joseph Sanford Wade, formerly Biologist, now Collorator, in U. S. Department of Agriculture, is a native of Kentucky. After college years at Fairmont College, State University of Iowa and University of Chicago, he performed field and laboratory research work in cereal and forage crop insect investigation in the Central Great Plains, and thirty-seven years of research and administrative work in Washington of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. As author, he is known for several books and for many technical government publications, and articles in scientific and literary magazines. He is a member of many scientific and other societies, including Cosmos Club (Washington), the Kansas Academy of Sciences and the Biological Society of Washington, in several of which he has served as President.—Ed.

On that day, from very early in the morning, nearly all the forenoon had been spent by our party in making the drive by spring wagon and two horse team, from our farm homes located between the towns of Wellington and Mayfield, to Caldwell. We had proceeded as rapidly as conditions permitted down the road, much of which had been part of the old Chisholm Trail, a distance due south of some twenty-two miles. Our party consisted of my older brother, two of our neighbors, and myself. Our objective was not to participate in the race, but merely to act as spectators. It was nearing noon by the time we had arrived, watered our team, and had found not far behind the border line a suitable location for observation. Once there, we remained seated in our spring wagon and looked with greatest interest at the strange scene about us.

All along the line in front and on each side of us was an almost solid mass of people that stretched as far as we could see both to right and to left. It was indeed a cosmopolitan assemblage of widely varying types, and almost all ages of humanity appeared to be represented. There were tiny children peeping in wonder from behind the partly raised coverings of the prairie schooners; there were those in the prime of life, and there were those in advancing years. Quite a number of the men were armed, either with one or more revolvers in their belts or with Winchester rifles or double barrel shot guns. There were a few in the colorful costumes of the old West. Almost every kind of conveyance of that time appeared to be represented, horse-back riders, covered wagons, surries, buck-boards, go-carts, and even a few bicycles. Perhaps the majority were on horse-back, and perhaps the next in number were the covered wagons. Away to our right, there was waiting a single train on the track of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad having forty two cattle cars, and we could see that the open doors and the tops of all cars were crowded solidly with human freight. Men could be observed hanging feverishly by every available hold. The day was clear and hot, and there was a south breeze.



(Oklahoma Historical Society Collections)

The Run at the Opening of the Cherokee Outlet, September 16, 1893.

Either through design or accident some one a few days before had permitted a fire to run through the dry grass over several miles of the nearby prairie south of the Caldwell area, and the ashes were being taken up by the wind and turned into a fine black dust that blew indiscriminately over everything and everybody, and added considerably to our discomfort.

As we looked about us, we could appreciate the correctness of the rumors that had reached our farm homes in past months that the once wild cattle town of Caldwell was living again for a little while a life that was almost a return to the hectic days of the 1870's. Then it had been the tough "Border Queen" of the old Chisholm Trail, with its lore of armed cowboys in high boots tramping up and down Caldwell's main street amid the hoof clatter of restless animals. Some of the deep ruts along the old Chisholm Trail, formed years before by the feet of the estimated five to six million weary cattle on the northward march from the Red River country of Texas to Abilene, Kansas, now again were being marked and deepened by endless processions of south bound, slow moving prairie schooners. So long had the old Chisholm Trail been used that a great body of tradition already had grown up around it, and there was a hot controversy, after trail driving had become history, as to the exact route of its wide-spread rutted paths still visable in places here and there, and as to the identity of the men for whom it should have been named. Yes, for a few months that summer of 1893 the pages of history were indeed being turned back for Father Time along the Chisholm Trail. In the town of Caldwell, there before our eyes were conditions not greatly unlike the rowdy gunsmoke days so vividly depicted today by our writers of "Westerns."

At all events there were gathered along the borders of the "Strip" on that memorable day no less than two hundred thousand men and women. Some had waited in or near other small towns near the border. but perhaps most were living in their wagons or camps nearby. Long before the 16th, the day legally fixed for admission into the new lands, some of these people and their neighbors had suffered severely. They had found it difficult to get food, and water was scarce; robbers and ruffians had mixed with the temporary settlements, and some few, in sheer desperation, had tried to force their way into the new area ahead of time. Such people, termed "sooners," had been removed by United States soldiers. On the whole, sensational in background and in action, the situation as we viewed it around us was one that would have fairly outrivaled in effect, had it been possible, some of the most picturesque of the modern melodramas of the West.

As the hour of noon drew near, the suspense took on an intensity that was almost breath-taking. Then came the supreme moment.

At 12 o'clock sharp, blue coated U. S. Calvarymen galloped along the line and discharged revolvers into the air—the pre-arranged signal. Puffs of smoke from these weapons carried the signal to those who could see but were located beyond earshot, and pandemonium began. With shouts and wild cries the long line plunged ahead, and the "Government horse-race" was on. The faster horses soon gained the lead, then came wagons, buck-boards, and all the rest, making increased speed through the choking clouds of dust mingled with black ashes. All sorts of mis-haps and accidents took place before our eyes, running animals stumbled into prairie-dog holes and threw riders over their heads, and some times broke the animal's legs, vehicles broke down or passengers fell or jumped from their conveyances. The eager shouting land-seekers on the slow moving special train dropped off impatiently one by one and rushed on afoot. But the mass of humanity moved relentlessly onward, only a few making stops here and there to stake down claims on the land over which they were going. Most pressed ahead for Pond Creek or beyond. The accepted procedure had been made clear beforehand to the public. Once the homeseeker located a tract of land to his liking, he was to drive down a stake as evidence of possession, and then to hold the land as best he could against other claimants. Thus all were trying to outstrip their fellows in the scramble for claims.

It was a matter of only a few minutes after the go-signal that we were left behind comparatively alone, and the throngs that only a short time before had been teeming around us were farther and farther away to the south, and were becoming smaller and smaller before our eyes, and there remained only the more slowly moving covered wagons and other like heavier equipment. Only a few stragglers were bringing up the rear, or like ourselves were deliberately remaining behind, not participating at all in the race.

Presently, after the dust had somewhat settled and the greater number of the people had rushed onward, we, too, drove slowly over the boundary line into the new land, and proceeded slowly in the rear of the crowd for some five or six miles before turning back. During all this time we were viewing with intense interest and commenting to each other about the spectacle taking place there before our eyes. We could not understand why so few people stopped and staked out claims on the perfectly good farming land over which they were rushing so frantically—for most were still dashing onward. It was a matter of regret to some of the older members of our party that they had not previously registered and conformed to necessary legal regulations to file a claim. It would have been so easy to have done so.

Just a little way ahead of us we chanced to notice that a man, spade in hand, had jumped from one of the moving wagons, and was busy digging in the soil at the spot where he had alighted. He then stuck in the freshly turned sod a slender wooden switch on which he had tied a bit of white cloth. This was one of the numerous improvised signals, or methods of temporary marking possession of a given claim until proper legal claims could be filed by the new owner at the nearest Government Land Office. He was slender, elderly man, in working attire, without coat, and having only the spade in his hand. As we drew up alongside, greetings were exchanged and we paused briefly for a few words with him. Not at all robust in appearance, and obviously hard-working, none-too- successful farmer, handicapped by poor health, he pictured to us in words few and brief "the short and simple annals of the poor," a life-time background of poverty and hardship, none the less poignant because endlessly repeated in the lives of other millions like him.

"All my life," he concluded, "I have been a poor man on rented land, and never able to own land of my own. And now, in the Providence of the Good God," and his face lighted up, "at last I have a farm."

Just as he had uttered these words, there dashed up a rough looking man of giant size on horseback, who shouted to him:

"What you doin' on my claim? Get the .... off here!"

"This is not yore claim. I staked it out first. Get off it yourself."

"You did not. I was here first. Get goin' and get you a claim afore they're all took."

This was the beginning of an interchange that continued for some time, with increasing vigor, louder shouting, more violent language and more vigorous gesticulations on part of the horseman.

"But," said the man with the spade, "I know I did stake it out first, and I ain't goin' to be bluffed out by you or anybody else. This here is my farm and I am goin' to keep it. I can prove I was here first. These gentlemen were here and they saw me stake it out. They can testify as to the truth about it. Won't you gentlemen?"

"Well," shouted the horseman, as he turned to ride away, "Don't say I didn't warn you. This is my land, and I'm goin' to hang on to it. Again, I warn you, get goin' or you gonna be sorry!" So saying, he spurred his horse and dashed away across the prairie. He turned in his saddle and shouted back "An don't say I didn't warn you."

The older man obviously was deeply disturbed by the incident. As soon as mention had been made of witnesses, we had all spoken up immediately in confirmation of his assertion of being there before arrival of the horseman. However, as the seriousness of the situaton grew upon us, it became more clearly realized that it had possibilities far reaching in aftermath, that might require our presence before the law later on in witness as to the validity of the claim. So names and addresses began to be exchanged. Thereupon a quandary arose: There was not a pencil or a scrap of paper in the party. How would we be able to take down our respective names and addresses for later use? One dare not trust entirely to memory in a matter so important, yet there appeared no other way. After some discussion of this unexpected phase of the matter, the elderly man hit upon the idea, at last, that he would scratch our addresses on the leather forming the tops of his dusty shoes and on the wooden handle of his spade. So, taking the only pocket knife in the party, this was slowly and painfully done by him, the act taking considerable time, as he obviously was not wholly literate and needed help from us again and again while doing it.

By the time his task was completed, we decided not to drive farther southward into this new country, so turned back homeward. It was a long dusty drive and we were all very tired and very dirty and our team likewise very weary, and we did not reach our destination until late that night. But what a day it had been! Before that day had ended over six million acres had become a land of homesteaders. In this country no other equal area of land ever before had been settled with such speed and completeness. What a day it had been!

If this were typical Western fiction, the scene depicting the disputed claim ownership would be just the beginning of a long series of stirring adventures. But, since this is only a narration of cold fact, I can merely add that we never again heard another word from any one about the disputed claim. I do not know to this day how, when, or by whom it was settled. It is needless to add that although all of us waited for months thereafter in lively anticipation of further developments, it is still speculation to this hour as to whether the elderly man was quietly liquidated in the lonely blackness of that night by his burly antagonist or whether a kindly Providence permitted him to remain on, develop and enjoy the home he had so long waited and longed for. The only fact of absolutely certainty is that no use ever was made later by any one of the addresses he had so painfully inscribed on the top of his shoes and on the handle of his spade. "The rest is silence!"

Of course, after the race and the day were over and conditions had begun in a degree to return to something like sanity and normality, there was still much ahead: For the first few days the new mushroom towns were mere collections of tents and camps and huts. Real houses were being built but slowly. Such town governments were rude and were hastily formed. Criminals found easy means to work, and murders became unpleasantly common incidents. Food was expensive, and water not always available as needed. Claim dwellers sometimes had to go considerable distance to get necessities, and under hurried and difficult arrangements for transportation, and from small supplies. Fortunately, however, President Cleveland and Interior Secretary Hoke Smith had been given broad discretionary powers by Congress in dealing with the many situations that arose, and ultimately law and order were to a degree restored. In a marvelously short time the waste lands began to take on the aspects of settled communities. Before much time had passed, towns of considerable population had sprung up where previously there had been only prairie dog mounds, buffalo wallows and Indian wigwams, and almost a dozen towns of one thousand or more inhabitants each had suddenly arisen from the wilderness.

Later on in life when I became a man it was my destiny to spend over thirty-seven years as a scientist in official work for the United States Government in the Department of Agriculture, and in performance of these duties there were various travel assignments around over what by that time had become the State of Oklahoma. At long last I had opportunity to perform travel over this area of my long ago boyhood experiences, and it was with keen interest that I endeavored, as nearly as I could, by estimate of probable distances from the Rock Island Railroad track from the Kansas State Line, to relocate the exact tract of land where this incident had taken place. When this was done, it was gratifying to find thereon a large attractive white farm house, near by a big red barn, and around these were other smaller out-buildngs, and there were fences and trees and all the other essentials needful to make up a comfortable, prosperous looking farm home.

On the whole, the event here considered was one of those unique bits of history which this old world will probably never witness again. It was the last great spectacle of mass settlement of the last frontier. Some years ago I saw in a film of Edna Ferber's "Cimarron," in the Capital Theatre in Washington, a screen reproduction of this scene, and it was depicted vividly, realistically, and so true to fact and to my memory, that in my enthusiasm, I could not resist the temptation to jog my elbow into the ribs of some perfect stranger seated next to me, and, probably to his annoyance, exclaim to him: "I was there! I saw it!"

THE FOUNDING OF PONCA CITY

*By Louis Seymour Barnes**

On March 3, 1893, Congress authorized the opening of the Cherokee Outlet or Cherokee Strip as it has since come to be called. It extended from the Arkansas River on the east, two counties wide, west along the north border of Oklahoma and was the strip of territory that had been reserved by the Government earlier in the century as a pathway for the Cherokees from their lands in Eastern Oklahoma to the western hunting grounds. On August 19, 1893, President Grover Cleveland issued a proclamation that the land would be opened for settlement on September 16, 1893, by run from both the north border and the south border.

Burton Seymour Barnes, my father, had been in the furniture manufacturing business in Adrian, Michigan, but the depression of 1892 caused him to sell that business, and he was interested in finding a new venture. He read of the opening of the Cherokee Strip and in June 1893 went to Arkansas City to look over the new land. It was his idea to found a city. The more he thought of it, the more he became imbued with the idea. He bought a surrey and two fine black horses to drive over the Strip to find the best place to establish a city.

There was nothing at any of the railroad stops in the Strip except frame stations and small houses in which the railroad agents lived. Enid looked like a good location; but the Government owned the townsite, and Mr. Barnes did not think it would be profitable to start a city where the Government owned all the property. He drove east along a trail to Perry. There were no roads, no fences, and no bridges—merely trails winding between the railroad stops. Perry was also a Government town, and one of the Government Land Offices was located there. He did not think it would be possible to profit from real estate development at this Government city so he drove north along a trail and crossed creeks through the Otoe and Ponca Indian Reservations.

After leaving the Ponca Indian Reservation, the trail led to a spring at the present site of 13th Street and South Avenue in Ponca City. The trail went on from this point to the B & M Ford across the Arkansas River, which was located at the present site of the big bridge across the Arkansas River. Why it was named B & M Ford, I have never heard. The banks of the River were low and wide at this point, and this meant that since the water was

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* Louis Seymour Barnes, the youngest son of Burton Seymour Barnes, the founder of Ponca City, was nine years old at the time of the opening of the Cherokee Strip. He came to Ponca City a few months later with his family and was a prominent citizen and leader in civic and financial affairs there all of his life. He wrote this article for *The Chronicles* on Saturday, November 10, 1956. He died the next morning on November 11, 1956.

Burton S. Barnes, Founder of Ponca City, Oklahoma.

shallow, it was easy to enter and cross the River. This Ford was used for about three years after the Strip opening, at which time the citizens of Ponca City raised a fund by contributions and built a wooden bridge at approximately the same site as the present bridge.

Mr. Barnes stopped at the spring, watered the horses, and filled his jug with the cool water and put the corncob stopper back into the jug. He was sipping a cup of the cool water when he saw a Santa Fe freight train go by less than a mile away. He exclaimed, "This is the site for a new city. With such good water and a location on the Railroad near the River crossing, it is an ideal site for a city!"

In driving over the land between the spring and the railroad, he found it to be rolling but for the most part level. He was more than ever convinced that this was an ideal site for a new city. Passing along near the railroad, he came to Cross, a railroad stop one mile north. On making inquiry, he found that in drilling for water at Cross it was found to be reasonably good on the east side of the railroad, but on the west side, it was mostly "gyp" water. This fact led to him to believe that Cross could not grow into a large city and that the location a mile south was the ideal spot.

When he returned to Arkansas City, Mr. Barnes made a talk at the Opera House boasting of the new city. One man in the audience asked the question, "Will the trains stop at the new city?"

Mr. Barnes replied, "The trains will stop just the same as at Chicago."

And Mr. Barnes replied, "There is a good spring of long use at the southeast corner of the city, and I believe that there is a large sheet of water underneath the entire city. This large expanse of underground water destines this location to grow into a large city."

Consequently, he organized the Ponca Townsite Company and sold 2,300 certificates at $2 each. This banded together a large number of people, all of whom wanted to take part in starting a city. The certificate entitled the holder only to first call on the lots when the owners of the property put them up for sale. The money was to be used as a nucleus of city funds to be used for surveying cross stakes on all blocks for grading and for employment of a city marshall. It was known that it would be necessary to have a provisional city government for two or three months until a city charter could be obtained and a legal election held.[1]

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[1] In an article "Early History of Ponca City," written April 1895 by W. G. Cronkright, Secretary of Ponca City Board of Trade, there is the following account of the use of certiifcate: " . . . As there had been no reservation made for city purposes at this point it became necessary for those interested in this location to

The Federal Government surveyed all the land and named the counties by the letters H, J, K, L, M, and O. The county in which Ponca City is situated was named "K." In 1907 at statehood, most of the counties were renamed. However, this county kept the same name "K," but the spelling was changed to "Kay."

During the summer of 1893, the entire Cherokee Strip was occupied by soldiers. The land and all the brush along the creeks was burned so that no one could hide within the Strip before the day of the opening. The soldiers patrolled all the borders of the Strip unil noon of September 16, 1893. People were prohibited from entering from the east border, since that would give them an advantage in reaching the rich land in the south part of the strip. However, numerous people did come in from the east border and settled on the land.

On the morning of September 16, it was estimated that there were 25,000 people on the north line of the Oklahoma Territory from Arkansas City west. The crowd was so thick that in many instances instead of one line along the starting border, there were three or four lines deep, each one hoping to beat the other to a choice farm.

Each 160 acres was marked with a stone tablet at the corner in order that each claimant could get a legal description of the farm on which he intended to file his claim. It was expected that the first person on the land would be the only to claim title and that he would drive a stake on the land claimed. But as it worked out, it was difficult to determine who was the first one on the land.

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arrange some plan whereby a concerted action might be obtained and by which all would be equally interested and have an equal chance. It remained for B. S. Barnes to suggest a plan by which this might be accomplished. It was proposed that all who were intending to go to this point be invited to form themselves into an association to be known as the Ponca Townsite Co., that certificates of membership be issued and that immediately after the opening the successful claimants to the site chosen be bought off and the land taken for townsite purposes and distributed among the members of the association by lot, each one drawing a chance for location and agreeing to abide by the result of the drawing. This plan was carried into effect and on Monday, September 18, two days after the opening, fully two thousand people were gathered where Ponca City now stands. One section of land was secured by purchasing the release of all who made any claim to the land at that time. Surveyors were put to work and in two days the whole section was staked off in lots and blocks, numbering one hundred and ninety-four blocks with twenty lots in each block except two tiers of blocks on each side of the main business street, which contained twenty-four lots each. A small shanty was hastily constructed to be used as an office and more members were taken into the Association until on Thursday morning, September 21, the total number of members amounted to something over twenty-three hundred. Each person's name was written on a small card and placed in one box, while cards containing the numbers of lots in each block were placed in another box and the drawing commenced by taking a card from each box simultaneously.

"Each person as soon as his number was drawn proceeded to his lot and homesteaded or improved it in any way he desired, and in only two or three instances has there ever been any disposition shown to 'jump a lot' and these terminated so disastrously to those making the attempt that lot jumping was pronounced a failure in Ponca City."

The claimant was expected to obtain a witness that he was the first one on the land and saw the claimant drive the first stake. It was then necessary for the claimant to go to the United States Land Office at Perry to file his claim to the particular land. The Land Office kept these records, and as time went on all parties were expected to appear before the Land Office officials and "prove up" their claims. The farms were also called "claims," and in almost every instance there were several claimants, who were called "contestants."

After the "prove up" period, the officials at the Land Office made a decision as to the party that was on the land first. A copy of the proceedings was then sent to the Secretary of the Interior who had the right to approve it or order a re-hearing. On his approval, the President of the United States issued a title to the land from the United States, and this title was called a "patent." The first patents were issued about six months after the opening and continued to be issued for a period of about five years. Some claims had as many as eight or ten contestants, and there was much bitter feeling and several killings in Kay County before all the patents were issued.

Before the opening, Arkansas City was the center of industrious activity. It was estimated that there were 15,000 or more people who had gathered there to make the Run. Some of them had stored their household goods in Arkansas City and after the Run came back to get these personal belongings and a tent in which to live for a few weeks. There were many more who had moved grocery supplies, hardware supplies, furniture supplies, and lumber stocks to Arkansas City preparatory to moving them into the new territory as soon as possible after the opening.

Imagine starting a new town! There was nothing then in sight but raw burned prairie.

At high noon on Saturday, September 16, 1893, the starting guns then boomed! The race into the Cherokee Outlet was on as planned. The crowd surged forward through the dust and ashes of burned grass. By horseback, wagon, buckboard, train, and on foot they traveled. Claim stakes were driven on choice land. Then the race continued to Perry to file the formal claims. It was a hectic, exciting, even dangerous time!

On Thursday morning, September 21, the drawing for lots was held as promised. A platform was erected in the middle of the block on the south side of what is now Grand Avenue between Third and Fourth Streets. The names of the certificate holders were placed in one box and the lot descriptions were placed in another box. It was understood that only one lot number would be placed on a card for business lots and two lot numbers placed on cards for residence lots. Two little girls were called upon to draw the cards from the boxes. The boxes were placed on a high table above their heads to eliminate any chance of favoritism. The cards were shaken up in the boxes and the drawing began. One girl would draw a card with a name and the other girl would draw a card with the lot description and four secretaries entered the results in duplicate books. The drawing continued most of the day.

That same Thursday night hundreds of the new citizens gathered at a level spot about half a mile northwest of the wonderful spring which meant so much to the City. The group elected Mr. Barnes as Mayor of the new town and immediately he ordered the surveyors to work and employed a town marshall to keep order. Tents sprang up in many locations. The surveyors worked continuously for two days. The city officers elected that night were:

B. S. Barnes, Mayor
J. W. Dalton, Treasurer
W. G. Cronkright, Clerk

Councilmen: J. J. McManus, P. I. Brown, C. M. Flora, A. C. Foy, James S. Hutchins, Edward Grady.

All the claimants on three quarter sections agreed to participate in the land division, but the claimants on the Northeast quarter refused, although they would have realized a substantial profit from the increase in value of their lots not assigned to certificate holders. It was known that it would probably take from six months to two years to determine who the rightful owners of these quarter sections would be and before valid deeds could be obtained. However, the certificate holders began immediately to build on the lots allotted to them in the drawing, hoping that satisfactory deeds would be issued when the patents were issued.

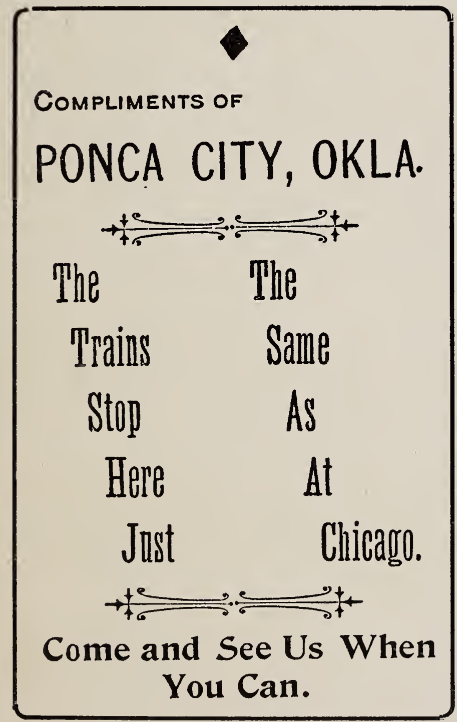
Within a week after the drawing, frame business structures began to appear up and down the street known as Grand Avenue. Grand Avenue was one block north of the center line of the section, but it was selected as the principal street because the terrain ran smoother and with fewer dips than the street a block south on the half section line.

Mr. Barnes made the race with the same high-spirited black team and surrey with which he toured the four counties earlier in the summer and drove his stakes on the southeast quarter of the section he had selected at the site of Ponca City. To his chagrin there were eight other people who also drove stakes on this land, although he thought that he was there first and had the prior claim. Some of the others agreed to step aside for a small payment, and eventually it appeared that there were only three contestants. These three argued back and forth and were so outspoken in their beliefs that each was first that there was considerable bluffing. Later on when the plat for that quarter section was filed, it was named ''Bluffdale'' as the result of the early contention. That name ''Bluffdale'' for this quarter section still prevails.

Mr. Barnes had made advance arrangements for a survey of the city, a plow had marked some streets with a furrow, and even plans for a school were under way. His promise to the certificate holders had been kept. There remained only the drawing for choice of lots in the new city.

It was a dry September. There had been no rains for many weeks and the burned-over soil left a coat of sand, dust, and ashes to fill the air in any breeze. Worst of all there was no water except at the spring three-fourths of a mile away. People made trips back and forth with jugs, bottles, and containers of all kinds.

About the same number of people settled at Cross as at Ponca City. Cross had the railroad station, and all the Santa Fe trains stopped there regularly. Cross also had an express office and post office. It was necessary for the people of Ponca City to go to Cross for their mail or to board the trains. It looked like a hopeless task for Ponca City to outdo Cross. It was generally recognized that the location of two towns just one mile apart would make it impossible for more than one to survive.



COMPLIMENTS OF

PONCA CITY, OKLA.

The Trains Stop Here Just

The Same As At Chicago.

Come and See Us When You Can.

A print of the card handed to passengers on first train that stopped at Ponca City.

After acquiring a post office, the efforts of the people were next turned toward having the trains stop at Ponca City. It was disheartening for them to see all the passenger and freight trains go whistling through Ponca City to stop only at Cross. The rivalry between the two cities was intense. Many hard feelings developed. The jibes of the people of Cross were cutting when people from Ponca City went there to board the trains, and many altercations resulted. Every effort was made to induce the Santa Fe to build a station at Ponca City, but the railroad officials refused. They believed there was only enough business for one station. Every trick known to astute business men was used to persuade the Santa Fe officials to change their minds. With the help of some men of the territorial legislature, the Santa Fe finally relented, and a year after the opening, in September 1894, the railroad authorized the rails to be cut, a spur put in and a boxcar depot placed just south of the Grand Avenue railroad crossing on the east side of the tracks where the station is still located. There was a story current at the time which may have had basis in fact that the first boxcar station in Ponca City was obtained by some civic boosters who pulled it down from Cross with their horses one dark night.

Steps were taken immediately to obtain a post office, and in about five or six weeks a post office was established as "New Ponca." The railroad station four miles south now called White Eagle was then called Ponca after the Indian tribe of that name. The Post Office authorities were insistant that the new town should be named New Ponca. Citizens of the new city did not like that name, but it was several years before the name was finally changed to Ponca City.

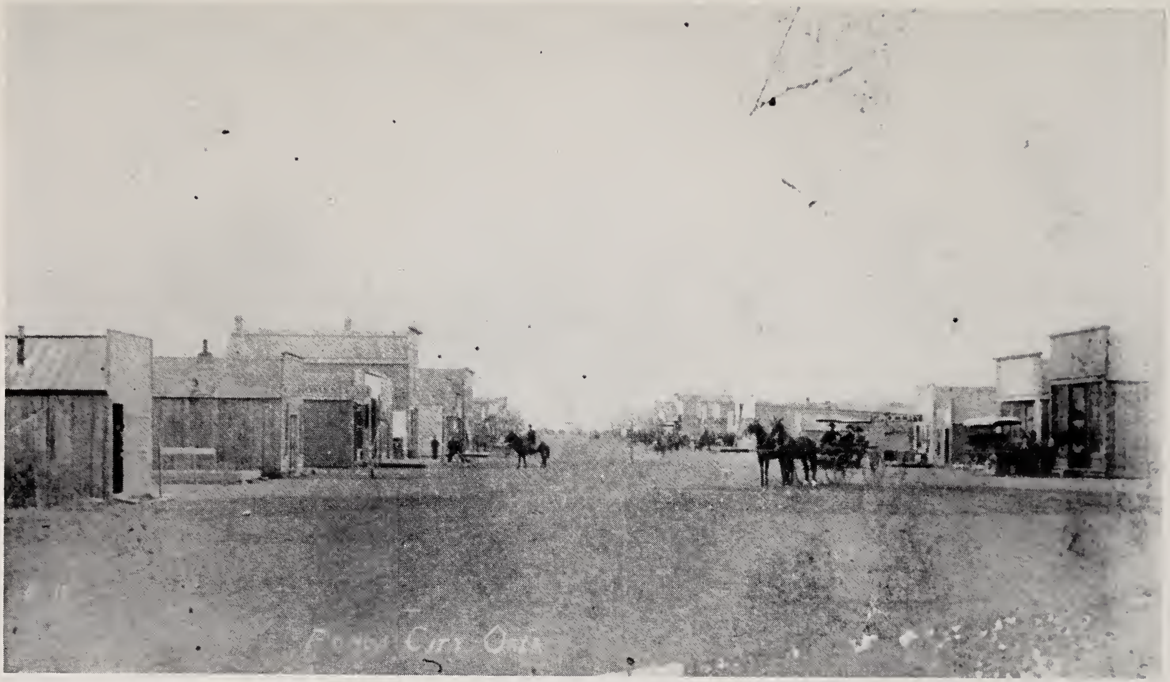
Notice was given about a week before that the train would make its first stop on a given day. Preparations were made by the people of Ponca City to celebrate this important event. Small round-cornered cards were printed with the proud civic boast "The trains stop here just the same as at Chicago. Come and see us when you can."

As souvenirs for the men on the trains, a complimentary cigar was attached to the card, and the ladies were each to be given a bouquet of wild flowers. Two boys and two girls met the first train going north and a boy and a girl in each car handed out the souvenirs to the passengers in the two cars on that train. The children traveled to Cross where they left the train and waited for the Southbound train a few minutes later. They then handed out the same souvenirs on that train. The same procedure was followed on the two evening trains.

The significance of this event was so unusual that it was published all over the United States through an Associated Press story. Well do I remember that day since I was one of the two boys who gave the souvenirs to the train passengers, and I regret that the identity of the other boy and the two girls has been lost.

That day was the turning point for Ponca City. After that time when the trains were stopping regularly, the new citizens had more enthusiasm and more solid belief that Ponca City was definitely destined to be the metropolis of this newly settled area.

Following the drawing for lots, frame business buildings and homes were erected in all parts of the new city. Ownership of the lots could be obtained as soon as the patents were issued to the original claimants of the three quarter sections. In a few cases there was "lot jumping" when someone without a certificate or a claim to a lot would attempt to build or place a tent on it. There was a vigilante committee which waited on those people. They



View west on Grand Avenue, Ponca City, about February, 1894. J. S. Hutchins Grocery on right, later purchased by Louis S. Barnes, and built into leading department store in the City.

took law and order into their own hands to eject anyone who attempted to gain property wrongfully.

I remember that one small building (about 15 feet square) was built on a lot not owned by the builder. I was horror stricken one night to see the committee put two long poles under the building, and with the help of twenty or thirty other men carry the building down Grand Avenue and dump it into a field on the west side of the Santa Fe tracks. This was a grim notice to all lot jumpers to live within the law.

Water remained the big problem, for its was burdensome to go three-quarters of a mile for the small supply that could be carried in a canteen or bucket. The first to offer any real help in solving the problem was a kindly cripple, Billy Evans, who owned a fine team of horses and a sturdy farm wagon. He placed three wood barrels in the farm wagon and hauled water from the spring to any home or business in Ponca City for a charge of fifteen cents a barrel. Barrels soon brought a premium, and the many saloons put their empty whiskey barrels into a more civic use. The City Government moved to provide a city well. It was located in the center of Grand Avenue just east of First Street. A windmill and a flat tank were installed and for some time this was a busy spot. Another public well was constructed by J. S. Hutchins at the rear of his grocery building, 313 East Grand Avenue.

Every day for weeks wells were sunk at various homes. My best exercise in those early days was pulling up a bucket of water from the bottom of a seventy foot well with a rope by the hand-over-handed method. It was considered a great luxury to have a well with a windlass. It was not until 1898 that a city water system was installed.

On December 19, 1893, the city was regularly incorporated, and on February 2, 1894, the first offical municipal election was held at which the following officers were elected: B. S. Barnes, Mayor; J. W. Dalton, Treasurer; J. M. McGuire, Clerk; Councilmen, F. P. Adams, W. M. Randall, J. L. McCarthy, P. I. Brown, A. C. Foy. These men held office until the regular election held on May 7, 1893, and all were re-elected except F. P. Adams and J. W. Dalton, who did not file. Thomas Belford and John Koller were elected to their places.

The events before April 1894 were related to me many times by my father, B. S. Barnes. As to my personal part in these events, they began that month when my mother brought my sister and me by train to Oklahoma from our farm home in Adrian, Michigan. My brother Gilbert B. had accompanied my father to Oklahoma the preceding summer. My father and brother met us at Cross with the celebrated black team and surrey, and our reunited family drove to Ponca City.

Our arrival was on a hot day. The hot gale-forced wind, strong out of the south, blew grains of sand into our faces, and when we arrived at Ponca City there were little blotches of blood on our faces resulting from cuts made by the blowing sand. It was not a very good introduction to the new city. My father had rented temporarily a small three-room house. It was actually only about nine or ten feet on each side. I have always felt sorry for my dear mother who had come to Oklahoma from a fine ten-room, two story brick home in Michigan to make a new home in a little three-room frame shack.

What hardships people must undergo to build a new city!

REMINISCENCES OF PIONEER DAYS IN GARFIELD COUNTY

By Ed H. Williams

As told to Athie Sale Davis.

"Did you decide against doing something you wanted very much to do, then at a later time, realize the fulfillment of that desire?" asked Mr. Ed H. Williams. The keen eyes of this ninety-eight year old pioneer twinkled as he went on. "That's how it was with me at the opening of the Cherokee Strip." This is the story of those early days as he told it:

Our family home was in Marion, Kansas, but I was working as a carpenter for the Rock Island Railroad and I lived where the work required. At the time of the opening our crew was working in Colorado. The Railroad Company offered passes to any of us who wanted to make the Run on September 16th, 1893. I was earning from $2.25 to $2.50 a day, which was good wages in those times and to leave work would naturally mean a loss of wages, so even though I was interested in the new country I did not avail myself of the opportunity.

One man in our group did take the pass. He got nothing. When he returned after two weeks and told of all the hardships he had encountered most of the men were glad they had not gone, but I kept thinking about the new country.

My brother John staked what he thought was a claim, only to find out that it was school land. However John was lucky. There were such large crowds that all could not file at the same time so the people were given tickets or cards, showing the date on whch they could file on their land. John met a man who held a ticket that required him to wait two weeks before he could file and to him those two weeks looked endless. He offered to sell his ticket, so John bought it and moved on the claim. When the proper day came John went into Enid and made his filing.

About two years later John wrote me that a settler living near him wanted to sell out. I got a pass and went to see about it. The claim was about a mile south of John's place. The man wanted $525.00 cash. This included the land and improvements. Naturally I did not carry that much cash around and would have to cash a check. This required identification. A cousin, Norman Johnson, was in business in North Enid so I went to see him. He went with me to the Bank where I cashed my check and paid the money to the man, then we drove directly to the Land Office in Enid. When we got there this man (I can not recall his name) relinquished the claim. I had my papers ready and immediately paid the small filing fee and filed on it. Then I went out, and took over my claim.

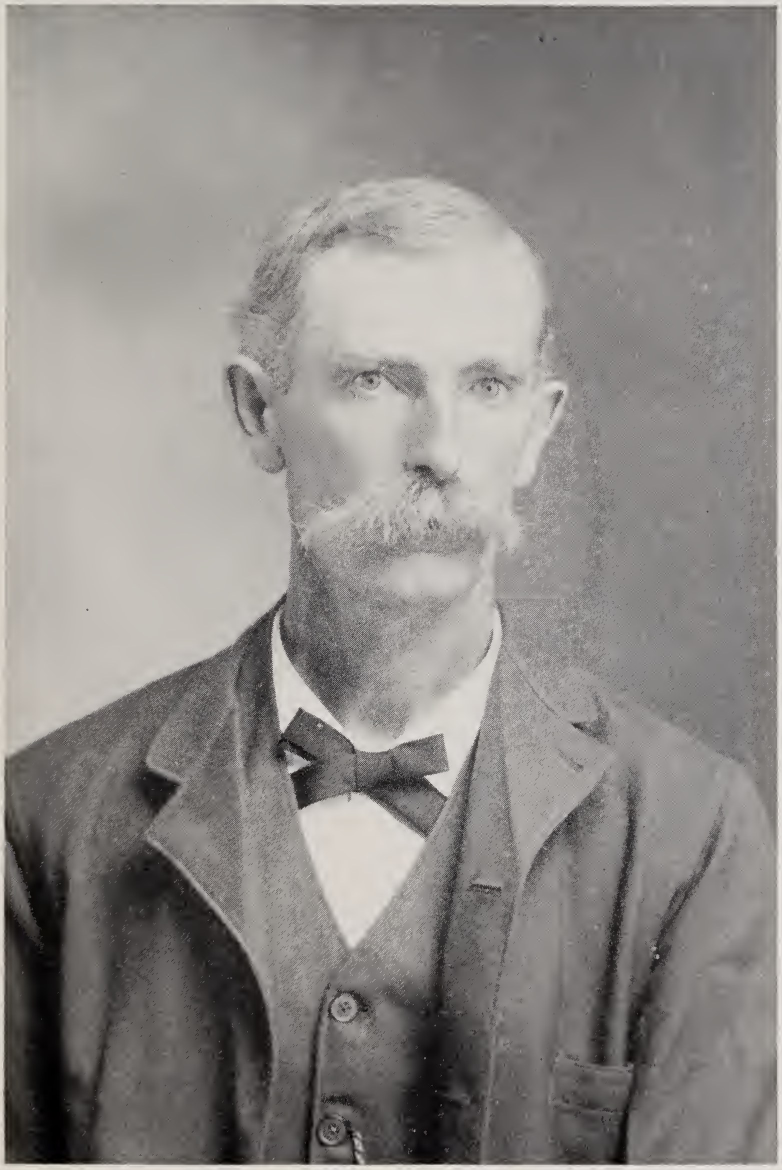
The improvements consisted of a house, cave, well and shed for the stock, plowed land and fenced pasture. The house had two rooms, it was built of 1 x 12's nailed straight up and down over a framework of 2 x 4's and was unfinished on the inside. A shelf nailed to the 2 x 4's was the bed. The stove was a combination heating-cooking stove, commonly called a ''Topsy'' or ''Monkey'' stove. Near the house was the smallest cave I have ever seen. There was a low area, or slough, west of the house and where the man had dug a well about thirty feet deep. There was no covering or protection of any sort, one stood on the edge and let down a bucket tied to a rope and when it filled, pulled straight up. In order to keep the stock from stumbling into it the man had strung a sort of fence around it. The shed for the stock was built in a bank to the south of the house. This bank formed the north wall, but 1 x 12 boards were used to enclose the east and west ends and to form the roof. The south side had been left open.

Thirty acres of the land was fenced with a good three wire fence for pasture, and thirty acres had been plowed. This plowed land was leased to a neighbor for crop rent, and had been planted to wheat.

I stayed on my place for a few days to establish ownership, and then I returned to the job in Colorado for another two months. On my way back I stopped off at Marion for a visit with my folks. There I found a team, harness and wagon that was for sale. The whole outfit was offered for $125.00 and was such a bargain that I bought it. Sometime later my brother Lew, who had been wanting to visit John, drove it out for me.

In either late December or early January, I quit my job with the railroad, and went out to live on my claim. The cold winds found every crack in the house as they whistled through. The shelf bed on which I placed by bedding was uncomfortable and the little combination heating-cooking stove was not very good. For fuel I burned wood. There was none nearer than the river which was a long, hard drive from my place.

Work about the claim kept me pretty busy. I bought a cow, paying $30.00 for her. The milk, cream and butter I kept cool by letting it down in the well in hot weather, and in the little cave in cooler weather. I also bought six hens and a dog. In order for my horses and cow to have plenty of water at all times I built a watering trough. To make the bottom I used flooring boards because of the tongue and groove which helped to make them water-tight. On the sides I used 2 x 12's flaring them out by making the end boards wider at the top than at the bottom. This trough was about eighteen



Ed H. Williams in 1893

inches wide and ten feet long. After the water stood in it for a few days it was completely water-tight and I could fill it night and morning and be sure the stock had water as needed.

When harvest time came the man who had put in the wheat came over to cut it, but it had been a very dry year and was so short and poor he decided that it was not worth while to try to harvest it. He moved out leaving twenty-two acres of uncut wheat for me to do with as I wished. A neighbor had bought a binder and his wheat was too short too, so he set it to head the wheat. I got him to come harvest my wheat, then got another man to thresh it. I paid both men for their work with wheat at the rate of fifty cents a bushel. Then I saved what wheat was left for seed for next year's crop. Because I only had the two horses, I needed a small walking plow, but I could not find what I wanted so I wrote my father and he had one sent to me from Marion. With this I plowed my field. Then I borrowed a drill and sowed the wheat. Those early years were really hard and many times I would gladly have gone back to my job with the railroad, which I could have done because a man was only required to live on a claim one day every six months in order to hold it, but I could not leave my team.

Meanwhile I worked out whenever possible for other farmers for $1.00 a day. Later I was able to get some work at my trade as a carpenter and for this I received $2.00 a day. I think I built five or six houses for neighbors. The lumber for all our buildings was hauled by team from Marshall or Fairmont whichever was nearest. Marshall was only eight miles from my claim and most everyone in my immediate neighborhood drove to Marshall for mail and supplies. There was no rural free delivery of mail in those early days so most everyone went to town once a week, but sometimes one might be asked to do errands and get mail for a neighbor. We had some social activities such as pie suppers and things like that. There was a debating society in the community which met once a week in the school house, and although I never debated, I enjoyed attending these meetings. Some districts had subscription schools in those first early years, but ours did not. However when the first teacher, Rose (Mrs. Albert) Deering was employed there was no money to pay her for the first term, so upon the advice of the school board she taught and then at the end of the term she had to sue for her salary of $25.00 a month. A judgment was awarded her and then the district was able to levy taxes to pay the judgment. I served on our school board for many years. I also helped organize, and was one of the first board members, of the Farmer's Co-operative Elevator at Douglas but that was several years later.

As I could I increased my stock and poultry flock. But living alone, trying to do my own cooking and farming, grew pretty monotonous so I built on another room and two years later I wrote my sister Belle who was still living in Marion, and asked her to come out and keep house for me. Then about a year later my father, John H. Williams, came out and lived with us. But he did not stay with us all the time. He spent some time with my two brothers John and Lew.

We bought a hog, fattened it and then butchered it. We cured the meat with salt and stored it in the little cave, leaving the door open. One morning when I went down into the cave I saw that one of the pieces of meat had disappeared. A neighbor came by and I told him about it. "Who would do a thing like that?" he asked. Now most of my neighbors were Democrats and were always joking about my being a Republican. This man was one of the worst about teasing and I thought I saw a good chance to joke him a bit so I said "A Democrat." Instantly sensing that I had made him mad I continued "It had to be a Democrat because a Republican would have taken the whole hog." It was quick thinking that saved me a fight.

The spring my sister came out I replaced the stock shelter with a large barn. This barn was blown down in a storm in 1915 and I rebuilt it on the same location, but made it larger. I also had a deep well drilled and installed a pump and built another watering-trough, only I made this much longer and wider than the little one by the old dug well. Later when I put up a windmill I replaced the trough with a regular stock tank. Then I filled in the old well that had been dug on the low ground.

We neighbors exchanged work during harvest or when we had some special job that required help. My sister was a good cook and the men always enjoyed her cooking and complimented her often. But one day we had a different experience. We had just finished eating dinner when a stranger rode into the yard. He asked for something to eat. Belle quickly cleared a place at the table, cooked some more meat and fixed him a nice meal. He made no comment about the food, but ate heartily. Then after he had finished everything that was set before him reared back in his chair and said "At least I can say I have had my dinner." I do not know whether that was his idea of a joke or not, but my father and I could see that it had made by sister angry so we hastily got him out of the house.

On April 15, 1903, I married Miss Cora Smith. The following year I built a good four roomed house. It was well boxed with 1 x12's and had lapsiding on the outside, and ceiling boards on the inside. There was a living room, two bedrooms with large closets, and a big combined kitchen-dining room with a large pantry. That house is still standing although we built on it from time to time as the family grew. We had four sons and three daughters.[1]

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[1] Personal history of the family: *Ed H. Williams* was 98 years old in October 1956.

Of course each year in those early days saw some advancement in my farming, such as the adding of new machinery to take care of the crops. One of the first things my brother John and I decided on was to get a threshing machine in partnership. Beside threshing our own crops we could do threshing for our neighbors. This was mostly an exchange of labor,—they would help us harvest or plant our crops and in exchange we would thresh their wheat. When my sons grew large enough they liked to help with the chores and the farming. Improved machinery made farming much easier and let me take on more land. I bought the adjoining quarter, which I still own along with the homestead, and I also rented farm land. I think the combine was one of the biggest helps for the farmer. I remember how excited all the children were when we got our first one. One day at mealtime we were all talking about the new combine. Each had told what he liked best when finally my wife spoke "None of you have mentioned the thing that I think is best of all about the new machine." Instantly the children were alert and almost with one voice asked, "What is that?" She smiled and said "You can't start cutting the wheat until after the sun has dried out the night's dampness, so we don't have to get up so early so you can do the chores and be in the field at sun-up."

I lived on my claim seven years before I proved it up. I had to pay a small Homestead fee, and in return I got a paper called a patent from the government. This patent was signed on behalf of the President of the United States. Mine bore the name of Theodore Roosevelt.

When I built the large cave I covered it with a re-inforced flat concrete top which made a floor for a house which I built over it. This house had two rooms, one was used as a wash house and the other we used for a milk house. In the milk house I built a small model of the watering trough, then piped water from the house well into it from one end, with the outlet slightly lower than the

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Belle Williams was 93 on April 21, 1957. After her brother's marriage she left the farm and has lived an active, busy life until 1948 when she suffered an accident and has since been confined to a wheel chair.

Both *Ed* and *Belle* live in the home of Mr. Williams' eldest daughter, Miss Irma Williams, who is a teacher in the city schools at Enid.

Edgar, the eldest son, was teaching in Guthrie High school, living on a farm west of Guthrie at the time of his death in October 1954.

Mary (Mrs. Houston Little) lives on a farm near Rosston and teaches in Harper county schools.

Gladys (Mrs. Asa Hendricks) lives on a farm near Arnett and teaches in Arnett School. (The children of both Mary and Gladys are actively engaged in 4H and Future Farmer activities).

Harold Williams lives on the home place.

Horace Williams lives on a farm near by.

All seven children received High School education after completing the country school. Five went to college. Three received B.S. Degrees from A. & M. College. One (Irma) has a M. S. degree from A. & M.

intake. From the outlet I piped the water to a small cement tank on the outside that fed into the stock tank. The windmill kept fresh water flowing through this and the milk, cream, butter and other things stored there were kept cool and fresh. This was long before the days of farm electricity and electric refrigeration.

My wife, Cora, died in 1937 but my unmarried son Paul and I continued to live on the homeplace which he farmed for me until his death in 1945. Harold, just home from the Army, and his wife moved on the home place. For a year I lived with either them or my son Edgar, then I came to Enid to live with my daughter Irma.

It is a far cry from those early years, from the walking plow to the tractor and combine of today; from food kept cool in a well, cave or trough to the electric refrigerators and deep freeze.

But Oklahoma and Oklahoma farmers have kept step with the times. I am glad my four boys always loved the land and stayed with farming and that my two married daughters married farmers so that although they are both back in the school room as teachers they are rearing their children on the farm. And most of all I am glad that even though at first I decided against coming into the new Territory that I finally came out and cast my lot with the growing State.

REMINISCENCES OF AN EARLY DENTAL PRACTITIONER IN WESTERN OKLAHOMA

By Dr. F. C. Holmes

INTRODUCTION

The Oklahoma State Dental Association celebrates its fiftieth anniversary this year and members are proud of achievements made by the profession: high standards of excellence, a dental law recognized as one of the best in the nation, and national recognition accorded to individuals.[1] *These accomplishments are a natural outgrowth of the labors performed by pioneer dentists interested in professional growth, attracted to the Twin Territories and platted towns or small communities. Although some of the dentists drifted away to larger cities or more settled communities in the state, a few sank their roots deep in the life of crossroads and villages to survive the rigors of frontier conditions and be a part of the development of settlements into towns, villages into cities.*

Among these was Dr. C. F. Holmes, thirty-one years of age when attracted to Western Oklahoma in 1889 from Galveston, Texas.[2] *He made his home in Mangum, at that time in Greer County, Oklahoma Territory. Some forty years later, Dr. Holmes was persuaded to record his early-day experiences and they were published in the Bulletin of the Oklahoma State Dental Society shortly before his death.*[3] *Few copies of the Bulletin in which his reminiscences appeared are extant and re-publication of them—his description of travelling from place to place ministering to frontier wants and needs, a changing country seen through the eyes of a professional man—points up the deep contrast between denistry and the region yesterday and today.*

—Stanley Clark

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[1] The Oklahoma Territorial Dental Association was formed at Guthrie, May 6, 1891. If not the first, this is one of the first professional associations formed in the territory and is remarkable when it is considered that Kansas, which became a state in 1861, did not form an association until four months later, and Arkansas, which achieved statehood in 1836, established its association in 1890. The Indian Territory Dental Association was formed at South McAlester, November 18, 1903. At a joint meeting of the territorial associations held in Oklahoma City, June 17-20, 1907, the Oklahoma State Dental Association was formed.

[2] Dr. Holmes practiced at Mangum until his death, September 27, 1942. He was licensed to practice dentistry in Oklahoma Territory, May 1, 1900 at the first annual meeting of the Territorial Board of Dental Examiners after his arrival in the territory; he was issued License No. 68.

Since portions of his reminiscences reproduced in this article appeared in *Open Wider Please*, The Story of Dentistry in Oklahoma, by J. Stanley Clark (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1955), the publishers have consented to its publication here. (Dr. Clark has contributed the complete article with annotations for this number of *The Chronicles*.—Ed.)

[3] F. C. Holmes, "Reminiscences of an Early Dental Practitioner in Western Oklahoma", in the *Bulletin* of the Oklahoma State Dental Society XXIX, pp. 43-46 (October, 1940) and pp. 90-92 (January, 1941). During the period 1914 to 1947, the Oklahoma State Dental Association was called the Oklahoma State Dental Society.

In the month of May, 1899, I left Galveston, Texas for Washita County, Oklahoma at the solicitation of two friends, who were practicing medicine there, and who seemed so impressed with the possibilities of the new country that I decided to come up and look it over.

My friends were Dr. J. C. Baker and Dr. DeWitt Stone, both of whom later practiced at Sayre. Dr. Baker was located at Wood, afterward named Port, a then floursħing community in Washita County.

Before leaving Galveston, I sent a telegram to my friends stating the date of my expected arrival. The message was received by mail ten days later from Chickasha. I mention this fact to stress the lack of modern communication facilities that then existed in a large part of Western Oklahoma.

It was a wide open range country, featured by boundless rolling hills carpeted by green grass and acres of many hued wild flowers in the springtime, canopied by blue skies and inhabited by ranchers, whose cattle dotted the prairies. Truly a thrilling and inspiring picture to a young man from the older settled communities.

On our journey up from Texas on the train, we could see heavy clouds north of us and upon arriving in Chickasha about midnight, found a town of about two thousand people; mud, knee-deep in the streets, several houses blown off their foundations, freight cars turned over, and other evidences of a severe windstorm; which I had been informed was a characteristic feature of the Oklahoma climate, so I was not taken by surprise.

After spending the night in Chickasha, I took the Rock Island branch westward to Mountain View, then the terminus. I met Dr. Al Nicholson of El Reno on the train, who seeing my traveling outfit, introduced himself.[4] He was with a party of men, who were booming the new town of Mountain View, and had city lots for sale. As we crossed the Washita river on a temporary bridge, we all stood on the back platform of the coach for fear the bridge would give away, and let us down into the swollen stream, which was on a big rise. Arriving at Mountain View, and finding no one to

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[4] Dr. Arthur L. Nicholson was issued license number 12 by the Oklahoma Territorial Board of Dental Examiners in 1891. He was chosen as the first Treasurer of the Oklahoma State Dental Association in 1907.

During the first session of the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature, held in 1890, pharmacy and dentistry were the only professions for which laws regulating their practice and licensing were passed. The dental act provided for a Board of Dental Examiners to examine applicants for the practice of dentistry in the territory; successful applicants were licensed. The Board held an organizational meeting at Guthrie May 5, 1891. At the second meeting, Oklahoma City, on June 10, licenses were first issued, to ten successful applicants. At the third meeting, in Guthrie, June 25, Dr. Nicholson was among six successful applicants who received licenses meet me at the new city of tents, I sought out a tent marked "Restaurant," had some lunch, and then noticed another tent marked "Livery Stable," where I hired a lumber wagon and team with a cow-puncher for a driver started on my journey westward to Wood, where my medical friends had located. I was surprised to find no established roads, but the driver informed me that he knew where Wood was, and we struck out over the prairie trails and through the big ranch pastures forty-five miles north and west. Occasionally we would pass a pile of fresh dirt and upon asking what it meant, the driver would inform me that it was a dugout, where a new citizen had established his home on a claim, to battle with the vicissitudes of a new country and help to establish the commonwealth that we live in today with all the modern conveniences which we enjoy.

After passing the Indian Agency buildings at Anadarko, I doubt if I saw but two or three frame houses from Chickasha to Wood, a distance of about a hundred miles. And they belonged to ranch men, who were not pleased with the influx of nesters with their dugouts, who were gradually encroaching on the big pastures.

During the afternoon we came to a little rock store and post-office, called Rocky, where the town of Rocky now stands. Upon asking how a store could exist without any town to support it and no human being in sight for miles around, I was informed that the little store often sold several hundred dollars worth of supplies to ranch men and travelers in an single day. After driving all the afternoon and not seeing a soul until we met the store keeper at Rockey, I was beginning to wonder where I should find the people who could support a new dentist and where I should find a place to work, if they should need my services.

About sundown, we arrived at the home of a German homesteader, who was living in a half dugout; a structure dug down in the ground about four feet, with sod walls built up around the edges to support the roof. Here one of my medical friends, Dr. Stone boarded. After calming down several large fierce looking dogs, which were used to drive up the cattle and as a protection against wolves, we were admitted and enjoyed the hospitality of our host for the night in his, to me, very strange abode.

The next morning, Dr. Stone noticing my disappointment at the scarcity of towns and people, suggested that we drive over to Wood, which he intimated was quite a flourishing community.

Wood consisted of a general store, a post office and a blacksmith shop; a church, schoolhouse and half a dozen residences. These evidences of urban progress did not lessen my disappointment to any great extent. But later when a saloon and a bank moved in, Wood began to assume metropolitan airs. I remember the local undertaker, a tall rawboned Arkansawer, who went barefoot all summer. His place of business was an unpainted board shanty about ten feet square, with a sign painted over the door, ''Cold Drinks and Coffins,'' quite a combination of wares it seemed to me. He could refresh the weary wayfarer on his journey, and help put him away at its end. This good citizen seemed to have some very pronounced views on matters educational. He threatened to take his boy out of school if the teacher insisted on his spelling taters with a 'p.'

I remained at Wood all that summer and until the following spring. I kept my office rent paid in Galveston until the fall of 1899 but finally yielding to the lure of the wide open spaces, the green grass, the blue sky, the democracy and hospitality of the West, and the continued interest of a rapidly growing country, decided to stay in Oklahoma.

A year later, in September, 1900, the Galveston flood drowned some 600 people. This tragic event caused me to reflect upon the observation of a great philosopher, who said, ''There is a Providence that shapes our end; Rough hew them how we will.''

As soon as I was assured that the Rock Island was going to build west to Mangum, I located there in the spring of 1900. During the year spent at Wood while waiting for the Rock Island to build to Mangum, I secured a horse and buggy and traveled wherever my services were needed.

One day while working for a family, who lived in a half dugout and kept the post office in a little community near where Sentinel now stands, I was summoned by a man, who rode up on horse back to come over to Head Quarter Mountain, a point several miles northwest of the present town of Granite, to see a man with a broken jaw. Upon finishing my work for the post master's family, I packed up my outfit and proceeded to Head Quarter Mountain about twenty miles westward. I found my patient and his wife living in a little one room rock house, which some sympathetic and hospitable neighbor had donated for the duration of his illness.

He, his wife, his son-in-law and daughter were traveling from Texas up into northwest Oklahoma, where they had filed on homesteads. And engaging in a fight over some disagreement, the son-in-law struck the old man with his fist on the jaw, fracturing it through the lower right cuspid socket downward and backward. A local physician had treated him for three weeks without much success, and learning of my presence in the land, called me.

My patient was a tall spare elderly man. A preacher, I was told, who talked with a hypocrital whine, as he told me his troubles, trying to exonerate himself from blame in the affair. My antipathy steadily increased as he talked until I was convinced that the son-in-law might have been justified even in the use of brass knucks as was claimed.

Realizing my obligation to humanity and casting aside my repugance, I started to make him a splint, acording to the approved methods of that day. His jaw was badly swollen and painful. A cartilagenous union seemed to be taking place. The ends of the fracture were not in apposition. The cuspid in the line of fracture and one bicuspid had to be removed as they had been loosened by the impact. I had him bite into home softened compound, holding the ends of the fracture in their proper relation as near as I could judge. Reproduced the compound in rubber, leaving an opening in front for the intake of liquid food, placed the splint with depressions for the upper and lower teeth, in place, and finally a bandage fastened with a buckle cut from my vest to fasten it firmly on top of his head.

I was about three days making the splint, during which time I partook of the food that kind neighbors sent in to the stricken family. The house having only one room and devoid of furniture, I slept in the yard, the weather being mild, on some bundles of fodder that had been brought along to feed his team.

Beautyrest mattresses were not considered so necessary in Western Oklahoma in those days, and as the food was wholesome and my sleeping apartment air conditioned by nature, and my over head expense light, as they also fed my horse, I rather enjoyed such novel accommodations. I awoke each morning invigorated after a night's rest in such a well ventilated apartment, ready to tackle with the enthusiasm of youth and health what was then to me, a new phase of dentistry—my first fracture case. My ardor was somewhat dampened by the fact that the old man had informed me at the start, that he had only enough money to enable him to finish his journey, but would pay me some day, if he lived. My fee was to be $25.00, the price of a set of teeth at that time.

After I had been in Mangum about a year, one of his neighbors, a lawyer, possibly with the idea of a fee in his mind, sent me word that the fracture had healed as a result of wearing my appliance and suggested that I send him a bill. I did. He sent me $10.00, all that he ever paid me for my trouble, but to show, in his way, some appreciation for my efforts. He sent his wife down to Mangum to have a set of teeth made, for which she paid me.

I had made a set of teeth for a rancher's wife, who lived in Washita County at the time but shortly after getting her dentures, moved to a ranch in Collingsworth County, Texas. In order to secure the work, I had promised to do anything in my power for the rest of my natural life to make her teeth satisfactory. My patient being very excited and seeming somewhat suspicious of my ability and integrity, several weeks after moving to Texas, sent me word that the plates were not functioning properly, and expected me to keep my word. Whereupon, I packed up my traveling outfit and drove a hundred miles westward to their ranch.

After spending two days and nights on the road, one of which I occupied the guest chamber in a huge dugout, the guest chamber being curtained off from the one large room, my hosts being two bachelor brothers, who afterward became my patients and friends, I arrived at the ranch about lunch time.

I observed that my patient could eat fried ham and other substantial food without apparent difficulty. Wishing to give her more time to master her new dentures, I did not question her about them as some of the neighbors needed my services, I was busy for about ten days doing my work in the different homes.

When ready to leave, I asked her what seemed to be the matter with her plates. For want of a better excuse, she said she thought that the molars were too broad. I told her that I would have to take the plates back to my office where I had smaller teeth and would send them back my mail. She said, "You wouldn't have to tear these plates up to make the change would you?" And upon assuring her that I probably would, she said, "Why I wouldn't have that done for anything; they might never fit as well again."

I left there about noon on my return trip and late in the afternoon came upon a cattleman's family living in a dugout, dug back of the bank of a ravine, where a creek headed. The woman of the family needed some teeth extracted and it was about sundown when I resumed by journey back to Wood. I drove until midnight over the prairies not seeing a soul nor a human habitation, when suddenly my horse stopped before a new wire fence which had recently been built across the trail. Tying my horse to the fence I wandered up and down for some distance without finding a gate. As the night was dark and being very sleepy, I unhitched my horse, hobbled him so he could graze, and lay down on my lap robe under my buggy to wait for day. Awakening at daylight, I was somewhat startled to see a coyote seated on his haunches about 150 feet away and calmly watching me; and much more to my surprise, about two hundred yards across the fence was a two story ranch house. Aided by daylight I soon found the new gate and resumed my journey.

There were about three important towns west of the Rock Island Railroad at that time, as I remember, Mangum and Woodward, trading points for cattlemen on the trail from Texas to Kansas, and Weatherford, the terminus of the Rock Island branch west from Oklahoma City. Weatherford was then aspiring to become an educational center.

With the completion of railroads, those great empire builders, across the country, two branches of the Rock Island westward, the Orient and Katy north and south, new towns sprang up like magic. Dugouts and tents were replaced by more substantial structures as lumber became available and cheaper, not having to be hauled overland such long distances from the nearest railroad points.

And with the establishment of towns came a great many new dentists, mostly fine young fellows from our western states bringing up to date methods and sharing the practice of we older men to care for the rapidly increasing population.

It was not an uncommon occurrence in my early practice in Mangum for a cowboy to ride in from the Panhandle of Texas perhaps a hundred miles away to have a tooth extracted. There was one dentist located temporaritly at Old Frazier, a community about where the town of Altus not stands, who used a dental engine propelled by a hand crank instead of a foot pedal, I was told.

In the short space of forty years, Western Oklahoma was transformed from a range country to a populous and prosperous agricultural country. And I am proud to state that Dentistry in Oklahoma has kept pace with the marvelous strides of that period. And as I look forward, it is heartening to realize that our depleting ranks are being filled with young and energetic men of skill and character, who will carry on, and uphold the best traditions of our calling.

AS TRAVELING PRACTITIONER

When I located in Mangum in the spring of 1900, the town had a population of about seven hundred.[5] Some of the people lived in tents and some in dugouts. The town had been called "tin can town" by the cow men because many of the box houses, then the prevailing style of architecture, had been weather stripped with tin cans flattened out and nailed over the cracks.

A few traveling dentists coming through the country at long intervals provided the only dental service for the community. And unfortunately some of the dentists had not dealt fairly with the people, extracting large fees for inadequate service, departing between suns, leaving their board bills unpaid and defaulting on other obligations.

By the time I arrived, the people were becoming rather suspicious of the traveling practitioner and would usually ask me how long I intended to stay in Mangum before intrusting their work to me. Realizing that I would have this distrust to overcome, I would look the questioner straight in the eye and tell him in a very solemn manner: " expect to remain here for seventy-five years." This statement seemed to restore confidence; it amused those who had a sense of humor, and properly impressed those who could never take a joke. So they quit traveling several hundred miles to find a dentist and came to me, their first resident dentist.

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[5] The picture of Dr. Holmes standing near buggy and horse appears in *Open Wider* between pp. 20-21 and has this caption:

"BUCKBOARD DENTISTRY AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY"

"Dr. F. C. Holmes of Mangum, setting out to see his patients. Dr. Holmes would travel from dugout to dugout, staying with each patient until his work was completed."

Dr. Laird, who recently died in Oklahoma City, was known as a picturesque street vender and is remembered by many. He wore a ten-gallon hat and long hair hanging down over his shoulders. He extracted teeth with his fingers, the teeth having previously been loosened by pyorrhea, before the awed crowd. He was a force to be reckoned with in the early days as people accredited him with all but supernatural power because of his ability to use fingers rather than the "dreaded" forceps.

I cultivated the doctor's acquaintance to learn if possible the secret of his success as an extractor. I was just beginning the use of cocaine, which did not give perfect anesthesia in many cases and often caused nausea and fainting. I could hear occasionally of one of my patients going to Dr. Laird for an extraction. He confided in me that he depended more on rapid skilful technique, using a little campho-phenique on the gum for its psychological effect.

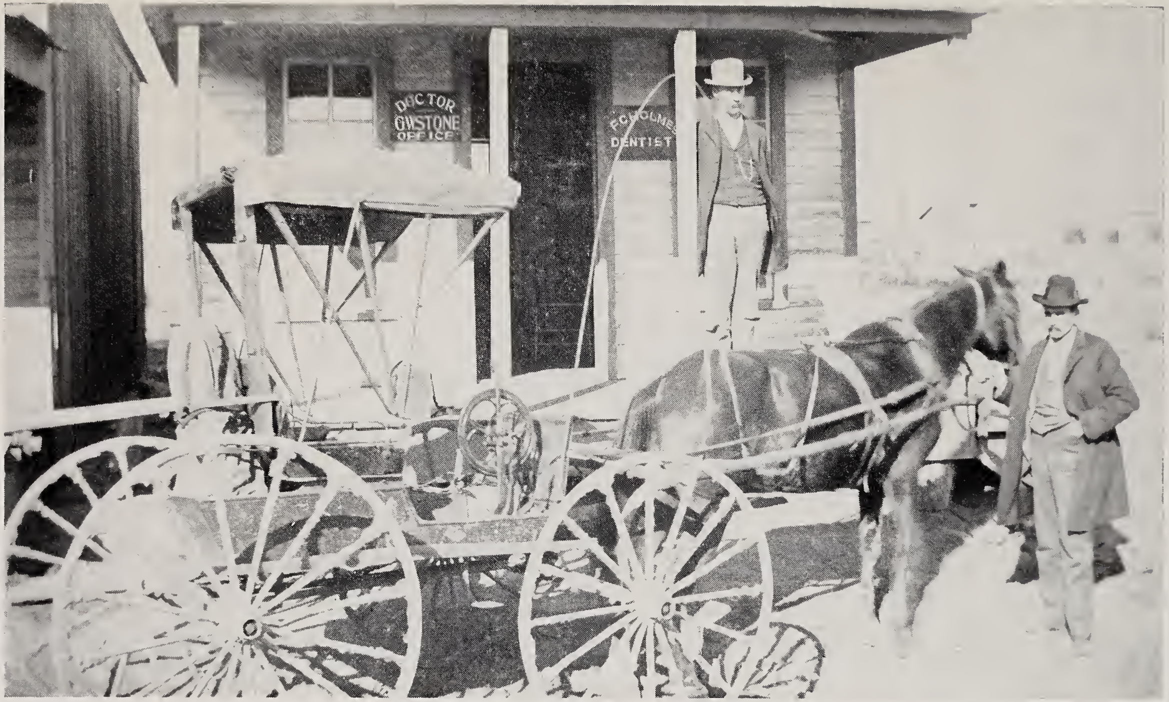
He injected no anesthetic and if extracted on the street before a crowd, who were eargerly waiting to give the victim the "horse laugh" at the first sign of weakening, his black-faced artists kept up a running fire of jokes. The doctor's wife a pretty little woman wearing a fancy costume, stood in front of the victim urging him to keep smiling. All this served to keep the patient's mind diverted until, suddenly, the tooth was out without one having had time to dread it.

The doctor never performed a difficult extraction before the crowd if he could help it. And should a tooth break, he would conceal the fact from his audience. Some dentist would get the patient later and remove the roots with the aid of cocaine as an anaesthetic.

One of my patients was having all of her teeth extracted. They were so hard to remove that I dreaded to see her come into the office. Many of them fractured and she was extremely nervous.

I had removed about half of them by using cocaine when Dr. Laird came to town in his private car. The car served him as his office.

A few days after his arrival, the lady returned to my office with all of her teeth out. She said: "Dr. Laird removed them without



The Itinerant Dentist, F. E. Holmes, Mangum, Oklahoma.

an anaesthetic but his forceps were so hot from the boiling water that he had taken them out of, that I dreaded the heat worse than the pain of extraction.'' Dr. Laird was a master psychologist, a skillful extractor, and I must give him praise for the good he did in relieving human suffering in those early days when no other help was available and local anesthesia was in its infancy.

Speaking of anaesthesia—the wonderful strides we have made in the last forty years. Dentistry of today takes anaesthesia for granted. The younger members of our profession know nothing of the suffering of humanity from toothache before the days of local anaesthesia. People would suffer for years before they would submit to an extraction. General anaesthesia was dangerous and few dentists were equipped to use it. And local, with cocaine, was imperfect and dangerous.

I remember having three patients stretched out on my office floor at one time recovering from the toxic effect of cocaine. They belonged to one family who had come by horse and buggy about seventy-five miles to have their work done and were anxious to return as soon as possible. They seemed to possess an idiosyncrasy for cocaine. In those days dental offices were not equipped with retiring rooms. I had to let my patients lie on the floor until they recovered.

About 1914, Dr. Fisher's book on ''*Conductive Anaesthesia and the Use of Novocaine—Suprarenin*'' was published in America. We invited Dr. Ruethmuller, the American translator of the book, to lecture our State Society. Later, Dr. Arthur Smith came to us on the same subject. I am proud of the fact that Oklahoma dentists were quick to take advantage of these new methods which marked an important milestone in the conquest of pain.

As to dentures, I once took a trip far from the railroad back in Alabama. I accompanied an older dentist, Dr. Bradley, who made occasional visits to that community. Dr. Bradley, while there, made several sets of teeth which he vulcanized in an iron teakettle hung over an open fire in the fireplace of his patient's home. As I remember, he kept the pot boiling for about a half-day. The dentures came out with a tough and springy texture that is unexcelled today. He used porcelain block-teeth with platinum pins, the best avaliable at the time.

While we were in this community a young man came into our office to have some dental restorations and before the examination was made, apologized to Dr. Bradley for not having brushed his teeth. He asked of the doctor his toothbrush which was on the wash stand. Whereupon, presuming on his acquaintance with the doctor, he stepped to the wash stand and carefully brushed his teeth with the doctor's brush. After the patient departed Dr. Bradley threw the toothbrush out the window.

I once made an upper denture for a lady, from the rural districts, whose main regret was that she would have to lose her "tobacker" tooth. She used one of them to bite off a piece of plug-tobacco. Her son, a tall rawboned gentleman from Arkansas, advised me that he did not want Maw's teeth to project out so much that she could bite a pumpkin through a crack in a brush-fence, nor did he want them set in so far that she couldn't bite the cork out of a bottle. This admonition indicated the son had a proper perception of esthetic values. By avoiding either extreme I was enabled to make her a very presentable restoration. But, how crude were our methods and how little did we know in those good old days of the factors which make dentures successful today!

In answer to the almost invariable question as to how long it would take them to learn to eat with their new teeth, I used to tell them "six months." That gave me time to make adjustments and afforded them time to practice. There was a current saying among dentists that "a denture that is not paid for, never fits." I do not think that is true today with any but the extremely difficult cases.

Speaking of root fillings. We remember the time when methods of filling root canals was a matter of paramount importance. Much of the space in dental journals was devoted to that subject. It was our daily practice to treat nerves and absessed teeth. We were taught to save teeth and attained a remarkable degree of proficiency in so doing.

Many materials and medicinal agents were advocated and sold by the manufacturers for root-canal filling which we never hear of now. I remember discussing with C. L. White,[6] about thirty-five years ago, the method of soaking hickory pegs in creosote and forcing them into root canals as a permanent filling. The two of us had tried the method and considered it of value at the time.

My usual method was to roll out a wax point with my cement spatula on my slab incorporating a little iodoform powder as it was formed. Then after drying out the canals with a hot smooth broach made from a tapered hair pin, place the wax points in the canals, then plunge the hot broach into the wax-filled canal and break it off quickly, (the broach had previously been semi-cut for proper length), leaving the broach incorporated in melted wax with iodoform for the antiseptic value—a hermetically sealed root. I mention this method as a relic of bygone days. It was used for many years when we took our root-fillings seriously.

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[6] Dr. Charles Lincoln White (1877-1941) was issued license number 106 in 1901 by the Oklahoma Territoral Board of Dental Examiners. He moved from Granite to Oklahoma City in 1903, served as Secretary-Treasurer of the Oklahoma Territorial Dental Association 1905-1907, and when that association held a joint meeting with the Indian Territory Dental Association in Oklahoma City June 17-20, 1907, he was chosen president of the newly-formed Oklahoma State Dental Association. He served the association as editor of its quarterly in 1925 and at various times was chosen as a delegate to annual meetings of the American Dental Association. He, along with Dr. B. L. Shobe (1863-1917), Dr. Charles W. Day (1869-1934), Dr. Albert E. Bonnell (1865-1936), Dr. C. R. Lawrence (1879-1940), and Dr. Arthur C. Seids (1881-1947), has been honored by the Association with a plaque that hangs in the lobby of the Medical and Dental Arts Building, Tulsa.

Then came Dr. M. L. Rhein from New York to show us the way. His method was to force chloropercha through the end of the root, previously enlarging the apical foramen, if necessary, for that purpose and thus encapsulating the root-end. He finished the filling with gutta-percha points. Dr. Rhein mentioned putting in eighteen hours work on one root-canal filling and stated that his fee was proportionate to time spent. Dr. Rhein had a wealthy patronage. The fee was easy for him to obtain but would have been impossible for most Oklahoma dentists of that day.

At the same meeting, Dr. Tom Hinman of Atlanta, Georgia, was with us showing on the screen, pictures of patients suffering from arthritis. Deplorable examples of the result of focal infections from root ends, a brand new theory and soon we ceased to wear ourselves out with tedious root-canal technique and began extracting instead, especially following the advent of novocain which rendered the operation less dreaded by both patient and operator.

With the wonderful advances made in dental knowledge in the last fifty years, we realize that the ''world do move'' and wonder what will come next in our rapidly advancing progress.

THE LOST COLONEL

By George H. Shirk

An aspect of the War between the States and the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln was the emergence of the Negro as a member of the military establishment. Large scale acceptance into Federal Service of troops comprised of Negro personnel began in 1863. A number of infantry battalions composed of Negroes had been organized as state Militia units. Eventually, with few exceptions, all were finally mustered into Federal service. The Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, made available large segments of Negro manpower; and in the midst of the war conditions it is only logical that great numbers of persons turned to military service as a means of individual existence.

Known originally as the *Corps d'Afrique* and by other similar names, all of these units were uniformly designated by the spring of 1864 as U. S. Colored Troops. In all, there were 138 regiments of colored infantry. With such a vast manpower reserve in Federal Service, logistics became an important consideration. It was necessary not only for the War Department to find clothing and arms for these units, but also to provide useful utilization of the organizations.

The 57th Colored Infantry was a unit that by circumstances appeared briefly upon the pages of Oklahoma history. It was organized at Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1864 under Colonel Thomas D. Seawell. Various companies of the Regiment had been organized earlier as Arkansas Militia units. Each was mustered into Federal Service in late 1863 or early 1864 as units of the 57th U. S. Colored Infantry. The muster was for a term of three years.

In early 1866 the 3rd U. S. Cavalry was ordered on an expedition to New Mexico and directed to take Station at Fort Union. The 57th Colored Infantry was attached to the 3rd Cavalry and directed to accompany the expedition. Colonel M. S. Howe,[1] being the senior officer present in both regiments, was in command of the expedition. The commander of the 57th at the time was Colonel Paul Harwood, who for the movement across Indian Territory reported direct to Colonel Howe.

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[1] Marshall Saxe Howe; born in Maine; graduated from West Point 1 July 1827; 1st Lieut., 2nd Dragoons 11 June 1836; Captain, 1 Jan. 1839; Major, 13 July 1848; Lieut. Colonel, 14 June 1858; transferred to 2nd Cavalry, 3 August 1861; colonel and commander 3rd Cavalry 28 September 1861. He was retired 31 August 1866. Died 8 December 1878. —Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), Vol. I.

Companies B and H of the 57th were ordered ahead as pioneers. These units at the time were at Fort Smith; and when the order arrived a portion of B Company "refused to obey and stacked their arms on Company parade." Colonel Howe viewed the incident as mutiny and on May 23rd deprived the 57th of its colors, ordered it to disarm and sent it to Little Rock under guard. The Steamers *J. S. Hall* and *Hesper* were available and transported the entire regiment to Little Rock with orders to its guard to turn it to the Commanding General of the Department of Arkansas.

Upon arrival the Department commander, Maj. Gen. J. J. Reynolds investigated, and on June 2nd, ordered the 57th back to Fort Smith to rejoin the 3rd Cavalry in order to comply with the previous orders for the march to Fort Union, New Mexico. The 57th returned to Fort Smith on the Steamers *Pilgrim* and *Argos,* arriving on June 4th. On the same day C Company of the 57th was dispatched to "Scullyville landing on the Poteau to construct a ferry at that place."

The expedition assembled near Fort Smith at a temporary bivouac called Camp Reynolds. Colonel Howe divided the command into three sections for the operation. The first departed from Fort Smith on June 7th, and one thereafter on the 8th and on the 9th. The 57th was made a part of the first column and was under the immediate command of Colonel Howe. The 57th moved on foot and the order of the day required each soldier to carry arms without bayonets. No ammunition was issued.

A member of the expedition was Hospital Steward First Class Thomas A. Muzzall, formerly of the 1st Missouri Cavalry. His diary of the trip is now in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Gene Minium of Springfield, Oregon. It presents a vivid story of a trip across Indian Territory on foot, and we are fortunate in being able to publish it (for the first time in print) in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* The main excitement during the journey was that incident to Colonel Harwood becoming lost; and the principals in the drama presented are the Commander of the 57th Colored Infantry, Colonel Paul Harwood of New Haven, Connecticut, and Hospital Steward Muzzall.

Colonel Harwood was born in Pennsylvania. He first saw military service as a Private in Company E of the 8th new York. He was discharged from that regiment in August of 1861. He was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant in the 1st Connecticut Artillery on 11 April 1862. He was assigned to Company E of that regiment; and was captured on June 29, 1862, at Gaines Mill. He was paroled in August and rejoined his regiment in time to be promoted to 1st Lieutenant on December 11, 1863. He was discharged June 8, 1864 in order to accept the commission of Major of the 57th United States Colored Infantry on July 20, 1864. After being mustered out of

Federal service on October 19, 1866, he was appointed a 2nd Lieutenant of the Regular Army on March 7, 1867 and was assigned to the 27th Infantry. A year later he was promoted to 1st Lieutenant. He transferred to the 20th Infantry with the rank of Captain on September 9, 1884. He retired from Federal service in 1891.

Thomas Abram Muzzall was born in Brighton, England, on March 25, 1834. He came to the United States in 1852, and settled at Merrillville, Lake County, Indiana. There he taught school. He moved to Kansas in 1856, and was soon ''fighting Border Ruffians and Bush Whackers'' to help ''make Kansas and a free state.'' In 1860, he settled in Lawrence, Kansas, and for two years carried the United States mail on the Pony Express run from Leavenworth to Fort Kearney, Nebraska. His route took him west as far as Salt Lake City.[1a]

As a Pony Express rider he was wounded by the Indians, suffering a tomahawk blow that cut a deep gash in his thigh, from the hip to the knee. He told his granddaughter the reason the scar was so large, for he carried it the rest of his life:

> "At Fort Bridger, Wyoming, the squaws tried to take care of his cut, and laid it open with sticks and then chewed up herbs and spat them into the wound and then closed it with cactus thorns, wrapped him in a blanket, and dug a trench around him on the gorund, and built a fire in the trench and sweated him so bad that he thought his time had come."

With the coming of the War, he enlisted in Company D, 1st Missouri Volunteer Cavalry. His talents placed him in the medical service, and he was made Hospital Steward. His muster expired January 1, 1864. However, he re-enlisted as a Hospital Steward, 1st Class, for another three year muster. It was during his second enlistment that he crossed the Indian Territory, now the ''Sooner State.'' He died September 14, 1915, at Scott City, Kansas, after eighty-four years of a full and colorful life. All Oklahoma is grateful that his diary has been preserved for publication here:

THOMAS A. MUZZALL'S
MEMORANDA OF A TRIP ACROSS THE PLAINS IN 1866

The Command consisting of the 3rd U. S. Cavalry, commanded by Col. M. S. Howe, U. S. Army and the 57th U. S. Colored Infantry, commanded by Col. Paul Harwood, U. S. V., with a large train of waggons, all under the command of Col. M. S. Howe, started from Fort Smith, Arkansas enroute to Fort Union, New Mexico, on the 8th of June, 1866.

June 8—Crossed the Poteau River at 5 P. M. and camped[2] on its banks to allow time for our train to cross it. Rained during the night.

June 9—Left camp about 10 A. M. and marched about 10 miles. This country is a beautiful one, the soil is splendid black loam, timber is plenteous and of good kind, water good and a plenty. The weather is very hot, so much so

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[1a] From notes in manuscript on Thomas A. Muzzall, by Mrs. Gene Minium.

[2] Camp 1 was several miles southwest of Ft. Smith and in present LeFlore County.

(From old daguerreotype, about 1862)

THOMAS A. MUZZALL
1st Missouri Volunteer Cavalry

that the men fell out in great numbers, quite exhausted. One poor fellow died on my hands from sunstroke. Today we passed through Scullyville.[3] This was a flourishing town before the War, but it is now in ruins. The land about us is owned by the Cherokee[4] tribe, and is called on the maps "Indian Territory." They farm little and raise a great number of cattle, but they are a lazy, shiftless set. We have no road, our route lies between 34 and 36 degrees of Latitude.[5]

June 10—Strike tents at 8 A. M. and march through a pretty country, the prairies look like a flower garden. I gathered some flowers and pressed them in a book. We marched about 18 miles and encamped[6] in a small body of timber a half mile off the trail. About 200 men fell out today, the weather is so sultry.

June 11—Strike tents at 5 A. M. and march about 11 miles through a fine country, in fact the finest I ever saw.[7] No men fell out today as it is cooler on account of a cool wind. We crossed the *San Bois River* today and passed the *Laureate* [8] range of mountains.

June 12—Strike tents at 7 A. M. and march about 14 miles, it has rained all day at intervals.[9] The scenery is of the same character as of yesterday. The men are getting along fine. We cross the *Santa Rita River*.[10]

June 13—Strike tents at 6 A. M. and march about 15 miles. We had to take to the mountain ridges today as the bottom lands are so wet from heavy rains that we cannot travel on them. The men have to work hard pulling the waggons through the mud for the poor mules pulled so hard they could pull no more without rest.

June 14—Lay in camp[11] today to rest the mules, it rained heavily all day. A courier went back today so I sent a letter to my wife.

June 15—Strike tents at 1:30 P. M. and move a mile or two[12] to a higher ridge, the men pulling the waggons through the mud for the mules can get no foothold, the ground is so soft. The men are giving out with this heavy labour of pulling loaded waggons through the mud. Two cases of hernia reported to me.

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[3] Skullyville, the location of the Choctaw Agency, was at present Oak Lodge, east of Spiro. See Morrison, "The Saga of Skullyville", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (June 1938), p. 234. The fact that Muzzall makes no reference to a post office, but considers the town as "in ruins" is considered significant. Official records show that a post office named Choctaw Agency was in operation at the time of this visit. Whether such offices shown by Departmental records were actually active has been a source of much conjecture. See Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer 1948), p. 236.

[4] Misconception for the Choctaw Nation.

[5] Camp 2 was west of Spiro, Le Flore County.

[6] Camp 3 was northwest of Bokoshe.

[7] Camp 4 was south of Stigler.

[8] The reference is uncertain. The word appears on none of the contemporary maps and is mentioned by none of the earlier explorers. The expedition is too far north for this to be the San Bois Mountains, and is probably too far east for such to be the Shawnee Hills.

[9] Camp 5 was east of Quinton.

[10] The identity of the Santa Rita is a source of doubt. See Foreman, *Pathfinder in the Southwest*, p. 43. The stream here referred to is probably a tributary of the San Bois.

[11] Camp 6 was near present Blocker in Pittsburg County.

[12] The regimental records consider this still as Camp 6; and a new number was not assigned to the small displacement of the 15th and 16th.

June 16—Start at 5 A. M. and move a mile or two and stop on a hill. The ground is too soft even for our saddle horses. I expect we will be compelled to wait a few days to give both men and beasts a little rest, and let the mud settle.

June 17—Remain in camp today as we are mud bound. I caught two tarantulas and a centipede and put them in alcohol to preserve them.

June 18—Still in camp mud bound. I had one man die today of pneumonia. Gaines Creek is ahead three miles but impassible. We must wait for it to go down.

June 19—Still in camp. Our waggons all caught up with us today, we have a great time drying out our baggage.

June 20—Strike tents and march about 12 miles, crossing *Gaines Creek.*[13] The men had to wade, the current is very swift. We are now only about 85 miles out of Fort Smith and are 12 days out.[14] Now in higher country and I think we will get along better. Fresh fish in abundance.

June 21—Strike tents at 5 A. M. March about 14 miles, crossed several creeks.[15]

June 22—Strike tents at 6 A. M. March about 20 miles.[16] Very fine country.

June 23—March at 8 A. M. for about 18 miles,[17] crossing Boggy River.

June 24—Lay in camp to allow the supply train to get up to us as it is far behind and has had a hard time getting along. Weather fine and scenery.

June 25—Marched at 5 A. M. Passed Talbert's [Colbert's][18] Seminary, now in ruins the result of the War. Crossed Blue River, passed Brogan's Ranche. We marched 20 miles today.[19]

June 26—Start at 5 A. M. and march 15 miles, we are getting near the Canadian River.[20] It rained heavily today.

June 27—Start at 5 A. M. and march 17 miles, crossing headwaters of the Topofky[21] River. We are traveling directly towards the Canadian River.[22]

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[13] Gaines Creek was originally known as the South Fork of the Canadian. Maps published as late as 1860 correctly designated this stream as the South Fork. On supposedly authentic maps of present Oklahoma, the main Canadian River is denominated "South Fork of the Canadian" or "South Canadian." Thus, the proper appellation "Canadian River" (for the main Canadian) is being lost.

[14] Camp 7 was near McAlester.

[15] Camp 8 was south of Anderson in Pittsburg County. The streams and creeks were no doubt all tributaries of Gaines Creek.

[16] Camp 9 was in northern Coal County.

[17] Camp 10 was near Lula.

[18] Colbert Institute was established at Perryville in 1852 under Rev. Ezekiel Couch. The school was moved in 1857 to a site near Stonewall.

[19] Camp 11 was near Hickory.

[20] Camp 12 was several miles southwest of Stratford. The expedition has altered its course to a more northerly direction.

[21] The Topofki is now known as Sandy Creek, in northern Pontotoc County. Assuming that Blue River (entry for June 25th) and the Topofki were both properly identified, the party has been traveling almost due north since departing from Camp 11.

[22] Camp 13 was southeast of Byars. The muster roll for G Company says Camp 13 was on "a small tributary of the Washita River a few miles south of Lieut. Whipple's survey of 1853 and 1854." This would undoubtedly be Peavine Creek, a tributary of the Washita that heads within a mile of Byars, in McClain County.

June 28—Remained in camp today to repair waggons and to get an Indian guide from a Caddo[23] village a few miles from here. The water here is badly tainted with alkalie (*sic*) but the weather is fine.

June 29—Still in camp. Weather fine and cool. I caught some tarantulas, scorpions and two horned toads.

June 30—Still in camp. The Washita River is not fordable on account of late rains. We were mustered for pay today. Got a Comanche Indian for guide. We have a plenty of Indians in camp, begging.

July 1—Still in camp. Washita too high for fording. Pass the day watching Indians.

July 2—Start at 5 A. M. and march about 35 miles, 20 miles of it without water. The weather is very hot today. We will have to go around the head of the Washita and then on the great divide between it and the Canadian River.[24]

July 3—Start at 5 A. M. March about 16 miles. The country is poor and water bad.[25]

July 4—Start at 5 A. M. March about 4 miles to better water. We lay for rest to celebrate the 4th.[26] Weather very hot.

July 5—Start at 5 A. M. March about 16 miles.[27] We ford *Walnut Creek* and get on the wrong trail through the obstinancy of Col. Howe. Our guide leaves us in consequence. Weather fine, country poor.

July 6—Start at 5 A. M. March about 15 miles. Some slight rain this forenoon. We march not more than ten miles in a direct course.[28] Crossed many pretty streams. Bottom land very fine. Saw some buffalo carcasses today.

July 7—Start at 5 A. M. and march about 12 miles, some slight rain this forenoon. We camp[29] on the Washita River. A large driving of cattle is following us for protection, they are going to Santa Fe, New Mexico to be sold.

July 8—Start at 5 A. M. and march about 18 miles,[30] passing Stanwhait's[31] [Stand Watie] old stand. He is a Seminole Indian and was a Brig. Gen'l. in the C. S. A. My old regiment often fought his.

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[23] The muster roll for D Company says a "Cherokee Village." This could be Cherokee Town, a settlement east of Pauls Valley; but more probably is a reference to Beaversville, a Delaware settlement northwest of Byars. See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Black Beaver," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1946), p. 269; and Shirk, "The Site of Old Camp Arbuckle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1949), p. 313. Upon abandonment of the first site of Camp Arbuckle, the improvements were occupied by the Delawares under Black Beaver.

[24] Camp 14 was southwest of Wayne.

[25] Camp 15 was south of Blanchard.

[26] The Fourth of July was celebrated in the vicinity of Blanchard.

[27] Camp 16 was northwest of Blanchard. If in fact it was Walnut Creek that the expedition crossed, the route made a considerable loop to the north.

[28] Camp 17 was near Amber.

[29] Camp 18 was near Verden.

[30] Camp 19 was west of Anadarko.

[31] The reference to Stand Watie is in error. Muzzall is referring to Camp McIntosh, a Confederate installation garrisoned during the War years. Its location is on the grounds of the Caddo County Farm, on U. S. Highway 62 about two miles east of Anadarko. Gen. Stand Watie was a noted Cherokee.

July 9—Start at 5 A. M. and march about 12 miles. We camp at Fort Cobb.[32] The Fort is in ruins, was built of red sand stone and sun dried bricks, there are some good bridges crossing the stream on which the Fort stands. It was evacuated upon the outbreak of the War.

July 10—Start at 5 A. M. and march about 22 miles and camp[33] on the Washita River. We passed through a prairie-dog town today. Saw live buffalo and killed several rattle snakes, 5 to 6 feet long. I saved the rattles.

July 11—Another 5 A. M. start and march slowly on account of ravines which the Pioneers have to fix for us to cross. We march about 14 miles and see plenty of gypsum, which taints the water badly. The men killed some few buffalo. I had some of the meat for my supper.[34] Too fresh for my taste.

July 12—Start at 6 A. M. marching 14 miles. Col. Harwood and his orderly are both out hunting buffalo. They had better look out or they will get lost. We camp close to a canyon; the Pioneers have a great task here to cut a road through the canyon. I shot at a prairie-dog today and missed him, but the windage of the ball knocked him over, and I caught him alive and unhurt. I shall try to make a pet of him. Col Harwood and orderly have not returned to camp[35] yet. We are getting alarmed for their safety.

July 13—Started late at 9 A. M. and marched about 12 miles.[36] We have lost Col. Harwood and his orderly, they have not been seen since yesterday morning and some scouting parties were sent out to look for them.

July 14—Start early and march about 8 miles.[37] Col. Howe has sent out six companies of Cavalry to hunt for Col. Harwood. I am afraid the Comanches have got him, if they have, it will be all day with him, for they will surely kill him. No buffaloes in sight today.

July 15—Start early and marched about 20 miles. The Cavalry have returned, they could find no trace of Col. Harwood. We will have to wait for Time to tell what became of him. I am very sorry for him, he was a good officer and a gentleman. We saw large herds of buffalo today, and a part of a herd broke through our train, completely scalping one of the drivers.. He will die. We camped[38] near some strange looking mounds this evening, they are composed of shells. I collected some for preservation.

July 16—Didnt start 'til noon and marched about 12 miles.[39] The Regimental Quartermaster was placed under arrest by Col. Howe today for allowing his herders to steal horses from the Indians some weeks ago.

July 17—Remained in camp all day. The Cavalry took another hunt for

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[32] Fort Cobb was established October 1, 1859 by two companies of the 1st Cavalry and one company of the 1st Infantry by Major William H. Emory. It was abandoned by Federal forces on May 3, 1861, and two days later was occupied by Confederate troops. For an excellent review of Fort Cobb, see Muriel H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring 1956), p. 53.

[33] Camp 21 was north of Mountain View.

[34] Camp 22 was 6 or 8 miles west of Colony.

[35] Camp 23 was near Arapaho. The expedition no doubt passed too far south to have observed Rock Mary.

[36] Camp 24 was several miles north of Butler.

[37] Camp 25 was near Moorewood.

[38] Camp 26 was several miles north of Strong City.

[39] Camp 27 was east of Crawford.

Col. Harwood. We are camped on Epsom Creek.[40] The water is horrible.

July 18—Start early and march about 28 miles. The country is a high dry plateau. We are again approaching the Canadian River.[41] Saw a rainbow by starlight tonight. No news of Col. Harwood.

July 19—Another early start and march slowly, as both men and animals are suffering for water. We pass the Antelope Hills.[42] There are six of them, very singular looking, four of them look like immense forts. They can be seen 10 miles off, they are composed of carboniferous sandstone. This morning some of the officers and myself discovered a solitary buffalo; we gave chase on foot and, surrounding him, drove him to the column where we killed him. I got his tongue. It looked ridiculous to see how respectful we were to his Majesty every time he turned to look at us, we would scamper off, and then we would follow him and boast of what we would do to him!

July 20—Start early and march about 29 miles and reach the Canadian. We find good water and grass but no wood.

July 21—Start early and march about 3 miles to Valley Creek; passible water, soil poor, plenty of sand, gypsum, ising glass, but sparse vegitation.

July 22—Start early and march about 20 miles along the banks of the Canadian. The weather is sultry and we suffer for water as the Canadian is so badly tainted with alkilie (*sic*) that we cannot drink it. Today we passed a wagon capsized. It evidently belonged to some venturesome trader who had been murdered by the Indians as we found his scalped body and the bodies of two women, also mutilated a few steps from his wagon. We buried all. We camped opposite the Natural Mounds.

July 23—Start early and march about 15 miles along the Canadian; our mules are dying very fast, many men desperately ill. The weather is so hot, grass is poor, and the water so alkaline.

July 24—Start early, march 15 miles along the Canadian, passed a beautiful spring.

July 25—Start early, march about 15 miles, camp in a valley surrounded by mounds formed of small round stone, similar to those found on a sea beach. The air is dry and pure, water very nauseous, all vegetation dried up due to excessive heat

July 26—Start at 3 P. M. and finally cross the Canadian, camp near a crossing at the floor of a very high bluff. I have a negro in my care. he is dying from general dropsy.

July 27—Remain in camp today. The poor negro died in the night, so today, Dr. Wright and I performed a post mortum. I caught a giant centipede today, he fought hard. We are nearing the "Fort Gibson and Santa Fe Road" and are about 240 miles from Fort Union.

July 28—Start early and march about 15 miles. We have good water. In a very sandy country with little or no grass, crossing 2 or 3 creeks with a few scattering bushes with grape vines on them. Brought up to date my list of men lost and where buried.

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[40] Lieut. Whipple records his Camp 34 to be on Epsom Spring "flowing towards the north becomes tributary to the river Canadian." See "The Journal of Lieut. A. W. Whipple," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950), p. 281.

[41] Camp 28 was near the 100th Meridian. This was the party's last night in future Oklahoma.

[42] The Antelope Hills of Roger Mills County are near the 100th Meridian and were once the landmark for the international boundary between Spanish Territory and the United States.

July 29th—Start early and march about 15 miles, we have good water and grass tonight, but no wood. We begin to see signs of civilization. We are nearing the great "Santa Fe" road.

July 30th—Start early and march about 22 miles and camp at an old camp ground called "Camp Jackson." We saw a great of mirage today. The men and animals are improving, now that we get good water and grass. Today the soldiers and teamsters got to fighting and I had some wounds to dress.

July 31st—Start early and march about 11 miles and camp on a well timbered stream, it rained all night last night. The country is improving.

August 1st—Start early and march about 22 miles. Encamp on a beautiful stream with plenty of fish in it.

August 2nd—Start early and march about 25 miles. We pass a very large tree, completely petrified. It was miles off on a prairie and not a tree or bush in sight. We camp near a large spring.

August 3rd—Start early and march about 12 miles to what is said to be Utah Creek. It is a large swift-running stream, well timbered. Saw a great deal of "Iron Blossoms" indicating plenty of that metal in the soil.

August 4th—Start early and march about 17 miles encamp on the same stream as last night and find it is the Canadian River. Utah Creek is 3 miles ahead. This country is very mountainous. "Anton Chico Peak" is in sight, we are now in the Rocky Mountain Range.

August 5th—Start early and march about 18 miles crossing the Canadian. It is here called "Rio Colorado." We reach Fort Bascom, this is a new Fort built since the War commenced, it is built of adobe, that is a kind of sun-dried brick. The Fort is on the south side of the Colorado.

August 6th—Start early and march about 14 miles over a rough country. We are in the mountains and they are covered with scrub cedar. Water good. Wagon Mound is in sight.

August 7th—Start early and march about 14 miles over a mountain road which is awfully rough. At night after Camping I ascended a very high hill close to camp, it is about 300 ft. high.

August 8th—Start early and march about 15 miles. We encamped at the foot of an immense Peak. I ascended it after great exertion. I was awarded by the beautiful I might say, glorious view I obtained. I could see the snow clad peaks were towering far above me. Cactus were here growing from 7 to 8 foot high.

August 9th—Start early and march about 16 miles, and encamp on the same stream as for the last two or three nights. We pass two "Ranchos" and thousands of sheep, goats and cattle. The people here are too lazy to milk the cows, they have thousands running wild. They buy their butter from the traders and have to pay from 1.50 to 2 dollars a pound for it.

August 10th—Start early and march about 12 miles close to camp is a large cornfield, we buy a few ears of corn at 16¼ cents per ear. Chickens are $2.00 each and eggs are 25cts each. The Mexicans know how to charge.

August 11th—Start early and march about 20 miles through a canyon all the way, we camp on the top of a hill because it looks stormy. The road up this hill is about ¾ of a mile long and is at an angle of about 35 degrees. Our teams will be all night getting up the hill. Tis raining heavily now but I am in a small cave so I don't fear the rain.

August 12th—Start at 10 A. M. and march about 18 miles across a high plateau and camp at a Mexican village. We caught a slight glimpse of Fort Union. The cavalry with Col. Howe have gone on to the Fort tonight.

August 13th—Start early and march about 10 miles, passing "Kroenig's Ranche" This is one of the Santa Fe Stage stations. Here we saw large fields of wheat and oats. At about 11 A. M. we reached Fort Union. We will probably lay here a few days and then be sent off to some petty mountain fort. Kit Carson is here and also Maj. Gen'l Pope and Bvt. Brig. Gen'l Carlton. I found some letters from home waiting me here. I answered them this morning.

August 14 to 20th—In camp, doing nothing worth recording.

August 21st—This morning we were all agreeably surprised to see Col. Harwood come walking into camp. He had escaped from the Indians and made his way by Ft. Smith and Little Rock, Ark. to St. Louis, Mo., from there to Fort Leavenworth, Kans. and then by stage to this place. We were very glad to see him. He took command of the Regiment. We have received orders to scatter to different posts. Two companies, with the Regimental Head-quarters and the Col., also myself, are to go to Fort Stanton, N. M in the White Mts. among the Apaches.

MEMORANDA OF OUR TRIP FROM FT. UNION TO FT. STANTON, N. M. via BOSQUE RODONDA.

August 22nd—Start early and march about 18 miles, reaching "Las Vegas." This town is very prettily situated on a swift running stream called "Rio Guyena," which means Chicken River. Just as we got our tents pitched, a Mexican came to see me to get me to go and see a Mexican who had just dropped dead while mowing. Dr. W. and myself went to see him, we found him quite dead. The sheriff and two policemen were present. The "Alcade" of Las Vegas particularly requested me to open the man to see what caused his sudden death. As Dr. W. felt somewhat indisposed, the task fell on my shoulders. I performed the operation in the presence of the Alcade and the City officials and found that the man had died from the bursting of an aneurism of the aorta at the point where it first leaves the heart. I found a hole big enough to admit two fingers easily. The river is so high that we will have to lay by until it goes down a little.

August 24th—Remain in camp. Dr. Wright tried to cross the river and got his buggy smashed to pieces and nearly drowned himself. There are some splendid Mineral Springs here.

August 25th—Crossed the river today to "Old Town" with a great deal of difficulty. We lost one mule in crossing. We camped in the evening. I went with the officers to a Fandango.

August 26th—Start early and march about 18 miles to Apache Springs, rained all day; this is a dismal looking country.

August 27th—Start early and march about 16 miles to a swift stream. Gen'l. Sykes, with a part of the 5th Infantry are near us, water bound; this is a barren country.

August 28th—Start at 7 A. M. and march about 20 miles, crossing the Guyenas river again. Gen'l. Sykes and command are one mile ahead.

August 29th—Start early and march about 9 miles, then stop to allow our train to catch up. They stop behind to find some of the mules that had strayed. I went fishing and saw a large Spring, it was about 100 yards wide and

I tied 3 long fishing lines together and then could not reach the bottom. I also killed a very large rattlesnake. This country is improving.

August 30th—Start early and march about 19 miles, passing several ranches kept by Americans. The soil is very productive, yielding 50 bushels of wheat or 60 bushels of corn to the acre. Potatoes will not grow here, they say, because of the alkalie(*sic*) in the soil. Butter is $2.00 per lb; Bacon is 40c per lb; onions, $1.00 per dozen; corn, 50c per dozen ears; eggs, $2.50 per dozen; Hay 50 to 60 dollars per ton.

August 31st—Start early and march about 20 miles and camp at a Cavalry out post of Ft. Sumner, which is 12 miles from here. Weather hot, no wood, water plenty.

Sept. 1st—Start at 4 A. M. and reach Ft. Sumner at 8 A. M. We camp about ½ a mile from the Fort. This Fort is built of Adobe and has a farm of about 2400 acres. It's worked by the Navajoe Indians who are kept here to prevent them from doing any damage to the settlers. There are 7500 of these Indians here, all fed by the Govt. This fort is on the Pecos River, and is more generally known as the "Bosque Rodondo," which means round timber. The Pecos is so high that we will have to wait perhaps a week for it to go down low enough for us to cross it. Weather is close and sultry.

Sept. 2-3-4-5—Lay in camp waiting for the river to get low enough for fording. We have orders to kill all Male Indians we may meet after leaving here and to take the females prisoners but not to hurt them. I think we will move tomorrow, I sent some letters Home. The weather is very hot.

Sept. 6th—Start early and march about 12 miles. In crossing the Pecos this morning, we had to unload our waggons and take the baggage over in a small boat and let the mules swim over with the waggons. We made the crossing safely. We are now on what is called the Dry Horn route. We have near 80 miles with no water before us.

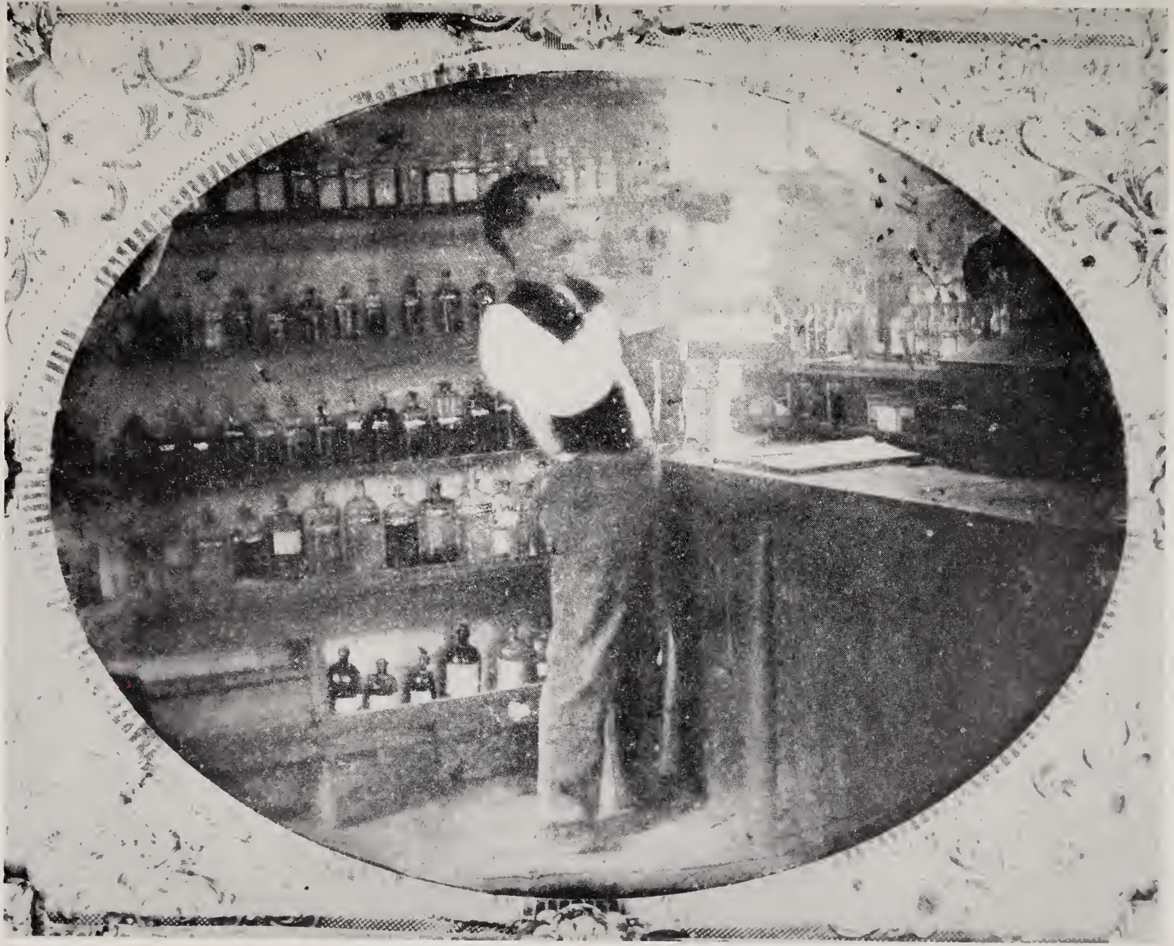
Sept. 7th—Start early and march about 30 miles and camp near a small hole containing a little surface water, it is horrible to taste, no wood, weather very hot, grass is good, country nearly level.

Sept 8th—Start early and march about 25 miles and camp in a deep canyon, find a little water in a hole in a rock. The animals have had no water since day before yesterday, they will have to go without until tomorrow night. The El Capitan Mountain is in sight. Ft. Stanton is on the other side of it.

Sept 9th—Start early and march about 35 miles to a splendid mountain stream, refreshing to both men and animals. We camp near what is called Hopkins Ranche, the Ranche was burnt and Hopkins and his men were murdered here a short time ago by the Apache Indians. We are at the foot of the Capitano and Ft. Stanton is only 25 miles from here. Weather cool.

Sept. 10th—Start early and march 25 miles to Ft. Stanton, we reach the Ft. by 3 P. M. and camp close to it. The Fort is now garrisoned by New Mexican troops but they will move out in a day or two and we will compose the garrison. The Ft. is on the south side of the "Rio Bonito," this is a most beautiful stream running from the "Blanco" mountains. We are surrounded by mountains here. I like the air, it is so pure. The Steward here will go away with the Mexican troops. He gave me a Mexican dog, it has no hair on it, I will make it a blanket from my old cape and I will take it home if it lives, and if I live.

Sept. 11th—Remain in camp to rest. Tomorrow we will move into the Fort, and the Mexicans will move out. This evening we are to have a ball, "Baille" given us by the Mexican officers.



(From old Daguerreotype)

Thomas A. Muzzall, Hospital Steward, U. S. Army.

Sept. 12th—Moved into the Fort. I took charge of the Hospital. It is a miserable dirty hole. We commenced cleaning out.

Sept. 13th—Finished the cleaning of the Hospital buildings and fixed me a room for my own comfort. The days pass so much alike in a Fort that I wont record any more while here.

Sept. 24th—Ordered to go to Fort Leavenworth, Kans. It will be too cold to keep a record.

Oct. 29th, 1886, Leavenworth, Kans. We left Ft. Union, N. M. enroute to Fort Leavenworth, Kans. and arrived at Leavenworth after making a march of about 790 miles in 31 days of actual marching. We were snowed in two days on the Arkansas River, and way lay over at Fort Riley two days. The Regiment is to be mustered out of service immediately and I have a furlough of 30 days allowed me to visit my home and family.

Exuent Ommes!

Adieu my Old Comrades, your kindnesses I shall ever remember.

T. A. Muzzall, H. S. U. S. Army.

As recorded by Muzzall, the expedition arrived at Fort Union on August 13, 1866. It remained there on garrison duty until separate assignments were given to the various companies for service in New Mexico. Certain companies were assigned to Ft Stanton and others to Fort Sumner. Regimental headquarters was transferred to Ft. Stanton on September 10, and on October 4, 1866, to Fort Union.

The final muster out roll for the regiment is dated at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on December 13, 1866 and is in compliance with Special Orders 81, Headquarters Department of Missouri, U. S. Army, November 29, 1866.

Upon completion of its three year term of Federal enlistment, the 57th Colored U. S. Infantry passed to the limbo of musty history, remembered now only because of its march on foot with rifles but no bayonets or ammunition across Oklahoma.

In the meantime, however, Colonel Harwood was still having his difficulties. He arrived at Fort Smith on July 24, where he reported to his superiors:[43]

Sir:

I have the honor to submit the following, on the 12th instant in the vicinity of the Antelope Hills Chichasaw Nation, some 375 miles out of this place whilst in pursuit of buffalo I became separated from my command in company with my orderly, Private Sidney Smith, Co. D 57 U. S. Col Infantry and was unable to return to it, having wandered to such a distance as to have lost my reckoning and the course of the column. Endeavored for that day and part of the next to discover the trail but my efforts proving of no avail, and as my horse was showing bad symptoms, I determined to abandon the search and take a north north easterly course in the hopes of crossing a road leading west upon which I might overtake a train which would carry me to my destination. But on striking the Arkansas River which I accomplished on the 17th I found that it was not fordable and was compelled to follow its course to Fort Gibson, C. N. where I arrived on the 23rd and arrived at this place on the 24th. Had determined from this point to take the stage direct from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas thence from there to my Regiment but have been prevented from doing so on account of sickness ingendered by exposure and want of food. I would respectfully request that orders be sent to rejoin my Regiment at Anton Chico New Mexico to meet me at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas which place I leave for day after tomorrow my health permitting.

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[43] Report of Col. Paul Harwood from Fort Smith, Ark., July 24, 1866, referring to the Pioneer Expedition of the 57th Colored Infantry, in Oklahoma Historical Society, *Microfilm No.* 163 from the National Archives of the United States, Washington, D. C. Other reports in this *Microfilm No.* 163 give data on the 1866 Expedition used in this article.

I am Sir,
Very Respectfully,
Your Ob't Servant
Paul Harwood
Col. 57th U. S. Col. Inf.

Adj. Genl.
Military Division,
West of Mississippi.

Orders were issued at St. Louis for him to rejoin the 57th in New Mexico.

Headquarters Military Division of the
Mississippi, St. Louis, Mo. August 7, 1866.

Special Orders)
No. 104)

Extract

Col. Paul Harwood, 57th U. S. Colored Troops, will proceed from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to join his Regiment now serving in New Mexico.

By Order of Lieutenant General W. T. Sherman,

R. M. Sawyer
Asst. Adjutant Genl.

OFFICIAL
Cyrus H. DeForrest,
Brevet Major U. S. Vols.
Aide De Camp

Colonel Harwod reached Fort Union on August 18th and resumed command of the 57th. The muster out roll of the regiment reflects that he was mustered on October 19th, although his own records indicate that his discharge to have been effected on the 26th. His troubles were not over, however, for a letter in the National Archives tells of his subsequent difficulties:[44]

New Haven, Conn.
December 11, 1866

Sir:
I have the honor to inform you, that on the 26 October last, I was mustered out at Fort Union, New Mexico, by Capt. Mullins, A. C. M. Dist. New Mexico, as Colonel of the 57th U. S. Col'd Infantry, and only obtained from him one copy of my muster out rolls, on which I was to receive, as he informed me my final settlement. On arriving at Fort Leavenworth and presenting myself with my papers for settlement to Maj. Smith, Paymaster, USA he declined to pay me owing to my not having the required number of muster out rolls (three) and consequently was not paid although all

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[44] *Ibid.*

my accounts with the Government are settled and correct. I wrote to Capt. Mullins on the 15th ultimo from Leavenworth and requested the other rolls but have not heard from him. I would therefor most earnestly request that you forward the other rolls with as little delay as possible to my address at this place. If the rolls are not on file at your office you will confer a favor by informing me immediately at this place to that effect.

I am Sir
Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
Paul Harwood
Late Col. 57th U. S. Col'd Infty

To the
Chief Commissary of Musters
Department Missouri

Unfortunately, nothing has been located to tell how successful he was in completing his final settlement; and like his modern G. I. counterpart, he apparently reported for his final pay without enough copies of his papers. His subsequent appointment in the Regular Army would say that everything came out for the best.

MON-DAH-MIN AND THE REDMAN'S OLD USES OF CORN AS FOOD

By Hen-Toh

Introduction

The title "Mon-Dah-Min, and the Redman's World Old Uses of Indian Corn as Food," appears on the original manuscript of the story by Hen-Toh, here published for the first time. The manuscript was received in 1918 by Mr. Joseph B. Thoburn, then Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. from the well known Indian writer, B. N. O. Walker, who whote under the pen name of "Hen-Toh." Interest in recipes for making different dishes from corn during the rationing of wheat and its products in World War I had led Mr. Thoburn to call on his Indian friends for the ways that they might know in preparing old time dishes from corn. Several manuscripts describing these Indian dishes were received, some of them crudely written in pencil on old fashioned blue-lined pencil paper. Among these manuscripts was one neatly typed from Mr. Walker along with a letter of explanation, a facsimile of which appears on another page of this number of The Chronicles.

B. (Bertrand) N. O. Walker was three-sixteenths Wyandot Indian, a member of the Big Turtle Clan in the tribe that was assigned a reservation in what is now Ottawa County, Oklahoma, in 1867. He was born on September 5, 1870, in Wyandotte County, Kansas, both of his parents being of Wyandot descent. His ancestors on both sides of the family were prominent as chiefs and leaders of the Wyandot from early colonial times, his great-uncle, William Walker having served as chief of the tribe and as the first Governor of Kansas Territory, in 1854. B. N. O. Walker came at the age of four with his parents from Kansas, who settled in the Indian Territory a few miles west from Seneca, Missouri. He attended the Friends Mission school at Wyandotte, Indian Territory, and later in the public schools and in a private academy at Seneca, Missouri. Mr. Walker served in the U. S. Indian Service as a teacher and later as a clerk from 1890 to 1917, at different times in the Indian Territory, Kansas, Western and Southwestern Oklahoma, California and Arizona. He devoted himself for about six years to the writing of his books and of articles and feature stories for magazines and newspapers then re-entered the U. S. Indian Service. He was Chief Clerk (appointed 1924) at the Quapaw Agency, Miami, Oklahoma at the time of his death on June 27, 1927. He was the true friend of the Indian people, and his host of friends among them watched over him in his last illness and mourned his passing. He had loved their history and legends, having collected a fine library and kept many of his family relics in his home at the old place settled by his parents when they first came to the Indian Territory.

Mr. Walker was a poet, a lover of nature who had lived all his life among the Indians. He was a versatile man, talented as a pianist with a pleasing voice as a singer.[1] *His literary ability is shown in his book of legends, Tales of the Bark Lodges (1919), beautiful Indian stories written in the broken English and dialect of the full blood Indian of half century ago. His book of poems, Yon-doo-shah-weah (Nubbins), published in 1924, hints at the story of corn and its uses appearing here in The Chronicles.*

—*The Editor.*

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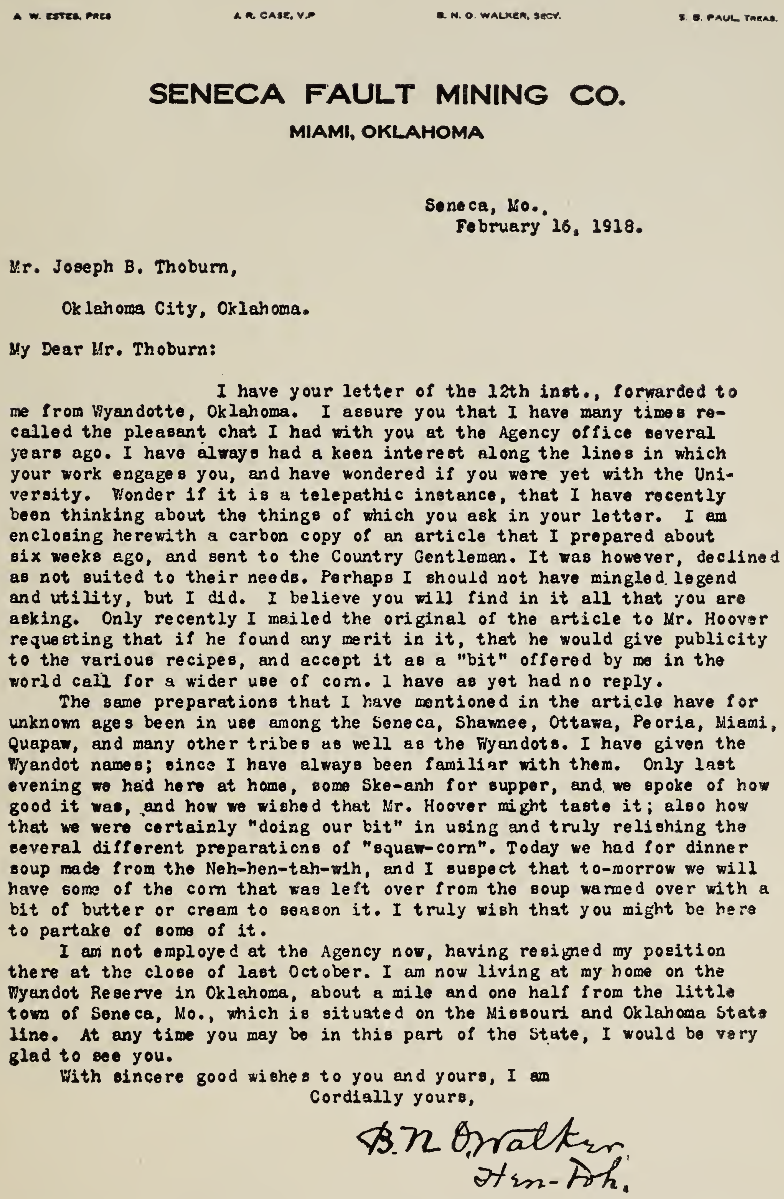
[1] Mr. Walker's grand piano is in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society.—Ed.



A. W. ESTES, PRES. A. R. CASE, V.P. B. N. O. WALKER, SECY. S. B. PAUL, TREAS.

SENECA FAULT MINING CO.

MIAMI, OKLAHOMA

Seneca, Mo.,
February 16, 1918.

Mr. Joseph B. Thoburn,

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

My Dear Mr. Thoburn:

I have your letter of the 12th inst., forwarded to me from Wyandotte, Oklahoma. I assure you that I have many times recalled the pleasant chat I had with you at the Agency office several years ago. I have always had a keen interest along the lines in which your work engages you, and have wondered if you were yet with the University. Wonder if it is a telepathic instance, that I have recently been thinking about the things of which you ask in your letter. I am enclosing herewith a carbon copy of an article that I prepared about six weeks ago, and sent to the Country Gentleman. It was however, declined as not suited to their needs. Perhaps I should not have mingled legend and utility, but I did. I believe you will find in it all that you are asking. Only recently I mailed the original of the article to Mr. Hoover requesting that if he found any merit in it, that he would give publicity to the various recipes, and accept it as a "bit" offered by me in the world call for a wider use of corn. I have as yet had no reply.

The same preparations that I have mentioned in the article have for unknown ages been in use among the Seneca, Shawnee, Ottawa, Peoria, Miami, Quapaw, and many other tribes as well as the Wyandots. I have given the Wyandot names; since I have always been familiar with them. Only last evening we had here at home, some Ske-anh for supper, and we spoke of how good it was, and how we wished that Mr. Hoover might taste it; also how that we were certainly "doing our bit" in using and truly relishing the several different preparations of "squaw-corn". Today we had for dinner soup made from the Neh-hen-tah-wih, and I suspect that to-morrow we will have some of the corn that was left over from the soup warmed over with a bit of butter or cream to season it. I truly wish that you might be here to partake of some of it.

I am not employed at the Agency now, having resigned my position there at the close of last October. I am now living at my home on the Wyandot Reserve in Oklahoma, about a mile and one half from the little town of Seneca, Mo., which is situated on the Missouri and Oklahoma State line. At any time you may be in this part of the State, I would be very glad to see you.

With sincere good wishes to you and yours, I am

Cordially yours,

B.N.O. Walker
Hen-Toh.

Letter signed by B. N. O. Walker, "Hentoh," accompanying manuscript of his article on uses of corn.

Perhaps more has been written about corn during the past few months [1917] than ever before in the world's history. That America taught the world the use of maize or Indian Corn is an undisputed fact, also that it is the one most useful, popular and productive cereal. One cannot help but wonder about the one who discovered corn in the Western world, and carried it back to Spain instead of the wealth of gold that so many of the early explorers hoped to find and carry back with them. This discoverer undoubtedly never dreamed of the benefit he was bringing to the future generations of this world and of the wealth of gold that would be acquired by the knowledge and cultivation of the grain which he had found grown by the so-called savages of America.

While scant credit has ever been given the Indians of North America as agriculturists, nevertheless when the first white man came as settlers to the New World, they found the Indians growing and cultivating corn, beans, pumpkins, and other products. Each of these furnished the tribes of the eastern part of the country, staple articles of food. No settled villiage but had its fields where by hard manual labor crops were grown and cultivated in sufficient quantities to furnish a large part of their winter stores.

That corn was the most popular of these products with the American Indian, is evidenced by the beautiful legend of its origin in their folk-lore. This tradition has been credited to the Ojibways, by Mr. Schoolcraft, and is fittingly pictured in Mr. Longfellow's Hiawatha. The same legend with slight variations was current among the traditions and lore of all of the eastern tribes, dating back perhaps to an age when there were no tribal divisions, and all of the Indians were as one people. I can make this statement from my own personal knowledge since I have heard the legend from the lips of old Indians of the Wyandot, Seneca, and Shawnee tribes, during my childhood.

I can recall listening to it and to many others of the old Indian stories, from the lips of an aged aunt who lived many years in my mother's family. Her version was as I give it here:

Mon-Dah-Min

In the very olden times a poor Indian lived with his family in a beautiful part of the country. He was poor indeed, and not only that but he was not a good hunter so he did not have an easy time getting food for his family.

He was a good and kind man, however, and never forgot to be thankful to the Great Spirit for all that he received. This gentle disposition was also shown in his eldest son who from his earliest childhood had always been most kind and thoughtful to and for everyone.

When the time came that this gentle youth was passing from boyhod to young manhood, it was necessary for him to undergo the ceremony of fasting and seclusion for a period to know what kind of a spirit would be his guide through life and to ascertain what would be his vocation.

In the days of early spring, his father built the boy a little lodge in a secluded spot some distance from their own, where he would be in no way disturbed during the sacred rite.

Everything being ready, the boy prepared himself in the customary manner, went to his quiet lodge and began his fast. For a time during the first days, he took long walks through the deep, quiet forest and over the hills, watching the early springing grasses and flowers, and wondering about the great power that caused them to grow and develop. Returning to his lonely lodge exhausted in body, he would throw himself down on his rude couch of skins and fall into a deep sleep. His mind stored with the thoughts of the plants and flowers would bring him pleasant dreams of them until his one thought was that his guardian spirit might be the means of bringing to his people something that would be a greater blessing than was known to them. Something that would make it easier for them to procure food than by hunting and fishing. Surely the Great Spirit would allow them this blessing. His earnest desire was that something like this might be found in the visions that would soon come to them.

On the third day he was weak and faint, so much so that he could not leave his couch. While lying there, he fancied that he saw a handsome youth about his own age coming slowly towards him from the distance. This youth was gaily dressed in lightly flowing garments of many shades of green, and on his head he wore a feathery plume of pale yellow. Every movement that he made was easy and graceful and his demeanor was most pleasing and benign. He quietly entered the door of the boy's lodge and stood smiling before him saying:

> "I come to you, my friend, from the Great Spirit who has made all things. He knew your motives in fasting, and sees that they are from an earnest desire to do something good for your people. That you desire not to become a great warrior, and so win praise but that you desire more to bring about some greater blessing to all of your people. I am sent to instruct you as to how your wish can be realized."

The visitor then told the boy to arise and wrestle with him, for it was only by such means that his wish might be gained. The boy felt that his fasting had weakened him yet his courage was so great that he arose and determined to conquer his handsome opponent The trial began and when the boy was nearly exhausted and felt that he must fail, the stranger said: "My friend, 'tis enough now, I will come again to try you tomorrow." Smilingly he passed out of the lodge, and seemed to fade away into the air.

At the same hour on the following day, the youth came again to renew the trial. The boy felt that he was weaker than the day before yet his courage again rose even stronger, and he wrestled manfully to the point of exhaustion, when again the stranger gently told him to quit his fast, adding: ''My friend, tomorrow will be your last real trial. Be strong, for it is only thus that you can overcome me and obtain your desire.''

On the third day, the stranger appeared at the same hour, and once more the struggle was renewed. The poor boy was very faint with weakness, but again his courage flamed to greatness and he exerted every power, determined more than ever to win the contest or perish. After the struggle had continued for the usual time, the handsome stranger ceased his efforts and announced to the boy that he was conquered. He seated himself beside the boy on the couch, and began telling him what must now be done by him to receive the advantages of his victory. The visitor said:

> "You have wrestled manfully, my friend, and have gained your wish from the Great Spirit. Tomorrow is the seventh day of your fast. Your father will bring you food to strengthen you, and as it is the last day of your trial, you will again win, thus finally conquering me. I know that it will be so, and must now tell you what to do to bring a great blessing to yourself and your people. Tomorrow I shall meet and wrestle with you for the last time; and when you have thrown me down, you will strip me of my beautiful garments, and lay me down on the soft earth. You must clear this spot of weeds and grasses, make the earth soft and bury me beneath the soft clean soil. When you have done this, leave me there and do not disturb me, but come often and visit this place to see if I have yet come to life. Be very careful not to let the weeds and grasses grow upon my grave, and every few weeks dig up the soft dirt above me and put over me another covering of the soft earth. If you do all this, you will obtain your wish to do good to your fellow creatures and will teach them that which I am now teaching you."

With a pleasant smile, the handsome stranger shook the boy's hand and disappeared. In the early morning the boy's father came to the lodge bringing a small bowl of food, saying: ''My son, your fast has been as long as custom requires. If the Great Spirit is to grant your desires he will do it now. Seven days have passed since you have taken food, and the Master of Life does not ask that you sacrifice your life.''

''My father,'' the boy replied, pointing to the western horizon, ''wait until the sun is there. I must extend my fast to that hour.''

''Very well,'' sorrowfully returned the old man, ''I shall wait until that hour comes and will return.''

At the usual hour, the stranger came, and the wrestling was renewed. The boy had not taken any of the food his father had brought, yet he felt that new and mighty strength had been given to him. He grasped his supernatural antagonist, threw him down and took from him his beautiful garments of green and his yellow plume. Finding him dead, he buried his body at once on the spot, being very careful to observe all of the instructions that had been given him. He felt assured that his friend would again come to life. He then returned to his father's lodge where he was gladly received. He ate lightly of the food that was at once placed before him. Nothing was asked of his visions.

Never for a moment did he forget the grave of his friend. He visited it often and kept the weeds and grasses from growing above his sleeping friend. He told no one anything of all this, until one day late in the summer when his father had returned from a hunting trip, he asked him to go with him to the scene of his fast. In the midst of the spot where the boy had buried his friend there was growing a stately and beautiful plant with nodding plumes, broad and graceful leaves, and clusters of grain on each side.

The boy pointed to it and said: "Oh my father! see, this is my friend, and the friend to all of our people. It is Mon-dah-min. Henceforth we will not need to depend on the chase alone for our food, for as long as this gift is cared for, the earth alone will give us food." He reached out and pulled an ear of the corn. He gave it to his father, saying: "This, oh my father, is what I fasted for and the Great Spirit has heard my voice and given to us this new blessing."

He then told his father of his whole vision and of the coming of the handsome stranger, of their fierce contest, and the result. Pulling away the husks, he showed the old man the succulent grains hidden beneath them. He told him how the ear must be held over the glowing coals until their outer skin became brown, when the beautiful grains could then be eaten.

They gathered more of the ears, took them to their lodge, and the whole family joined in a feast of the new-grown ears of corn, not forgetting to thank the Great Spirit for the treasure that had been given them. It was in this way that corn came into the world.

INDIAN CORN DISHES

Tradition says further that this first corn was red, white and blue-grained flour corn, or "squaw-corn," and this even today is the most highly prized among the Indians. When one stops to think for how many generations the seed has been preserved, and its uses as food have been handed down, it is really wonderful. No doubt there are many people who have never heard of the squaw-corn yet go into any Indian country, and you will most certainly find it in use. I might also state here that it is one of the best varieties for the silo because of its stooling growth.

Its popularity among the Indians is also shown by the many different ways in which all of the various tribes prepare it for food. And while many of such methods of preparation became known to civilization, many others which were long known to the Indians and handed down and taught from one generation to another within the tribes, have never become widely and popularly known. Some of such methods were universally used among nearly all of the tribes while others were peculiar only to certain tribes.

That any written recipe for the making of, as they are called in the Wyandot tongue, *Tohn-tah, Eh-shren-tih, Skeh-anh, Neh-hen-tah-wih, and Teh*—yes, and *No-muh-shren-dah-tah-rah,* is something strange to our thinking. Yet each of these almost unpronounceable names designate a separate and distinct preparation of food made from the Indian corn that has been well known and relished by all of the eastern tribes and their descendants for ages past. The method of preparation in each tribe is the same, yet each tribe gives the product a name in its own language or dialect. Among the remnants of the Wyandot, Shawnee, Seneca, Ottawa, Peoria, Miami, Quapaw, and Delaware tribes, as well as many others, some or all of these products are yet made, and prove to be the most substantial of their winter stores. Among many families where only a mere trace of Indian blood remains, these products are considered the choicest, and no field or garden is without is ''squaw-corn'' patch for use in making these palatable dishes. It is something remarkable, and I have noted it since my childhod that, as my elder brother said not long ago, ''I never saw a white person, who first tasted *Neh-hen-tah-wih,* but thought that is was the best thing he had ever eaten.'' This is true, and the white settlers living among the Indians are always anxious to secure a supply of these Indian products.

All of these Wyandot dishes are generally made from dried corn yet the different way in which each is prepared and then cooked for the table makes it a distinctive dish.

Neh-hen-tah-wih: This dish is the most popular. The blue and the red squaw corn is taken when in the roasting-ear stage, and roasted over hot coals until the milk is cooked, the grains being slightly parched. Care must be taken not to scorch or burn them.

The Indians' time honored way of roasting the corn was to dig a trench about a foot in depth and from eight to ten feet long. A fire of green and dry logs was made in this trench, and allowed to burn down to a good bed of hot and glowing coals. While the fire was in course of preparation, the roasting-ears were gathered and husked, care being taken in husking them to leave the long stems or shanks on the ears. When this was done and the bed of coals was ready, a forked stick was driven in the ground at each end of the trench, across which and not far above the trench was placed a green pole. Along each side of this pole, with their ends resting on the ground were placed the ears of corn, and when the side of the ear just over the hot coals was roasted evenly, a turn of the ear was made, and the other side roasted. This is not an easy task by any means; but is on the contrary, well termed in the present day vernacular, ''a hot job.'' My brother and I when making the winter's supply last season, found it much easier to stretch a strip of chicken wire over the trench of coals, and laying the ears on this the roasting proved to be a comparatively ''easy job.''

When the corn is all roasted and the ears have cooled, the grains are shelled from the cobs with a spoon or knife, and are then dried either in the sun or in a dryer. When it is thoroughly dried it is put away in sacks for winter use. The sacks of parched corn should be put out in the sun for a time every few days, for a month or more. This drives away any moisture whatever that might cause the corn to mould.

When neh-hen-tah-wih is to be cooked for serving, two teacups of the dried corn will make a half a kettle full when cooked, enough for a family of five or six. The dried corn is put into a kettle of cold water, just after early breakfast is over, placed on the fire and allowed to simmer and boil until dinner time. Plenty of water is put into the kettle for the soup is the best part, and a ham-bone, a piece of bacon or pieces of bacon rind, or anything else of the kind is put into the pot for seasoning. Fresh cracklins cooked with this corn makes the best soup that one ever tasted.

After the soup has been eaten there is always much of the corn left in the kettle. This can be warmed over in the kettle for another meal, or can be put into a skillet, and with perhaps a bit of other seasoning makes another most palatable dish, far more so than ordinary canned corn. Any of the corn that is left over may be kept warmed over for several days, and is better each time. There is never any of it to be thrown away unless it should sour when the weather is too warm.

Tohn-tah: This was one of the principal supplies of the Indian warrior ages ago, when he started forth on the war-path or other long journey, he carired the suply in a buckskin pouch at his girdle. Tohn-Tah is usually made from the white flour corn, or as the Indians call it, the ''bread corn.'' The ripened grains are shelled and parched to a crisp brown. These are then ground in a mortar into a fine meal. Sometimes just a bit of salt is mixed with this, and again a bit of maple sugar. Carried on the trail in a buckskin bag, a small handful of this moistened with a little water, or even eaten dry—being very careful not to choke—made a hurried yet sustaining meal, since it is both palatable and nutritious. The war-path and the hunting trail are things of the dimming past yet Tohn-Tah is found to be as palatable and nutritious as a breakfast food when sweetened with sugar and moistened with thick cream.

Eh-shren-tih: This is what one might call another of the corn soups, and like Neh-hen-tah-wih is always relished by the new-comer who tastes it for the first time. Like Tohn-tah, it is made from the white flour corn. The corn is gathered when the milk has set and the grain is just beginning to harden. The grains are shelled from the cob with a spoon or mussel shell, and are ''lyed'' sprinkled with wood ashes then spread out on a cloth in the sun and dried. This makes most excellent soup when cooked for several hours and seasoned the same as Neh-hen-tah-wih, and the cooked corn eaten either cold or warmed over in a skillet with more seasoning is far more tasty than the ordinary hominy. In fact it has a distinctive flavor all its own. In ''lyeing'' the corn, one must be careful to wash it in several waters before spreading it out to dry, so that all of the lye and the outside covering of the grain can be removed.

Teh: This is the hominy made from the small flinty grained Indian corn. The ripened grain is pounded in a wooden mortar very gently, just enough to crack the grains and to remove the outside covering or hull of the grains. No little skill is required to wield the wooden pestle just right so that the grains are not pounded too much. It is then winnowed in a ''fanner'' basket, and it is ready for use. It also makes an excellent thickened soup, and can be cooked as the common hominy. It is good when seasoned with ordinary seasoning, or when eaten as porridge with milk or cream.

There is no soup more delicious than that made by the old Indian women from the green bread-corn, seasoned with jerked or dried venison. The grains are cut from the cobs when the corn is in the milk stage, and the milky mass is slowly poured into the cooking soup and constantly stirred. This was formerly one of the principal dishes of the Indians' ''Green Corn'' feasts, held as a Thanksgiving by nearly all of the tribes, some time during the month of August.

No-mush-shren-dah-tah-rah: This bread made from green corn is indeed a toothsome morsel. The white bread-corn, or even the ordinary white field corn, is taken when in the ''milk stage,'' and the tops of the grains are cut with a sharp knife. The milky substance is then scraped from the ears into a pan or bowl; or better still, since the ways of civilization have come to the Redman, the green corn is grated on a coarse grater, and without putting anything whatever in it, the grated corn is poured into a deep baking-pan, to the thickness of an inch and a half to two inches or more and baked in an oven until the crust is a rich brown. This green-corn bread when eaten warm with a little salt and plenty of butter is most delicious. When the pone is cold, it is crumbled, dried in the sun, and put away, when thoroughly dry for winter use in making Ske-anh.

Skeh-anh: This is cooked quickly. An ordinary teacupful of the crumbled, cooked corn in a skillet with enough water to cover it will soon fill the skillet. It may be seasoned with butter or cream, or with other seasoning. Some time just a bit of sugar is put in when cooking, though others prefer seasoning it at the table with salt and pepper. Sheh-anh makes an excellent dish that is relished by nearly everyone who tastes it. This has been called the ''Indian breakfast-food.''

All of these recipes have been in use in many American Indian families for generations and I beleive they have never appeared in print. Since my earliest childhood recollections, I cannot recall a season when several of these various ways of preserving Indian corn for food were not used in my mother's family. She always made or had made a good supply of *Neh-hen-tah-wih* and *Skeh-anh,* and also *Eh-shren-tih,* and her daughters and grand-daughters have always done the same. There is never a guest who eats some of these Indian dishes at our table for the first time but relishes them, and asks what each dish is, how it is made, and wonders why he has never before heard of it. All of the various dishes are wholesome and highly nutritious, and should be more widely known.

A SURVEY OF OKLAHOMA MUSEUMS

1893 - 1957

*By S. F. de Borhegyi**

Fifty years ago Oklahoma was known as the "Twin Territories," Oklahoma Territory—the west half—and Indian Territory—the east half. Towns were small, the land was sparsely settled and ranching and farming were the principal occupations. Since Statehood was proclaimed November 16, 1907, Oklahoma has been steadily developing her natural and human resources at an accelerated rate. Rapid progress has been made in the industrial development, keeping in step with the continuous westward shift of population in the United States. Today, modern four-lane highways cross the state connecting the large cities with their modern skyscrapers and the thriving farm communities. It is hard to realize that fifty years ago this was the "last frontier" where the people of many American Indian tribes of the Plains could recall when they had hunted on horseback for the last of the great buffalo herds, and had lived in skin tipi or grass houses or earth lodges. Today this era is all but gone together with the aura of romance which was a part of it.

In spite of our very close and recent link with the pioneer past, it is surprising how many articles in common use fifty to seventy years ago are now so rare and outdated that the average person neither can identify them nor divine their original purpose. If it had not been for the diligent efforts of historically minded collectors most of the material remains of this fascinating period would have been irrevocably lost. Thanks to them, many of these relics have been preserved for us and our posterity in the museums of Oklahoma.

In no way can the story of Oklahoma be better told than by its museums. The rich cultural and natural heritage of the State is very much in evidence in the fine and diverse collections which have been amassed by private and State museums. The Semi-centennial

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* Stephan F. de Borhegyi is Director of the Stovall Museum of Science and History, the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. Dr. Borhegyi has served in this position since 1954, at which time he was also appointed Assistant Professor of Anthropology in the University of Oklahoma. He received the degree of Ph.D. in 1946, at Péter Pazmany University in his native Hungary, and subsequently taught at different times classical archeology at his Alma Mater; and anthropology as Associate Professor at San Carlos University in Guatemala, and as Assistant Professor at the University of Missouri. He also served on the staffs of the Hungarian National Museum and the Museo Nacional de Arqueologia y Etnologia de Guatemala. He became a citizen of the United States in 1955, and is now the President of the Mountain-Plains Conference.—Ed.

Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City.

celebration this year gives us good reason to take stock of our resources and present a detailed survey of museums and their activities throughout the State. It is also time that the Oklahoma section of the museum survey made twenty years ago be brought up to date.[1]

Information for this museum survey was obtained by means of a detailed questionnaire as well as by personal visits by the director or members of the staff of the Stovall Museum of the University of Oklahoma to each of the thirty-two museums listed here. In this way much valuable information was compiled on their collections, facilities and histories. For the most part the procedures followed in the survey are those used by Dr. Carl Guthe in his recent survey of Texas museums.[2]

DISTRIBUTION OF MUSEUMS IN OKLAHOMA

The location of all museums represented in the survey have been plotted on the out line map of Oklahoma, illustrating their distribution. A glance at this map reveals an interesting correlation between demography, settlement patterns, history, and the establishment of museums in the State. There are only two museums in the sparsely settled southeastern, northwestern and western sections of the State. They are both college museums, one at Goodwell (No. 10) in the Panhandle and the other at Weatherford (No.31). The most important Oklahoma museums seem to cluster in the northeastern and central sections where the more industrialized settlements are located. To a considerable extent they correspond with the former Indian capitals of the Cherokee and Creek Nations and old agency sites of the Shawnee, Osage and Pawnee tribes. This is also the area of Oklahoma's richest natural resources.

HISTORY OF OKLAHOMA MUSEUMS

It is interesting to note that museum development began in Oklahoma as early as 1893, four years after the "Run" of April 22, 1889. In this year the Oklahoma Historical Society with its museum was founded in Kingfisher. This was just 120 years after the founding of the first museum in the United States in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1773, the year of the "Boston Tea Party." In 1899 the territorial legislature authorized the establishment of a "Department of Geology and Natural History and Museum" at the new University of Oklahoma, thus creating the second museum in the State.

The first thirty years of this century saw the establishment of six other museums in Oklahoma (Nos. 32, 1903; 1a, 1910; 22, 1919; 27, 1921; 24, 1924; 18, 1926; and 6, 1929). The depression period of the thirties was responsible for an even greater impetus to museum activities throughout the State, due in great part to the help of Federal aid through the W. P. A and P. W. A. Many high school, college and library museums were established at this time. Although many of these museums were shortlived, twelve of them (Nos. 10, 9, 21, 12, 17, 3, 14, 8, 30, 7, 19, and 20) are still active. It is almost a paradox that many of the most valuable collections in these and other museums were made during these depression years, particularly in the fields of anthropology, art, geology and zoology. Again this was made possible by help from the W. P. A., P. W. A., in the form of funds and labor. When Federal aid was discontinued the museums were left to stand on their own feet. The interest of the people of Oklahoma in museums is amply attested to by the fact that ten more museums have been founded during the last fifteen years (Nos. 29, 28, 26, 2, 25, 5, 1, 4, 11, and 13). The last two are still in the process of organization.

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[1] Dr. L. V. Coleman, *The Museum in America* (1939), p. 644.

[2] *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, Vol. 29 (1956), pp. 1-20.

Types of Museums in Oklahoma

Museums in Oklahoma may be classified into five categories based primarily on their professed aims. There are: 12 *College museums* (Nos. 1, 1a, 10, 12, 14, 15, 21, 22, 24, 27, 31, and 32); 5 *Art museums* (Nos. 2, 6, 17, 28, and 29); 12 *Local Historical, Ethnological and Natural History museums* (Nos. 1a, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, and 30); 3 *Open Air museums and Historical monuments* (Nos. 4, 8, and 26, also 9); 1 *Park Service museum* (No. 25).

The most common type of museum is the local community museum. They are generally small and in most cases the collections consist of material found locally of an historical, ethnological or natural history nature. Art museums are located in the larger cities of Anadarko, Bartlesville, Oklahoma City and Tulsa. The Southern Plains Exhibit and Craft Center in Anadarko (No. 2) is listed here as an art museum since its major aim is the propagation of Indian art and design. Its exhibits, however, are of almost equal interest and usefulness from the point of view of Plains Indian ethnology. Four of the twelve college museums combine an art gallery with science exhibits (Nos. 1, 10, 12, and 22). At the University of Oklahoma the collections in these two areas of interest are sufficiently large to warrant an Art Museum (No. 14) and the Stovall Museum of Science and History (No. 15). The remaining five college museums are devoted primarily to natural history exhibits and collections.

Open Air museums include reconstructed historical forts (Nos. 8 and 9), historical homes (No. 26), and a unique reconstruction of five historic Indian villages at Anadarko (No. 4). The reconstructed old corral at Fort Sill (No. 9) is under the administration of the U. S. Artillery and Guided Missile Center Museum which is

Stovall Museum of Science and History, Norman, Oklahoma.

Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art,
Tulsa, Oklahoma

a military history museum. For that reason it is also listed among the Local Historical museums. There is one Park Service museum in the Platt National Park at Sulphur. It is administered by the National Park Service.

There are no special Children's Museums in Oklahoma at present. Dr. Coleman listed one in Oklahoma City in 1938 (Oklahoma Public Schools, Museum for Children). This was discontinued shortly after this date.

Staff, Buildings and Other Data

There are nearly 200 persons employed on the different staffs in the thirty-two Oklahoma museums. The size of the staff varies from one to as many as 60 full and part-time employees (No. 15). Twenty-one museums have less than five employees and only five (Nos. 9, 16, 28, 29, and 15) have twelve or more persons on their staffs.

Discounting the Open Air museums, which are situated in large park areas, two Oklahoma museums have more than 35,000 sq. ft. of exhibit and storage areas (Nos. 6 and 16). Three museums have more than 20,000 sq. ft. of exhibit and storage area (Nos. 15, 28, and 29).

There is a natural correlation between the size of the buildings and that of the collections. The collections in the Oklahoma museums are from as little as 500 specimens to over 1,000,000 (Nos. 15 and 16). The average museum collection numbers around 1,000 specimens.

The largest single source of income to the different museums is derived from college appropriations. The twelve college museums fall into this category. Seven museums in Oklahoma are privately endowed (Nos. 4, 6, 11, 13, 17, 28, and 29). City appropriations finance another six museums (Nos. 3, 18, 19, 20, 28,, and 30). State appropriations support five museums (Nos. 5, 7, 8, 16, and 26) while the U. S. government appropriates funds to three museums (Nos. 2, 9, and 25).

Museum Attendance

In the last year nearly 1,000,000 people visited the thirty-two museums in Oklahoma. Since the total population of the State is only two and a half million (1950 census) this is a surprisingly large number but can be accounted for by the large influx each year of transient visitors. Those museums located on or near Highway 66 or in vacation resort areas sign up by far the greatest yearly attendance. The Will Rogers Museum at Claremore (No. 7) heads the list with approximately 400,000 to 500,000 visitors each year. Woolaroc Museum at Bartlesville (No. 6) stands in second place with an annual average of 120,000 visitors. The museums in Tulsa and Oklahoma City follow with average yearly attendances of

100,000. The college museums report attendances which vary between 2,000 and 30,000. The seasonal Open Air museums report attendances between 5,000 and 50,000.

In the following pages the thirty-two Oklahoma museums are listed alphabetically according to their location.[3]

In conclusion it may be said that the Oklahoma museums are hard at work at their jobs of preserving and presenting to the people of the State, as well as those visitors who come here from outside, the rich cultural and natural heritage in America. Like other educational institutions in the State, the museums are also suffering from lack of funds and personnel as well as a lack of understanding of their particular needs and potentialities on the part of the supporting groups and institutions. In this Semi-centennial year the people of Oklahoma can be grateful to the museums for having preserved for posterity so many of the material remains of a fast disappearing era. The museums should receive the support and encouragement necessary for future growth and public service.

OKLAHOMA MUSEUMS

ADA (State Highway 3, 12, 18)

1. EAST CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE MUSEUM, East Central State College Campus.
   (Type of Museum: College Museum)
   Director: Mr. Kenneth F. Campbell.
   Staff: Director, Curator, Secretary.
   Quarters: At present the College Museum is housed in the Library Building where 2,346 sq. feet of exhibit space and 189 sq. feet of laboratory space is available.
   Collections: The Museum, founded by Dr. Charles Spencer (1954), directs its interest toward the public as well as to the student. Collections contain specimens pertaining to Ethnology (Plains Indians, Southwestern U. S. A., Asia, Oceania, Africa and Eskimo); Oklahoma Archaeology and Pioneer History; Mineralogy and Art. The Museum has approximately 800 specimens valued at $10,000.
   Exhibits: Exhibits are changed every six months. Employing modern techniques of design and arrangement, specimens are arranged in show cases in the Museum proper and in wall cases in the Library. Traveling art exhibits are periodically rented for the Art Gallery division.
   Publications: None.
   Governing Body: Advisory board of five faculty members including professors of Biology, Sociology, History, Art, and Geography.
   Source of Income: Annual operating budget determined by the College from State appropriations.
   Visiting Hours: 8:00 A.M.-5:00 P.M. during the Fall, Spring, and Summer sessions. Free.

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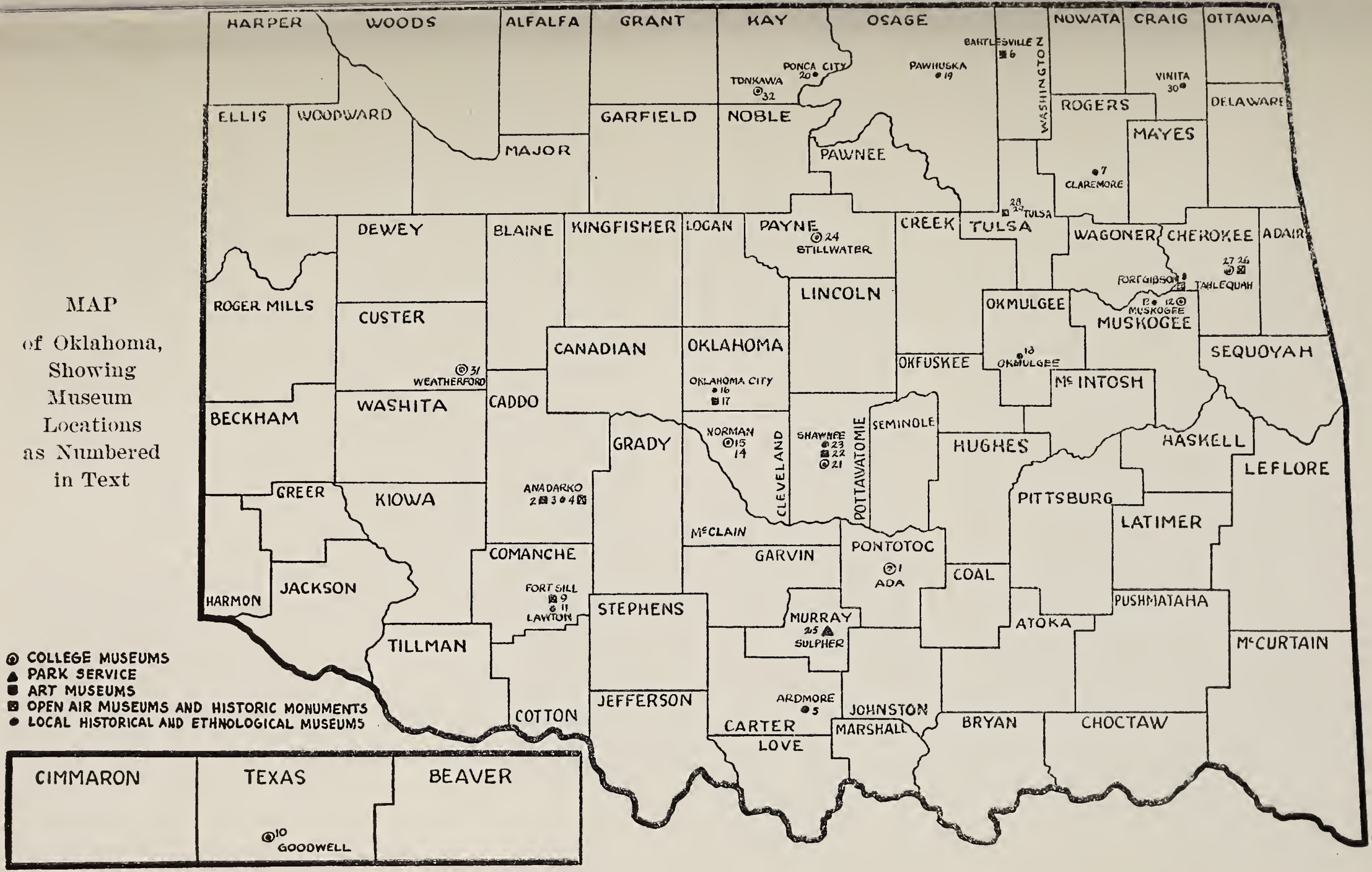
[3] The author wishes to express his appreciation and make acknowledgements to the Editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and to the directors and curators of the various Oklahoma museums for their assistance in preparing this survey. Special acknowledgements are due Miss Jane Howe, Research Assistant of the Stovall Museum, who was largely responsible for gathering the statistical information in this survey; and Miss Martha Kobler, Secretary of the Stovall Museum, who compiled the data.—Ed.



MAP

of Oklahoma,
Showing
Museum
Locations
as Numbered
in Text

◎ COLLEGE MUSEUMS
▲ PARK SERVICE
■ ART MUSEUMS
▣ OPEN AIR MUSEUMS AND HISTORIC MONUMENTS
● LOCAL HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL MUSEUMS

ALVA (State Highway 281)

1a. NORTHWESTERN STATE COLLEGE MUSEUM, On the Campus of Northwestern State College, Alva, Oklahoma.

(Type of Museum: College Museum)[4]

Director: Dr. Anna B. Fisher.

Staff: Director and Instructional Staff of the Biology Department (Part-time).

Quarters: Presently, the Museum, founded by Dr. T. C. Carter in 1910, is housed on the second floor of Carter Hall where 2,400 square feet of exhibit space is available. A new museum is being planned as part of the projected science building.

Collections: Of the approximate 1,650 specimens, the majority are concerned with the Biological Sciences. The Museum owns ornithology collections as well as the Stevens Collection of botanical specimens.

Exhibits: Due to lack of space, all displays are permanently exhibited.

Publications: None.

Governing Body: None.

Source of Income: State appropriation determined by the College.

Visiting Hours: By appointment.

ANADARKO (U. S. Highway 62 and 281; State Highway 8)

2. SOUTHERN PLAINS EXHIBIT AND CRAFT CENTER, East of the City on U. S. Highway 62.

(Type of Museum: Art Museum)

Director: L. D. Cone

Staff: Director, Museum Assistant, and Caretaker.

Quarters: Exhibits devoted solely to the Southern Plains Indian Culture area are housed in a one story modern brick building on the outskirts of Anadarko. The Museum was opened to the public in 1948. The interior is divided into two distinct areas, allowing 2,100 sq. feet for exhibit space. The remaining 900 sq. feet is utilized as a salesroom, craft supply room and business office for the Oklahoma Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative. The aim of the craft cooperative is to encourage a high standard of craft and art work, giving whatever profit from the sale of articles to the worker. The Museum was founded jointly by the State of Oklahoma and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It is now operated by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board under the Department of the Interior.

Collections: Collections consist primarily of Plains Indian culture including such items as buffalo skin, quill and beadwork. The collections have been obtained through private donations and gifts, with additional specimens transferred from the Indian Arts and Crafts Board Collection. A number of items have been purchased. The Museum has approximately 550 specimens.

Exhibits: Permanent exhibits dramatically depict the life cycle of the Plains Indian. Such exhibits include miniature and detailed dioramas which authentically illustrate specific high points of Plains Life. Traveling exhibits concerning Indian art and crafts are also a part of the Museum program. In the Crafts Co-op Shop items made by Indians are displayed. Such articles as moccasins, headdresses, jewelry, and ribbon work dresses are for sale to the public.

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[4] The data for listing *Northwestern State College Museum* were received too late to be included in the original manuscript of this survey, and have been entered here as No. 1a.—Ed.

Publications: Information folders.

Governing Board: Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

Source of Income: Annual Federal appropriations.

Visiting Hours: 8:00 A. M.—12:00 P. M. and 1:00—5:00 P. M. Tuesday through Saturday; 1:00—5:00 P. M. Sundays. Free.

ANADARKO (U. S. Highways 62 and 281; State Highway 8)

3. ANADARKO CITY MUSEUM, City Hall.
(Type of Museum: Local Historical and Ethnological Museum)
Curator: Mrs. E. T. Cook.
Staff: Curator.
Quarters: The City of Anadarko furnishes 2,100 sq. feet of exhibit area on the second floor of the City Hall.
Collections: Founded in 1936 by the Philomathic Federated Club of Anadarko, the Museum strives to preserve the History of Caddo County. Through purchases, gifts and loans it has amassed collections of about 600 antiques of local significance and Indian arts and crafts. Items include photographs illustrating the History of Caddo County, pioneer and Indian records, and household articles. The Museum also owns a number of paintings by internationally known Indian artists.
Exhibits: Specimens are at present exhibited in forty-four glass cases.
Publications: None.
Governing Body: Officers of the Philomathic Club.
Source of Income: Appropriations from the City of Anadarko and the Philomathic Club.
Visiting Hours: 9:00 A.M.-5:00 P.M. weekdays; 9:00 A.M.-12:00 Noon on Saturdays. Free.

ANADARKO (U. S. Highways 62 and 281; State Highway 8)

4. INDIAN CITY, U. S. A., Two miles southeast of Anadarko on State Highway 8.
(Type of Museum: Open Air Museum)
Director: Mrs. Charles F. Goodwin.
Staff: Director, Assistant to the Director, and Indian Guides.
Quarters: One of Oklahoma's foremost open-air museums, Indian City is built on 160 acres of rolling land two miles southeast of Anadarko. Opened in 1955, the Museum comprises two divisions; the outdoor exhibits and the Indian City Lodge. The latter houses artifacts and displays and serves as the starting point for tours to the Indian villages which are constructed to the rear. A museum building near the lodge is now being completed.
Collections: Collections consist of approximately 300 Plains Indian household items which add to the authenticity of the village dwellings, as well as items suitable for exhibit in the Indian City Lodge.
Exhibits: Seven authentically reconstructed out-door villages of the Caddo, Pawnee, Chiricahua-Apache, Wichita, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache and Comanche tribes. The villages were reconstructed with technical aid rendered by the University of Oklahoma Anthropo-

logy Department and the Stovall Museum through the Institute of Community Development of the University. Indian dances are held at the end of each guided tour from May 1 to October 1 and from October 1 to April 31. Dances are performed every weekend on Sundays at two hour intervals.

Publications: Information folders and guide books.

Governing Body: Officers and Directors of the Corporation and an Advisory Board from the Institute of Community Development of the University of Oklahoma.

Sources of Income: Admission fee and private endowment.

Visiting Hours: 9:00 A. M.—6:00 P. M. weather permitting. Admission is 90¢ for adults and 50¢ for children; special rates for groups of 12 or more on advance notice.

ARDMORE (U. S. Highway 70 and 77)

5. TUCKER TOWER MUSEUM, Lake Murray State Park east of Highway 77.

(Type of Museum: Local Natural History and Ethnology Museum)

Manager: Mr. Royce E. Coe.

Staff: Manager.

Quarters: An impressive stone structure built in 1933-35 by the CCC and WPA with Federal funds. Originally planned to be used by the National Park Service as a natural history museum, the Tower was opened as a State-park museum in 1950. In the 2,170 sq. foot building, 1,110 sq. feet of space is available for exhibits.

Collections: Collections consist of 234 items of Oklahoma fossils, minerals from the United States and Oklahoma, including some very rare specimens, and archaeological artifacts pertaining to Oklahoma prehistory. The 590 pound Lake Murray meteorite now on display is an item of particular interest to visitors.

Exhibits: The exhibits are arranged in thirty-three modern cases with particular emphasis directed toward proper labeling.

Publications: None.

Governing Body: Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board.

Source of Income: State appropriations from funds for the Lake Murray State Park.

Visiting Hours: 10:00 A. M. - 5:00 P. M. daily except Mondays. Free.

BARTLESVILLE (U. S. Highway 60)

6. WOOLAROC MUSEUM, 14 miles southeast of Bartlesville on State Highway 23.

(Type of Museum: Art Museum)

Director: Mr. Pat Patterson.

Staff: Director, Secretary, Carpenter, and two Janitors.

Quarters: One of Oklahoma's most progressive museums founded by Frank R. Phillips (1929). Museum specimens are housed in a modern stone and marble building which is fully air conditioned. Facilities include a wooded picnic area which has been set aside for the convenience of visitors. A total of 45,000 square feet is available for exhibit, storage, and laboratory space.

Collections: Collections tell the story of man in the New World with particular emphasis on the American Southwest. Specimens include Archaeology (Oklahoma, Central and South America); Ethnology (Plains and Southwestern Indians and Indians of Central and South America); History; Mineralogy; Art and Sculpture. Approximately 55,000 catalogued specimens are owned by the Museum. Deer, buffalo, and foreign species of animals have also been given refuge on the 4,000 acres of park surrounding the Museum building.

Exhibits: Exhibits are carefully installed to tell a comprehensive story of the earliest known men in the New World up to the present day.

Publications: Guide books, information folders.

Governing Board: Frank Phillips Foundation.

Source of Income: Private.

Visiting Hours: 10:00 A. M. - 5:00 P. M. except Monday. Free.

CLAREMORE (U. S. Highway 66; State Highways 20, 88)

7. WILL ROGERS MEMORIAL, One mile west of Claremore on State Highway 88

(Type of Museum: Local Historical Museum)

Manager: Mr. Robert W. Love.

Staff: Manager, Curator, Secretary, Grounds Keeper, Yardmen and Janitors.

Quarters: A State tribute to its internationally loved native son, the large, rambling ranch-style "home" shrine of stone is situated on 20 acres of landscaped land donated by the late Mrs. Rogers. The building plan allows 15,000 sq. ft. for exhibit and storage areas. Founded by the Will Rogers Memorial Commission, the shrine was dedicated in 1938.

Collections: Collections consisting of manuscripts, gifts, and personal effects of Will Rogers serve not only to illuminate his colorful life, but also to tell the story of the cowboy and his tools in different areas of the world. Approximately 675 specimens, and in addition 100 library books and 60 scrapbooks, are owned by the Memorial.

Exhibits: The interior is divided into North, West, and East Galleries as well as the Diorama Room. Each Gallery contains wall exhibits and floor cases which are carefully arranged to allow visitors ample viewing room. The semi-dark Diorama Room contains 13 individually lighted cases. These dioramas illustrate, in biographical order, historical scenes from the life of Will Rogers (1879-1935).

Publications: Information folders, guide books.

Governing Body: Advisory Board of 7 members apointed by the Governor of the State. This commission was created by an act of the State Legislature and became effective in 1937.

Source of Income: State appropriation.

Visiting Hours: 8:00 A. M. - 5:00 P.M. daily. Free

FORT GIBSON (U. S. Highway 62; State Highway 10)

8. FORT GIBSON STOCKADE, 8 miles east of Muskogee.

(Type of Museum: Open Air Museum—Historical Monument)

Caretaker:

Quarters: An open-air museum founded by the Oklahoma Historical Society (1936), the stockades is an authentic reconstruction of the original built in 1824 under the command of Colonel Mathew Arbuckle to help establish peace on the frontier. Indoor displays are found in a small museum building used originally as the Commanding Officer's Headquarters. The Fort was abandoned in 1857, reoccupied during the Civil War and finally abandoned in 1890.

Collections: Specimens tell of the different phases of the Fort's long history, (1824-1890). Items of interest include the old chapel bell, muzzle loading guns, bullet molds, leg irons and handcuffs, original documents, etc. There are also Indian weapons.

Exhibits: Approximately 1,000 items, including Indian artifacts, are displayed in and around the reconstructed buildings.
Publications: None.
Governing Body: Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board.
Source of Income: State of Oklahoma.
Visiting Hours: 9:00 A. M. - 5:00 P. M. daily. Free.

FORT SILL (Lawton, Oklahoma; U. S. Highways 62, 277, 281)

9. ARTILLERY AND GUIDED MISSILE CENTER MUSEUM, Geronimo-Corral Randolph Roads.
(Type of Museum: Local History and Ethnological Museum with an Open-Air Museum section)
Curator: Mr. Gillett Griswold.
Staff: Civilians—Curator, Preparator; Army personnel—Assistant Preparator, Typist, Construction Foreman, Museum Aide, three Carpenters, two Attendants.
Quarters: Founded under the authority of the War Department in 1934. In this year the Old Post Guardhouse, one of the major landmarks of Fort Sill's frontier days, was converted into a Museum. Later McLain Hall (1955) and Hamilton Hall and the Old Corral (1956) were added. The Fort was established as a military outpost in 1869 by General Philip Sheridan to subdue the tribes of the Southern Plains. Of the total floor space of 10,600 sq. feet, 8,600 sq. feet are now being utilized for indoor exhibits.
Collections: Approximately 6,000 specimens pertaining to Oklahoma Indian History and the story of military advancements. Of particular interest are the fine collections of historic artillery weapons, and Indian artifacts which include personal items of Geronimo, famous war chief of the Chiricahua Apache. Geronimo was brought to the Fort as a prisoner-of-war in 1890 and died there 1909. The archives are composed of historic artillery photographs, documents and early artillery manuals.
Exhibits: Hamilton Hall is being made into a gunroom to house artillery specimens which date back to a bronze Spanish Lantaka (1671). Other specimens are chronologically arranged to tell the story of artillery development up to 1900. McLain Hall tells the story of artillery from 1900 to the first guided missiles developed by the Army. Both exhibit halls make use of dioramas. The 40,000 sq. foot area of outdoor exhibits in the Old Corral when reconstructed, will show specimens pertaining to civilian life and early day transportation. Included will be the old traders store and blacksmith shop which once stood on the post.
Publications: Guide book.
Governing Body: Advisory Board of eight Army officers stationed at Fort Sill.
Source of Income: United States Government War Department.
Visiting Hours: 10:00 A. M.—5:00 P. M. Wednesday through Saturday; 12:00 noon—5:00 P. M. Sunday. Free.

GOODWELL (U. S. Highway 54)

10 NO MAN'S-LAND HISTORICAL MUSEUM, Sewell Street on the east edge of the Panhandle A. & M. College Campus.
(Type of Museum: College Museum)
Curator: Mr. Nolan McWhirter.
Staff: Curator and student part-time employees.
Quarters: The Museum, founded by the College Museum Club and the No-Man's-Land Historical Society (1932), is now sponsored jointly by the Society and the College. It is housed in a specially

constructed building on the campus where a total of 8,000 sq. feet is avaliable for exhibits, storage, laboratory and classroom purposes.

Collections: The Museum is divided into five divisions and includes collections pertaining to Geology and Paleontology, Archaeology, Pioneer History, Art, and Archives (Newspapers, books, documents, etc.). The collections comprise approximately 40,000 catalogued specimens.

Exhibits: Displays are carefully arranged in modern cases. Features of interest are the monthly changing art exhibits in the Gallery, Oklahoma's oldest printing press, and birds and animals native to the region.

Publications: None.

Governing Body: Members of the various departments of the College acting in advisory capacity.

Sources of Income: College appropriation and donations from the No-Man's Land Historical Society.

Visiting Hours: 9:00 A. M.—12:00 P. M. Monday through Friday; 9:00 A. M.—12:00 P. M. Saturday; 1:00—4:00 P. M. Sunday. Free.

LAWTON (U. S. Highways 62, 277, 281)

11. COMANCHE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY MUSEUM, to be located in the Old Corral at Fort Sill (See No. 9).

(Type of Museum: Local Historical and Ethnological Museum)

Curator: To be selected.

Staff: To be selected.

Quarters: The Museum is in the process of being organized by the Comanche County Historical Society in Lawton, Oklahoma. The reconstructed "Old Corral" at Fort Sill is tentatively named as the future location.

Collections: Collections will be oriented primarily toward preserving the history of Comanche County and will include Indian artifacts and historical specimens that help to illustrate that history. The historical an ethnological collections from the former Lawton High School are being transferred to the Society.

Exhibits: To be designed and organized.

Publications: None.

Governing Body: A board of members of the Comanche County Historical Society.

Source of Income: Appropriations from the Society.

Visiting Hours: Not yet determined.

MUSKOGEE (U. S. Highways 62, 64, 69)

12. INDIAN MUSEUM, Bacone College.

(Type of Museum: College Museum)

Director: Leo D. Harmon, Dean of College in charge.

Staff: None.

Quarters: The Museum, founded in 1935, is housed in the Bacone Art Lodge where 2,500 sq. ft. of space is available for exhibits.

Collections: The Museum's collections consist of approximately 3,000 specimens pertaining to Southwestern and local ethnology including Indian crafts, arrowheads and household items.

Exhibits: Since the specimens may be viewed only by appointment, little emphasis is placed upon organizing and cataloging the material.

Publications: None.

Source of Income: College appropriation.

Visiting Hours: By appointment only.

Governing Body: None.

MUSKOGEE (U. S. Highways 62, 64, 69)

13. THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES MUSEUM, Union Indian Agency Building, Agency Hill, Muskogee.

(Type of Museum: Local History and Ethnological Museum)

President, Board of Trustees: Mrs. Marie L. Hayes.

Staff: To be selected.

Quarters: Collections, now in the process of being organized, will be placed in the Old Union Indian Building which, at the instigation of the local Da-Co-Tah Club, was renamed the Five Civilized Tribes Museum in 1956. Completed in 1875, the Agency was the first building ever erected by the United States government to house the superintendency of the Five Civilized Tribes.

Collections: Upon completion the Museum will hold books, costumes, art and craft articles, documents and other items and data pertaining to the traditions of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and Seminole Indians.

Exhibits: Attractive and informative modern exhibits are now in the process of being prepared.

Publications: A directory of collections pertaining to the Five Civilized Tribes is planned.

Governing Body: 9 elective and 7 ex-elective trustees.

Source of Income: Membership fees.

Visiting Hours: Not yet determined.

NORMAN (U. S. Highway 77; State Highway 9)

14. MUSEUM OF ART, Jacobson Hall, North Oval of the University of Oklahoma Campus.

(Type of Museum: College Museum)

Director: Mr. Donald B. Matheson.

Staff: Director, Supervisor, Museum Attendent.

Quarters: Jacobson Hall is a brick faced, three story structure which allows 360 running feet of exhibit space and 1,100 sq. feet of storage area. The building, facing Boyd Street and running parallel to the Campus Corner, is easily accessible to the public.

Collections: The Museum owns approximately 1,400 examples of contemporary American Art, American Indian Art and Oriental Art.

Exhibits: Features of particular interest are the frequently changed traveling art shows and student and faculty exhibits in the main floor gallery. All exhibits are displayed on excellent, well lighted background. On the second floor a 2,000 volume library containing excellent art reference books is available to faculty and student personnel.

Governing Body: Advisory committee of 5 faculty members including the director.

Publications: Semi-annual exhibition calendars and catalogues of current exhibitions.

Source of Income: State appropriation determined by the University of Oklahoma.

Visiting Hours: 8:00 A. M.—12:00 Noon and 1:00—5:00 P. M. weekdays; 9:00 A. M.—12:00 Noon Saturday; 2:00—5:00 P. M. Sunday. Free.

NORMAN (U. S. Highway 77; State Highway 9)

15. STOVALL MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND HISTORY, On the campus of the University of Oklahoma, Asp Street, near Sooner City.

(Type of Museum: College Museum)

Director: Dr. Stephan de Borhegyi.

Staff: Director, Assistant Director, Mr. Ralph B. Shead; Secretary; Custodian, Preparator, 6 Head Curators (Part Time), 11 Curators (Part Time), 23 Student Assistants (Part Time), 15 Research Associates.

Quarters: The Museum was originally founded as a geology and natural history museum by the Territorial Legislature in 1899. In 1943 the Board of Regents of the University consolidated the scattered departmental collections into a general museum and in 1948 the collections were moved into the present quarters. Three separate buildings provide a total of 21,578 sq. feet of which 5,778 sq. feet is used for exhibits, 8,743 sq. feet for storage, and 4,303 sq. feet for laboratories. The two story brick-faced former ROTC armory was built in 1936. It constitutes the main museum building and area for displays. Recent installations include the air conditioning of the exhibit area and the completion of a modern auditorium in 1957. Monthly scientific lectures and bi-monthly social events are open to the general public.

Collections: The Museum's many valuable collections have been donated by friends of the University, collected in the field by faculty members and students, or purchased. The collections, consisting of more than 2,000,000 catalogued specimens, are departmentalized under six divisions: Archaeology (Oklahoma, Southwestern and Southeastern U. S. A., Asia, Central and South America, Europe and Oceania); Ethnology (Plains Indians, Southwest U. S. A., Asia, Central and South America, Oceania and Africa); Classical Archaeology (Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Near Eastern); History (Frontier and Pioneer); Geology (Mineralogy and Paleontology); Botany; Zoology (extensive bird and mammal skin collections); and Art (Historical and Primitive Paintings). A reference library is housed in the main building and is available to students and researchers.

Exhibits: The main building contains two floors of modern, well arranged exhibits including diorama and habitat cases. The important Spiro Mound archaeological collection is housed in a special hall on the second floor. Two recent installations of special interest to the public are the "Talking Exhibits" (Head Hunters of the Amazon, Plains Indian Music, Music of India, and Bird Calls of Oklahoma) and the "Story of the Month" which allows the visitor to view a new set of twelve color slides each month. These have been fully documented and are related to a particular topic. The permanent exhibits serve as instructive, educational aids to the visitor. An example is the Plains Indian Hall which is oriented around the theme "From the Cradle to the Grave." Here specimens of material culture are arranged in such a way as to illustrate the life cycle of the Plains Warrior. A new "special" exhibit area is now under construction.

Publications: Yearly calendar of museum activities, scientific publications by faculty members affiliated with the Museum, "A History of the Stovall Museum of Science and History," and other scientific and popular articles pertaining to the Museum collections.

Governing Body: Executive committee composed of six head curators and research associates and an advisory board of 9 faculty members.

Source of Income: State appropriation determined by the University.

Visiting Hours: 9:00 A. M.—5:00 P. M. weekdays except Monday; 9:00 A. M.—12:00 Noon on Saturday; 2:00—5:00 P. M. on Sunday. Free.

OKLAHOMA CITY (U. S. Highways 62, 66, 77; State Highways 3, 74, Turner Turnpike)

16. MUSEUM OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, located in the Historical Building across from the State Capitol, occupying a two-block area on the Capitol grounds, Oklahoma City.

(Type of Museum: Ethnological and State Historical)

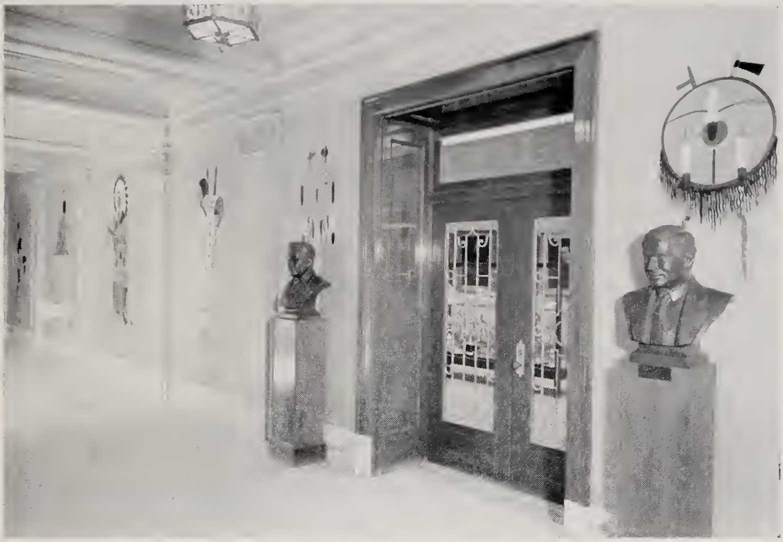
Administrative Secretary: Mr. Elmer L. Fraker.

Staff: Chief Curator, three assistant curators and guide.

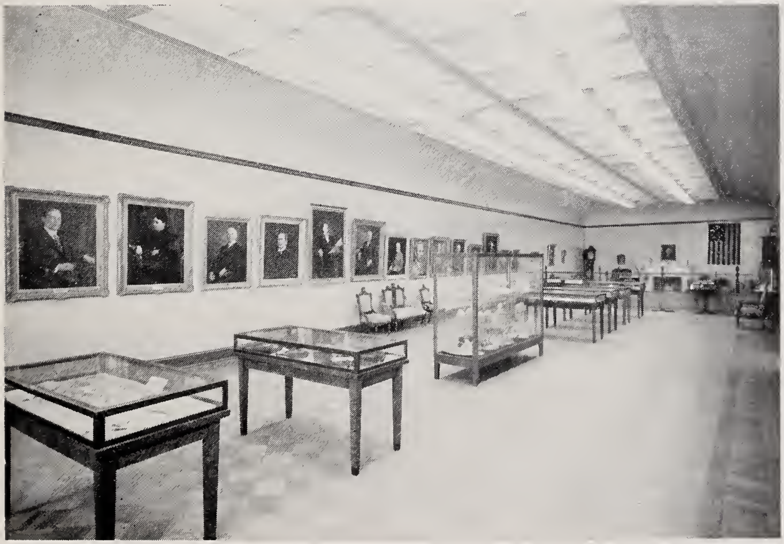
Quarters: The Museum as a department of the Oklahoma Historical Society is housed in the Historical Building, an impressive and modern structure completed in 1930. The building is fireproof, with Georgia granite base and steps, Indiana limestone superstructure and steel casements with plate glass. The second, third and fourth floors are of marble; the main gallery floors are of panel parquetry work in oak and walnut. Principal rooms and corridors are classical in design with broad stairways of marble. The Museum occupies the entire top (4th) floor with four galleries (two 35 x 85 and two 25 x 109), two additional exhibit areas, two staff offices, two shelved rooms with a mezzanine each for storage. It also occupies part of the third floor with two Memorial (Confederate and Union) halls (25 x 36 each), Flag Hall and entire corridor, as well as the second floor corridor; and the ground or first floor corridor and large gallery (35 x 85) with two side exhibit areas for heavy museum pieces, besides all exhibit areas on main stairways from ground floor to 4th. Approximately 40,000 sq. ft. are devoted to exhibit areas.

Collections: The Oklahoma Historical Society was originally founded by the Oklahoma Press Association, at Kingfisher, Oklahoma Territory, in May, 1893, and is dedicated to the preservation of Oklahoma history. The Historical Society now has five departments—Editorial, Library, Newspaper, Indian Archives, Museum—besides the Executive offices, Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, employing a total staff of sixteen. The early collections and library were moved to Oklahoma City in 1902, and were housed in the State Capitol from 1917 to 1930 when the present building was completed. The Museum today has approximately 25,000 accessioned articles of which more than 18,000 artifacts and relics are on display. The American Indian collection in the Museum is considered second only to the Smithsonian Institution, and includes prehistoric specimens (all originals) from the famous Spiro Mound, in LeFlore County, the Cave Dweller culture near Grove in Delaware Conuty and the Basket Maker culture near Kenton in Cimarron County, besides the rare French and Indian (Caddoan) relics from the site of Ferdinandina, in Kay County, the first white settlement in Oklahoma (ca. 1750). The Museum has a very fine collection of Oklahoma historical pictures consisting of approximately 25,000 original photographs on file and 256 paintings; also, a collection of statuary, some in bronze or marble.

The four other departments of the Oklahoma Historical Society organization all relate to the history of the State, with fine collections of rare materials: The Editorial Department produces *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, the Society's quarterly journal, presenting both popular and scientific articles on the history of this region (early exploring expeditions, Indians and pioneers, etc.), current volume XXXV (1957). All volumes of *The Chronicles*, first published in 1921, some of which are rare out-of-print collectors' items, contain rich materials and original data on Oklahoma's past.



Corridor 4th floor, Museum of Oklahoma Historical Society, showing Indian murals by Kiowa artists, and bronze bust of Will Rogers and Wiley Post.



Art Gallery, Museum of Oklahoma Historical Society, 4th Floor.

The Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society has 26,000 books pertaining to Oklahoma and its regional history (many very rare, as first editions), catalogued and kept in steel stacks on six mezzanine floors, with a special Reading Room (25 x 109). There is a Recordak Microfilm Reader, with approximately 250 microfilms that cover thousands of War Department, U. S. Indian Office and many other original records. The Library also has special collections totaling 270,000 manuscript pages and letters relating to Oklahoma history kept in steel file cabinets.

The Newspaper Department ranks second in the United States for collections of this kind, with approximately 33,000 bound volumes of old newspapers of the Indian Territory (as early as 1844) and the State, and annually continuing 52 dailies and about 200 weeklies. These bound volumes are kept in steel stacks in two areas of floor space (5,000 sq. ft.) adjoining the Newespaper Reading Room (25 x 36). A microfilm camera is now in operation.

The Indian Archives Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society has the largest collection of Indian documents in the United States outside of Washington, D. C., approximately 3,500,000 manuscript pages, many of which can be classed as museum items. All the Indian documents are catalogued with card index files, and kept in steel file cabinets. The Indian Archives Department at present is located on the ground floor of the Historical Building, in part of the Museum space.

The five departments of the Oklahoma Historical Society serve researchers and writers from all parts of the State and the Nation who visit the Historical Building for research work in the Society's collections. Approximately 100,000 persons visit the Museum exhibits annually, from every state in the Union and from foreign countires.

Exhibits: Museum exhibits are arranged in modern show cases.

Publications: Brochure as guide to special Museum exhibits.

Governing Body: The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, 25 elected members with General William S. Key as President.

Source of Income: State appropriation, membership fees and the sale of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and Brochure.

Visiting Hours: 8:30 A. M. to 4:00 P. M. daily, Monday through Friday; 8:30 to 12:00 noon, Saturdays; 2:00 P. M to 4:30 P. M., Sundays, Museum exhibits only. Free.

OKLAHOMA CITY (U. S. Highways 62, 66, 77; State Highways 3, 74, Turner Turnpike)

17. OKLAHOMA ART CENTER, 5th floor of the Municipal Auditorium Building.

(Type of Museum: Art Museum)

Director: Mrs. Nan Sheets.

Staff: Director, Secretary, and General Worker.

Quarters: The Art Center was founded in 1935 by joint efforts of the Federal Art Project and local sponsors. It has been located on the fifth floor of the Municipal Auditorium since 1937 where five galleries and approximately 5,860 square feet of exhibit space is available for the display of work by Oklahoma artists and traveling shows of national importance. Plans for a new building are in progress.

Collections: The Center owns approximately 200 paintings and prints by well known contemporary artists.

Exhibits: All exhibits are carefully planned utilizing good backgrounds and lighting. During the past year 18 traveling shows were brought to Oklahoma City, two of which were outstanding collections of old master paintings. The work of Oklahoma artists may be seen at the Center at all times. One-man shows are frequently exhibited in the rental and sales gallery. An activity of particular interest and value to the State is an annual all-state competition for adult artists and one for public school children.

Publications: Occasional guides to special exhibits.

Governing Body: 10 member board of trustees and corporation members with an auxiliary women's working group.

Source of Income: Private donations and membership fees, Net from the annual Beaux Arts Ball. City furnishes quarters and utilities.

Visiting Hours: 10:00 A. M.—5:00 P. M. Tuesday through Saturday; 2:00—5:00 P. M. Sunday. Free.

OKMULGEE U. S. Highways 62 and 75)

18. CREEK INDIAN MUSEUM, Creek Indian Council House.

(Type of Museum: Local Historical and Ethnological Museum)

Curator: Miss Theda Wammack.

Staff: Curator

Quarters: The Creek Indian Museum occupies the lower section of the historic Creek Council House built in 1878. The Museum was founded by the Creek Indian Memorial Association in 1926. Three rooms of the Council House are devoted to exhibits allowing 1,188 square feet for display purposes and 500 square feet for storage. On the second floor the Creek House of Warriors and the House of Kings is open to visitors.

Collections: The Museum possesses approximately 500 specimens which include items of Oklahoma Archaeology, Oklahoma Frontier History, and Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee ethnology. A small reference library is also available to interested visitors and researchers.

Exhibits: Employing modern techniques of display, voluntary groups of Okmulgee citizens are now in the process of modernizing all exhibits. The staff of the Stovall Museum of the University of Oklahoma has given aid in an advisory capacity.

Publications: "History and Legend of the Creek Indian," booklet.

Governing Body: Creek Indian Memorial Association.

Source of Income: City appropriation and membership fees.

Visiting Hours: 10:00 A. M.—12:00 P. M. and 1:00 P. M.—4:00 P. M. Tuesday through Saturday; Sunday 1:00 P. M.—4:00 P. M. Closed on Monday. Free.

PAWHUSKA (U. S. Highway 60; State Highway 11)

19. OSAGE TRIBAL MUSEUM, Osage Agency Campus, 800 Block, Grandview Avenue, City of Pawhuska.

(Type of Museum: Local Historical and Ethnological Museum)

Co-Custodians: Mrs. Willa K. Warrior and Mrs. Nettie W. Luttrell.

Staff: Co-Custodians .

Quarters: Founded jointly by the Osage Tribal Museum and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the building was dedicated in 1938 and combines auditorium facilities as well as exhibit space of approximately 800 square feet.

Collections: Including a small library, the Museum houses items of Oklahoma Archaeology, Indian Ethnology, predominately Osage, and Oklahoma Frontier History. Indian handicrafts are for sale to the public.

Exhibits: The exhibits are permanently arranged.

Publications: None.
Governing Body: Superintendent of the Osage Indian Agency and 10 members of the Osage Tribal Council.
Sources of Income: The City of Pawhuska and the Osage Tribe.
Visiting Hours: 8:00 A. M.—12:00 Noon and 1:00—5:00 P. M. daily. Free.

PONCA CITY (U. S. Highways 60 and 77; State Highways 11 and 40)

20. PONCA CITY INDIAN AND PIONEER MUSEUM, basement of the City Library.
(Type of Museum: Local Historical and Ethnological Museum)
Chairman: Mrs. Ivan Williams.
Staff: Chairman and five part-time employees.
Quarters: Basement of the library where 2,000 square feet of exhibit space is available for display of specimens. The Library was built in 1939.
Collections: Specimens include items pertaining to Oklahoma Archaeology and Southwestern Archaeology, Ethnology (Plains Indian, Northwest Coast, Southwestern) and modern Indian, and Historical Art. Oklahoma pioneer objects are also on display. In the library proper a fine collection of Oriental Art, formerly from the Richard Gordon Matzene Collection, is exhibited. The Museum possesses approximately 2,000 items.
Exhibits: Specimens are arranged in floor cases and wall exhibits in two rooms.
Publications: None.
Governing Body: The Library Board.
Source of Income: Appropriations from the City.
Visiting Hours: 10:00 A. M.—9:00 P. M. daily except Sunday. Free.

SHAWNEE (U. S. Highway 270; State Highways 3, 18)

21. OKLAHOMA BAPTIST UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, Campus of the Oklahoma Baptist University.
(Type of Museum: College Museum)
Librarian: Mr. Lee B. Spencer.
Staff: Librarian and part-time student employees.
Quarters: The Museum, founded by University President John W. Raley in 1939, is housed in the University Library.
Collections: In addition to the specimens pertaining to Oklahoma history, botany, and natural history, the Museum owns materials pertinent to the history of Baptist Missions and Churches in Oklahoma. Collections were acquired through donations and limited purchases.
Exhibits: Specimens are carefully arranged in wall cases and are periodically changed.
Publications: None.
Governing Body: Faculty Library Committee and incipient friends of library organization.
Sources of Income: University appropriation.
Visiting Hours: 8:00 A. M.—5:00 P. M. daily except Sunday. Free.

SHAWNEE (U. S. Highway 270)

22. SAINT GREGORY'S ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM, about one mile east of the City of Shawnee on Saint Gregory's College Campus.

(Type of Museum: College Museum)[5]

Curator: Rev. Thomas Rabideau, O. S. B.

Staff: Curator.

Quarters: The Museum was founded in 1919 through the efforts of Father Gregory Gerrer, a native Oklahoman. It is now located in the administration building of the College where approximately 1200 square feet of exhibit space is devoted to display of specimens and paintings.

Collections: This large collection of specimens was secured from all parts of the world during a fifty year period through the tireless efforts of the late Father Gerrer. The archaeological collection includes specimens of Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Oriental, Aztec, and Toltec origin. Ethnological specimens are primarily concerned with Plains Indian, Southwestern and Northwest Coast areas. Other sections of the Museum are devoted to the display of items of Geological, Zoological, and Historical (antique firearms and medieval armour) interest. The Art Gallery contains many original contributions of the masters of modern and Renaissance art. A treasured possession of the Museum is the portrait of Pope Pius X painted by Father Gerrer, Museum founder. Organized collecting ceased with the death of Father Gerrer in 1946.

Exhibits: The 6,347 cataloged Museum specimens and 218 paintings cannot be successfully displayed in the small amount of exhibit space allotted. Consequently, many of the cases are crowded.

Publications: Printed Catalogue.

Governing Body: Advisory board of faculty members.

Source of Income: The Museum is owned by the Benedictine Fathers with no means of support other than the College.

Visiting Hours: 1:00—5:00 P. M. Saturday and Sunday. Weekday appointments by request.

STILLWATER State Highways 40, 51)

24. OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSTY OF ZOOLOGY, Oklahoma State University Campus, Stillwater, Life Science Building.

(Type of Museum: College Museum)

Curator: Dr. George A. Moore, Professor of Geology.

Staff: Curator.

Quarters: The Museum, founded in 1924, houses its specimens in the Life Sciences Building on campus.

Collections: The Museum possesses approximately 15,950 vertebrate and invertebrate specimens. The first zoological collections were made for the Museum by the present Curator, Dr. Moore. Later collections of mammal skins (Texas, Oklahoma, and Michigan), fish, invertebrates, and herpetological specimens were added.

Exhibits: Exhibits are oriented primarily toward the interest and instruction of students of the zoological sciences.

Publications: None.

Governing Body: None.

Source of Income: State appropriation allocated to the College.

Visiting Hours: Not open regularly. Primarily a research museum.

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[5] Museum No. 23 in this list: South of Shawnee about two miles (north of present Tecumseh) on east side of State Highway 18 is the *Pottawatomie County Historical Society Museum* located in the historic Friends Church (mission work begun, 1872); museum recently closed to the public pending plans for reorganization.—Ed.

SULPHUR (State Highways 7, 18)

25. PLATT NATIONAL PARK MUSEUM, EXHIBIT BUILDING, Platt National Park.

(Type of Museum: Park Service Museum)

Superintendent: Mr. William E. Branch.

Staff: Superintendent and Park Naturalist, Mr. Paul F. McCrary.

Quarters: Founded by the National Park Service in 1948, museum specimens are housed in the Exhibit Building at Platt National Park. Only 900 square feet of exhibit space is now available, but it is hoped that funds will be allotted for a new building. The present building was constructed by the people of Sulphur in the 1920's as a community building.

Collections: Exhibits on display are composed of specimens pertaining to Archaeology, History, Geology and the Biological Sciences. Many of the historical collections were donated by local citizens, while scientific collections are mainly the result of work by National Park Service employees.

Exhibits: Exhibits are oriented toward helping Park visitors understand and appreciate more fully the natural environment of the Park.

Publications: Pamphlets pertaining to the National Park Service and natural history are for sale.

Governing Body: National Park Service.

Source of Income: United States Department of Interior and National Park Service apropriations.

Visiting Hours: 8:00 A. M. —5:00 P. M daily except in the summer. Winter hours same as summer except closed on Wednesday and Thursday.

TAHLEQUAH (U. S. Highway 62, State Highways 10, 51, 82)

26. THE MURRELL HOME, A Cherokee Shrine, five miles south of Tahlequah and one mile east on U. S. Highway 62.

(Type of Museum: Open Air Museum, Historical Monument)

Curator: Mrs. Jennie Ross Cobb.

Staff: Curator and Yard Man.

Quarters: Purchased by the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board in 1948, the historic Murrell Home stands as a shrine to remind visitors of the social life that existed in the Cherokee Indian Community over a hundred years ago. Built in 1845 by George M. Murrell who had married into the Cherokee tribe, the mansion represented an early day cultural center. The house is located on 40 acres of land wooded with magnificant trees and containing one of the finest springs in the County. Approximately 6,000 square feet of space is available for indoor exhibits and storage.

Collections: The State hopes to restore the mansion to its original appearance and then maintain it as a memorial to the Cherokee people. Consequently, specimens now in possession of the Home are historical and regional in nature. A small library consisting of books pertaining to the Civil War era and Cherokee history is housed in the Murrell mansion.

Exhibits: Plans, which will include the display of items of Cherokee culture, are being made to authentically refurnish the house.

Publications: None.

Governing Body: Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board and a committee of five citizens of Tahlequah.

Source of Income: State appropriations.

Visiting Hours: 9:00 A. M.—5:00 P. M. daily. Free.

TAHLEQUAH (U. S. Highway 62, State Highways 10, 51, 82)

27. NORTHEASTERN STATE COLLEGE CHEROKEE MUSEUM, On the Northeastern State College Campus.

(Type of Museum: College Museum)

Curator: Mrs. Dennie Jones, Assistant Librarian.

Staff: Curator.

Quarters: Founded by the College in 1921, the Museum was moved to its present quarters on the first floor of the new and modern College Library in 1949. Approximately 4.500 square feet of space is available for the display of 550 specimens.

Collections: For the most part, the collections pertain to the history of the Cherokee tribe. Specimens range from pre-historic items such as hatchets, stone knives, pestles and mortars, to pioneer household items brought by the Cherokee as they were forced to move into the West over the "Trail of Tears." Included in the collection are rare documents and contemporary crafts by the Cherokee weavers of Tahlequah and pottery made at the nearby Sequoyah Indian Training School.

Exhibits: Exhibits strive to acquaint the visitor with the chronological history of the Cherokee Indian.

Publications: Information folder.

Governing Body: Library Committee of Northeastern State College.

Source of Income: College appropriation.

Visiting Hours: 2:00—5:00 P. M. Sundays; weekday visits by appointment. Free.

TULSA (U. S. Highways 64, 66, 75, 169; State Highways 11, 33)

28. THOMAS GILCREASE INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND ART, 2400 West Newton Street.

(Type of Museum: Art Museum)

Executive Director: Mr. James T. Forrest.

Staff: Executive Director, Curator of Books and Documents, Registrar, Curator, Assistant Curator, Educational Assistants, Staff Artist, Photographer-Microfilm Operator, Secretary, Receptionist, Membership Secretary, Building and Grounds Supervisor, Maintenance Men.

Quarters: Founded by Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, the Museum was first opened to the public in May, 1949. The main museum is constructed of native sandstone by Indian labor. Allowing 12,000 square feet of exhibit space, the interior of the building is divided into ten large and three small galleries, plus a 7,000 square foot area for a two-level library, office and storage rooms. When the Museum was offered to the City of Tulsa in 1954, the people voted for a bond issue of $2,250,000 and became the owners of the valuable collections.

Collections: Collections of the Institute, amassed through the tireless efforts of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, are oriented toward relating the history of America from pre-historic times to the present with special emphasis on the American Indian and the development of the western United States. They include: Pre-Columbian and historic Indian artifacts; impressive archives of Spanish documents; 3,000 paintings in oil and water colors by such artsts as Frederic Remington, Charles Russell, George Catlin, Jacob Miller, etc.; over 150 pieces of sculpture by leading artists of America: over 10,000 specimens of Pre-Columbian artifacts; and a pottery and figurine collection from Mexico and Yucatan, Southwestern United States, Oklahoma, Illinois and Arkansas. The Gilcrease Library contains over 50,000 books and rare documents relating to

Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Spanish explorations and American History.

Exhibits: Exhibits are carefully arranged in the spacious halls with emphasis on modern techniques of design and instruction.

Publications: Information folders, guides to special exhibits, and bi-monthly newsletters.

Governing Body: The Museum is under the supervision of the City Park Board and Board of Directors of twenty-seven members directly responsible for the Institute's activities.

Source of Income: The City of Tulsa and the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Inc.

Visiting Hours: 9:00 A. M.—5:00 P. M. Monday through Saturday; 1:00—5:00 P. M. Sundays and holidays. Guided tours by appointment. Free.

TULSA (U. S. Highways 64, 66, 75, 169; State Highways 11, 33)

29. PHILBROOK ART CENTER, 2727 South Rockford Road. (Type of Museum: Art Museum)

Art Director: Mr. Denys P. Myers.

Staff: Art Director, 2 Curators, Public Relations Director, Membership Secretary and Registrar, Librarian and Receptionist, Gallery Supervisor, 2 Assistants, Honorary Curator, 14 Teachers on junior and senior studio staff for Saturday classes.

Quarters: The Art Center is located in the palatial residence donated by Mr. and Mrs. Waite Phillips. The mansion, opened as a museum in 1939, is designed in the style of the Italian Renaissance and has lent itself to the installation of galleries, auditorium, library and work rooms without destroying the original architectural value. The surrounding 23 acres of grounds are lighted during the summer months to allow visitors the opportunity to view the formal gardens patterned after those of the Villa Lante 50 miles north of Rome.

Collections: The Art Center has been the recipient of a number of fine collections from individuals and foundations. Such works include 34 Italian Renaissance paintings and sculptures (Samuel H. Kress Foundation); over 80 English Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century portraits, and genre paintings by Nineteenth Century European and American artists (Clubb Collection); 42 paintings pertaining to the oil industry throughout the world (Standard Oil Company); a collection of Chinese decorative arts (George H. Taber Collection). The American Indian Collections include fine specimens of pottery and basketry (Clark Field Collection), costumes and artifacts (Roberta Campbell Lawson Collection), artifacts from the Spiro Mound, and more than 250 paintings by American Indians. The library has books and periodicals pertaining to the art field available for visitors.

Exhibits: Permanent exhibits include the Period Rooms (French, Spanish, Italian, Early American); installations in the Indian department, and certain paintings and sculptures in key positions throughout the Museum. Rotating exhibits from Philbrook's own collections and scheduled exhibits from other sources constitute temporary displays. The exhibits are designed to survey art of all periods and places and to emphasize many media, The Art Center has a definite and progressive educational program in the form of art instruction classes for both adults and children.

Publications: Catalogues, guide books, a guide to special exhibits, current paintings, catalogue of the Samuel H. Kress Collection.

Governing Body: 21 member board of Trustees of the Southwestern Art Association. Victor C. Hurt, President.

Source of Income: Private endowment and membership fees.
Visiting Hours: Closed Monday, open 10:00 A. M.—5:00 P. M. Tuesday through Saturday, Sunday 1:00 —5:00 P. M., Tuesday evening 7:30—9:00 P. M. Free to Philbrook members, their out-of-town guests, young people under 21, and members of the armed forces at all times. Free days to the public—Sunday, Wednesday, Tuesday night. Admission fee of 25 cents to adults not included in the above classification on other days.

VINITA (U. S. Highway 66; State Highway 2)

30. MUNICIPAL MUSEUM, 104 West Illinois Street.
(Type of Museum: Local Historical, Ethnological and Natural History Museum)
Secretary-Manager: Mr. William R. Hellen, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce.
Staff: Secretary-Manager.
Quarters: Founded by the local Chamber of Commerce in 1937, the Museum is housed in the lobby of the City Hall.
Collections: Collections consist of approximately 300 specimens representing Ethnology (Plains Indians, Africa, Central and South America), Paleontology, and Mineralogy.
Exhibits: Museum installations include six showcases in which exhibits are carefully arranged.
Publications: None.
Governing Body: Chamber of Commerce Executives.
Source of Income: City appropriation.
Visiting Hours: 9:00 A. M.—5:00 P. M. Monday through Friday, 9:00 A. M.—12:00 P. M. Saturday. Closed Sundays and Holidays.

WEATHERFORD (U. S. Highway 66; State Highway 54)

31. SOUTHWEST OKLAHOMA MUSEUM, Southwestern State College Campus.
(Type of Museum: College Museum)
Secretary: Mr. Grant Hendrix.
Staff: Secretary and part-time Student Employees.
Quarters: The Museum, formally dedicated on April 19, 1954, is located on the campus in a small attractive building of native stone.
Collections: Collections consist of over 1,300 articles that are closely associated with the early history of Cheyenne, Arapaho Country. Specimens include such items as Indian artifacts and household articles, historical documents and fossils.
Exhibits: Exhibits are carefully arranged in adequate show cases allowing the visitor ample room to enjoy each specimen.
Publications: None.
Governing Body: Cheyenne-Arapaho Country Association's Officers.
Sources of Income: College appropriation and membership.
Visiting Hours: 9:00 A. M.—12:00 P. M. and 1:00—4:00 P. M. Monday through Friday. Free.

TONKAWA U. S. Highways 60, 177)

32. YELLOW BULL MUSEUM, Northern Oklahoma Junior College Campus, North Jenkins Street on the third floor of Harold Hall, Science Building.
(Type of Museum: College Museum)
Director: Mr. A. D. Buck.
Staff: Director.

Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Quarters: Founded in 1903 by Mr. C. E. Johnson, the Museum has been completely reorganized including the installation of new cases, cooling system, lighting, and tile floor. It was officially opened to the public on March 31, 1957. There is 2,125 square feet of space available for exhibits, storage, laboratories and offices.
Collections: Collections include: Ethnology (Plains Indian), Oklahoma Pioneer History, Botany, Mineralogy and Zoology. Approximately 5,000 specimens are owned by the Museum.
Exhibits: New, well designed and arranged exhibits are placed in oak cases constructed at the College. A diorama habitat case extending the length of one wall is of particular interest.
Publications: None.
Governing Body: None.
Sources of Income: College appropriation.
Visiting Hours: 8:00 A. M.—5:00 P. M. Monday through Friday. Free.

APPENDIX A

Miscellaneous Information About Oklahoma Museums

In his publication entitled *The Museum in America* (p. 644) Dr. Laurence Vail Coleman lists a total of 20 museums in Oklahoma at the end of the year 1938. Of these 20 the following 11 have since been discontinued:

Blackwell: The Blackwell Federal Art Gallery (W. P. A.)
Chilocco: Chilocco Indian Agricultural School Museum.
Claremore: Claremore Federal Art Gallery (W. P. A.) ,
Enid: Phillips University Museum.
Muskogee: Muskogee Public Library Exhibit.
Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Public Schools, Museum for Children.
Sallisaw: Sequoyah County Oklahoma Historical Society, Sequoyah Cabin Historic House.
Tulsa: River View High School Science Museum.
Tulsa Federal Art Center (W. P. A.)
University of Tulsa Museum.
Wagoner: Wagoner County History Museum.

The nine museums still in existence are Nos. 15, 17, 16, 18, 19, 22, 24, 29, and 7. Other museums, not listed by Dr. Coleman in 1938, which were short-lived were:

Blackwell: Pioneer Museum.
Lawton: Lawton High School Museum (W. P. A.). Discontinued in 1956 and the collections incorporated in the Comanche County Historical Society Museum. (No. 11).
Mangum: Old Greer County Historical Society Museum.

No information was made available on the following six museums:

Enid: Garfield County Historical Society Museum.
Oklahoma City: Museum of the Eighty-Niners Association.
Shawnee: Pottawatomie County Historical Society Museum (No. 23).
Tulsa: Tulsa Historical Society Museum located at Central High School.
Vian: Dwight Mission Museum, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., Sequoyah County.
Wilburton: Latimer County Historical Society Museum at Eastern Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

One museum listed in the 1956 *Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the U. S. and Canada* (p. 36) is not a museum but an historical document collection:

Edmond: Central State College Historical Museum (Library of Original Evidence). Established, 1915. L. Jeston Hampton, professor of History, Curator.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

REPRINTS FROM *The Chronicles* AND

NOTES ON THE BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND MAIL CENTENNIAL

Two interesting reprints in neat covers from *The Chronicles* for Spring, 1957 (Vol. XXXV, No. 1) can be ordered from the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City at 35¢ each: ''Along the Washington Irving Trail in Oklahoma'' and ''The Butterfield Overland Mail One Hundred Years Ago.''

The ''Irving Trail'' reprint with map is a fine guide for history classes and those interested in traveling along modern highways in Oklahoma, on Irving's *Tour on the Prairies* of 1832. This guide shows that this tour which took Irving's party a month to complete can be made by automobile in one day, and points out specifically every highway that should be followed in making the trip now.

The ''Overland Mail'' reprint with map has been contributed as a part of the Centennial of the first U. S. mail route overland from St. Louis to San Francisco, which crossed what is now Southeastern Oklahoma for 192 miles (1857-61). This Centennial is being celebrated in the Southeastern States from Missouri to California. Arkansas plans an outstanding celebration on the Centennial of the arrival of the first Butterfield Overland Mail coach in September, 1958. California's celebration of the Centennial includes extensive plans in publications by historical committees, banquets, special programs and out-door festivals during the two year period 1957-58. The Centennial in Oklahoma (Butterfield Overland Mail contract signed September 16, 1857, the greatest U. S. mail contract to that date) is high lighted by a two-day celebration—September 14 and 15, 1957—at Durant which City is counted as the outgrowth of ''Fisher's Station'' on the famous Butterfield Overland Mail route through Oklahoma one hundred years ago. Citizens of Durant erected a replica of ''Fisher's Station''— a log cabin—on the grounds of the Semi-centennial Exposition of Oklahoma statehood, June 14 to July 7, 1957, at Oklahoma City. An exhibit of historical relics of a century ago from the Oklahoma Historical Society was on display in the ''Fisher's Station'' cabin. At either end of the cabin outside was a special exhibit: (1) an original Concord stage coach—''Butterfield Overland Mail''— owned and restored in all its true color and decoration by Mr. John D. Frizzell, member of the Overland Mail Centennial Committee in Oklahoma; and (2) a new, modern U. S. Post Office bus used in collecting the mails from rural post offices that have no railroad.

The correct list of the Butterfield Overland Mail stations in Oklahoma a century ago are given here again from the reprint, showing corrections of some typographical errors that inadvertantly appeared in the list in *The Chronicles* for Spring, 1957:

1. *Walker's Station* (Sec. 18, T. 9 N., 26 E.), LeFlore County, about 1½ miles northeast of present Spiro.
2. *Trahern's Station* (Sec. 32, T. 8 N., R. 24 E.), at Latham, LeFlore County.
3. *Holloway's Station* (Sec. 24, T. 6 N., R. 21 E.) at east end of The Narrows, about 3 miles northeast of Red Oak, Latimer County. Five miles east of Holloways was Edward's Store (Sec. 15, T. 6 N., R. 22 E.) where meals were served to Overland Mail passengers soon after the establishment of the stage line.
4. *Riddle's Station* (Sec. 12, T. 5 N., R. 19 E.), 1½ miles east of Wilburton, on the section line road at Lutie, off U. S. Highway 270.
5. *Pusley's Station* (Secs. 24-25, T. 4 N., R. 17 E.) about 3 miles southwest of Higgins, Latimer County.
6. *Blackburn's Station* (Secs. 4-5, T. 2 N., R. 15 E.) near present rock schoolhouse on county road, Pittsburg County, just south of Elm Creek.
7. *Waddell's Station* (Secs. 9-10, T. 1 S., R. 13 E.) about 3 miles southwest of Wesley, Atoka County.
8. *Geary's Station* (Sec. 19, T. 1 N., R. 12 E.) about 1½ miles southwest of Stringtown, Atoka County.
9. *Boggy Depot* (Sec. 1, T. 3 S., R. 9 E), 10 miles south and west of Atoka, Atoka County, and about 4 miles south of present bridge (west end) across Clear Boggy River.
10. *Nail's or "Blue River Station,"* (Secs. 7-8, T. 5 S., R. 9 E.) on east side of Blue River, about 2 miles southwest of Kenefick, Bryan County.
11. *Fisher's Station* (Sec. 3, T. 7 S., R. 8 E.) about 4 miles west of Durant, Bryan County. (This station was better known locally after the Civil War as "Carriage Point.")
12. *Colbert's Ferry* (Secs. 30-31, T. 8 S., R. 8 E.) about 3 miles south of Colbert, Bryan County, and just below the old highway bridge across Red River.

Note: The "Overland Mail" reprint gives more historical details on the above stations. The only one of the Overland Mail stations standing in Oklahoma today is Edward's store, northeast of Red Oak about 8 miles.—Editor

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LETTER MAILED FROM EAGLE TOWN, CHOCTAW NATION, 1842

Some incidents and description of life in the Choctaw Nation in 1842, are found in a letter written by Charles C. Copeland, a Presbyterian missionary stationed at Stockbridge Mission where the Reverend Cyrus Byington served as superintendent. Stockbridge, established 1837, was located on the east side of the Mountain Fork River, about two miles from old Eagle Town, in present McCurtain County. A copy of this interesting letter, the original of which is in the hands of a descendant of Mr. Copeland, has been received by the Editorial Department, from William V. Combs, Jr., and Ralph W. Goodwin, both of whom are teaching fellows in Harvard University.

Notes compiled from the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society state that Charles Cook Copeland was born in Dover, Vermont, on January 18, 1818. He attended school in Vermont, and taught in New Jersey. During the summer of 1841, his attention was drawn to mission work among the Choctaws, and in the following November, he set sail from Boston to New Orleans, thence traveled up the rivers and overland to Reverend Byington's station at Stockbridge in the Choctaw Nation. Mr. Copeland was assigned to Norwalk school for Choctaw boys, about five miles north of Wheelock Mission, in 1843, where he began the study of theology under Dr. Alfred Wright, New England missionary and founder of Wheelock (1832). Copeland was licensed to preach in about 1846, and four years later was assigned the work at Mount Pleasant Station, present Bryan County; in 1855, he was transferred to Bennington Church where his home is still standing, a relic of pre-Civil War days in Oklahoma. He subsequently was stationed at Wheelock Mission, and died at Washington, Arkansas, in 1869.

The letter written by Charles C. Copeland to his family, with an introductory statement by Mr. Combs and Goodwin follows:

—*Editor*

A LETTER FROM STOCKBRIDGE STATION

The great hinterland beyond the Mississippi was regarded by settled New Englanders in the early decades of the nineteenth centruy as a "benighted and howling wilderness." It was therefore quite an undertaking to leave the organized and orderly life of a western Massachusetts township and travel two thousand miles to become a missionary to the Choctaw Indians. Yet the New England missionaries made many contributions to the life of the Five Civilized Tribes. Typical of these earnest, carefully trained, and often very young ministers and teachers was Charles C. Copeland (1818-1869) of Colrain, Massachusetts, who worked for several years as assistant to the Reverend Cyrus Byington at Stockbridge Station in the old Choctaw Nation. The following letter, recently presented by Mrs. Mina Copeland Peck, a descendant of Charles C. Copeland, was written by Copeland to his family not long after his arrival at Stockbridge Station. This interesting document, reflects the dedication of the missionaries to their work, and graphically pictures the life of the times.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

William W. Combs, Jr.
Ralph W. Goodwin

Stockbridge Station
Choctaw Nation
Nov. 26, 1842

Dear Parents.

Your very affectionate letter Post marked Oct 30 comes safe to my hand Nov 23rd. I had begun to think that Uncle Sam was in fault, or that you had quite forgotten your absent son. I had ridden across the river to the P. O.[1] a great many times to hear from you, but at last a letter came to me. . . .

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[1] This was Eagle Town post office on the east side of the Mountain Fork, established on July 1, 1834, Rev. Loring S. Williams, postmaster. At this location near the Big Cypress Tree, McCurtain County, Mr. Williams had founded Bethabara Mission, and provided the first school in the Eagle Town community.—Ed.

Very soon after I wrote to br E. [Brother Edgar] from Ft Towson I came home, and the people not being ready for school, I went to work. Mr Byington bought an old house, or not an old one, but vacant, and I helped him move it to his place and then helped raise it. Afterwards I covered & inclosed it (i. e.) lined it so as to shut the cracks between the logs, laid the floor, put in a window and moved into it two weeks ago.

I have a good house in my possession, but it is 1½ m's from Mr B's, and I did not want to keep bachelor's hall nor take to myself a wife of the land so I built the one in which I now sit to write, and a very comfortable one it is. The chimney is made of mud & oven-wood,[2] laid up just as I used to build cob-houses, and the house is made in the same fashion. The hearth & jams [are] of mud but it is not to be despised in any way. Few in this country have better. The size 12 ft by 12 inside. My work is to fat or feed the hogs and two horses, cut wood and grind the corn for our bread, on the steel mill, a grist of half a peck every morning, keep school and study all I can. Evenings I devote mostly to study, reading or writing. Candles are not too scarce here and if they were we have the pitch pine the country affords, so I can be provided for at any rate. My school is small but pleasant. Have but few full blood Choctaws.

My health has not been so good for 6 years as it is at present and has been since the middle of Sept., from which time till Nov. 7th I labored daily. Excepting a few days I was laid by on account of an accident. In trying to stop some running horses, my feet caught in some briars and I fell flat on my face, and the wagon loaded with sixteen barrels of corn ran over me, as a sailor would say, from stem to stern, from foot to head. I thought at first I was seriously injured. Arterial motion was stopped. I could breath [*sic*] with great difficulty, and was nearly blind, could not walk or ride on a horse but a few steps before everything was all of the same color, but after half an hour the motion of the heart became regular. Day came back and I rode home . . . . . Not entirely recovered from the bruise yet.

Pine Ridge where Miss Arms is located is 50 miles from this station in a Westerly direction or a little North of West. It is one mile from Doaksville where are 6 or 7 stores, a Tavern, Church & 2 Doctors, and 2 miles from Ft. Towson which is this side of Pine Ridge. . . . .

The crops here are abundant. Some planters have grown more cotton than they can possibly take care of. One of our neighbors has raised 2000 or more bushels of corn & 35 or 40 bales of cotton, 200 lbs to the bale, 700 bushels of sweet potatoes and yams, and other vegetables in proportion. I love sweet potatoes & yams dearly. Nothing better for dinner . . . . .

I have seen something of the world, its wealth, pomp & show, many of the gay & thoughtless crowd, that is passing rapidly from this to the eternal world. [I] have passed a variety of scenes in the short years of my life, but I have never been located to suit my own notions better than I am now, all things considered. I have my labor to perform, and when my work is done, I can read till time to retire, then lay down in peace and sleep. We have breakfast by candle light usually, and then we are ready for business. I tell you Mother, it all goes on nice, and if you could only come here and see me, stay a few weeks, eat some of our yams & corn bread, how much good it would do me! Wont you come Mother? It is only 2500 miles here. If we live a few years more, say 2 or 3, we shall see each other again, but if not I hope we shall have laid our treasures up in heaven.My soul longs to be free from the fetters of sin! How it clogs the soul! when it would soar away from earth and by faith behold things invisible to mortal eyes. How sin dims the sight! and we can only see as through a glass darkly. But the time is coming when we "shall see as we are seen and know as we are known"—Pray for me that I may be faithful . . . . .

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[2] This type of stick and mud chimney was called a "cat chimney" on the frontier of Arkansas west. It was built of split pieces of hard wood of uniform size and length (about 20 to 24 inches long), such as were used in making a fire in an iron oven, an invention placed in the wall of a fireplace in early days. The pieces of wood for a "cat chimney" were laid crisscross to the desired heighth of the chimney, and the spaces between each filled with a mud "cat"— a roll of mud or clay about the size and length of a man's forearm. Allowance, of course, was made for the fireplace which was well plastered with mud, at the lower side of the chimney opening inside the house.—Ed.

This is from your unworthy son,
Chs. C. Copeland

[The following is a note to Copeland's brother Harvey, written vertically across the face of the letter to his parents.]

Br Harvey,

I began to write to Father & Mother and kept on till I had filled the sheet anyway, but I'll [write] you a few words crosswise. I am glad that you wrote to me. As water is to the thirsty soul, so is news from a far country. . . . .

Our people are trying to do something for themselves as well as they know how but they make poor work I assure you. A nation is long in emerging from the darkness of heathenism to an enlightened state and it will be long before this people can be called enlightened. My heart sometimes bleeds for the Redman as I look around me and see the poor, ignorant, stupid, degraded creatures. Ah! they must become extinct. Another race will shoot up to fill their places and the time will come when the sun will not shine on one of the Aborigines of our own dear country. Among this people may be found many without even a blanket to sleep on, and their houses are open & cold. They are exposed, having no shoes and thin clothes. Many take cold, then pleurisy or lung fever carries them off.

This is the great reason that they are decreasing so rapidly. But the Choctaws are well provided for compared with some of the wild Indians. In the winter a vast many children die. A few are like the pine knots in our forests which neither rotted nor burned and can endure anything in the form of suffering. But it is bed time, 9½ o'clock. Good night.

Monday morn, Nov 28

Yesterday I attended S. S. [Sunday School] and Choctaw meeting, and spent the rest of the day in reading. I usually get very little rest on the sabbath day. S. S. in the morning, then Choctaw meeting, and English meeting in the afternoon, so that I do not get home till night. Saturdays I have no school and that is the only day of rest for me, and then I have many things to do so that in fact I have no day of rest, but my work is not very severe as some have to perform.

The weather has been very mild during the fall season till two weeks ago when we had something of a freeze and it has frozen some every night since. I find that I need almost as many clothes in this country as I did at the North in cold weather, but in the hot weather, any clothing seems to be a burden. As to worldly things, I lack nothing here. I have all that I wish for and my health is good. Mr Byington is a good physician, has many calls in times of sickness . . . . . He is one of the best of men and I hope to improve much by his society and conversation. He preaches in Choctaw and understands their language as well as the best of them. . . . .

I am pursuing the study of Ecclesiastical History and am almost ready to take up the study of Chahta . . . . . in a systematic manner.[3] I am able to converse some in Choctaw now but cannot understand a great-deal. Can read & understand more than I can tell. I shall not forget my friends nor cease to pray for them. Remember me to all the children and if I ever see them again I will tell them a story about the Choctaws and other things.

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[3] Rev. C. C. Copeland was author of a tract. "Come to Jesus", published in Choctaw by the American Tract Society, 1869. His paper on "Terms of Relationship of the Chocta and Chickasaw" was used by L. H. Morgan in *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Washington. 1871), referred to in James C. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Muskogean Languages* (Washington, 1889). —Ed.

Your brother as ever,
C. C. Copeland

A Letter from a U. S. Marshal in 1889

Interesting comments on life in the new Oklahoma Country just after the Opening are given in a letter written by W. C. Jones, U. S. Marshal, from Guthrie on April 29, 1899, to his wife, Etta Jones, at home in Iola Kansas. This three page letter in bold, clear handwriting, on the letterhead stationary of "John M. Galloway, Attorney at Law and U. S. Commissioner," has been presented as a gift to the Oklahoma Historical Society collections by Mr. Howard Jones, Billings, Oklahoma, son of the early U. S. Marshal. Such original material is rare in historical records that are being preserved. The letter from Marshal W. C. Jones follows, with some notes on his life sent by Mr. Howard Jones:

Will practice before the Land Offices at Guthrie and Kingfisher, and the Federal Court at Muscogee.

JOHN M. GALLOWAY
Attorney At Law
—and—
U. S. Commissioner

Collections made in all parts of the Territory.

Guthrie, Indian Territory, April 29, 1889

My Dear Etta

I know you feel that I have neglected writing too long but my excuse is that things have been in such a terrible confusion and not having any place to write that it was almost impossible. I have been almost all over the territory, and witnessed the scramble for homes both in the towns and in the country. This town (Guthrie) is one of the typical western towns. There is over 50 gambling houses. The town only one week old and claim 15000 inhabitants. Tents and Shanties are their residents. Little houses no larger than our kitchen rent for $10.00 per day. One house that cost about 600 dollars rents for $145.00 per month or $1850.00 per year.

I am in tip top health never felt better in my life. Eat three meals per day and am always hungry. Sleep in a tent and am very dirty. It is impossible to keep clean. I just came up from Oklahoma City where I saw the Iola Ladies they have all got a fine lot and are happy. There has not been a single man killed in the territory since I came down. I never saw a community more orderly with the exceptions of the gambling houses and they are orderly although they are poor deluded fools who patronize them. No people are more orderly than these people, and I am disgusted with the newspapers that are continually reporting such sensational lies. There is not one word of truth in what they say regarding the lawlessness. I will try and be at home in a few days by Thursday or Friday. Everything is all right with me and I hope all is well at home. My kindest love to you all, with a kiss.

(signed) W. C. Jones

Notes:

WILLIAM CLARK JONES, U. S. MARSHAL IN 1889,
Guthrie, Indian Territory.

August 11, 1839—Born near Broadhead, Racine County, Wisconsin. Reared on farm. Attended University at Madison year or two special course engineering & mathematics.

1860—With his father and family moved to Allen County, Kansas, where his father had bought land near Iola.

July 24, 1861—Enlisted in 3rd Kansas Infantry. Commissioned 1st Lieutenant, Later promoted to Captain in 10th Kansas and later Major in Civil War.

August 30, 1865—Mustered out close of War. Practiced engineering as a surveyor and other.

October 26, 1868—Re-enlisted in 19th Kansas Volunteers. Served as Major and later Lieutenant Colonel under General Sheridan in Indian wars, Kansas Texas and Indian Territory. In episode to liberate two white women.

1883—Appointed warden of Kansas Penitentiary.

1884—Delegate to Chicago National Democratic Convention where he was an active supporter of Grover Cleveland for President.

1885—Appointed U. S. Marshal district of Kansas by President Cleveland.

1889—Was at Guthrie at the Opening of Oklahoma. His successor under the incoming Republican Administration had not yet been apointed.

1890—Chairman, State Central Committee Democratic Party, Kansas.

1893—Failed to obtain re-appointment under Cleveland's second term as U. S. Senator Martin and faction had their own candidate.

September 24, 1895—Was killed while visiting one of his farms near Iola, Kansas, by run-away horse.

—Howard Jones
Billings, Oklahoma

AT BRAMAN IN THE CHEROKEE STRIP SIXTY YEARS AGO

Through the interest of the Reverend Wm. B. Bowlers, First M. E. Church, Braman, Oklahoma, the following letter with added notes has come to the Editorial Department, written by W. E. Youngmeyer, 660 South Quentin, Wichita 17, Kansas, to Mrs. Fred J. Schwarz, Treasurer of Sumpter Grange #89, Braman, in Kay County, Oklahoma:[1]

Wichita March 7, 57

To the Members of the Grange Greetings.

Thank you so much for the letter and the card with all the names attached. Have read them over and over to see if I couldn't recall some of the names. The name of H. M. Scott is the most familiar. That is quite a common name. I was well acquainted with Clay Scott and his Father who lived on the Town Ship line or near the low water bridge. Clay built the first Hardware Store in Braham. Then there was a Mr. Scott over towards Nardin whom I did some carpenter work (don't recall his given name) and Charley Scott who lived South of Braman. Rather think a lot of you folks knew or heard of Charley Scott. He farmed quite extensively. He had more mules than any body in the country. Distance from home didn't seem to make any difference. Charley was quite a trader. The last time I seen him was here at the Stock Yards. That wasn't to many years ago. Never seen so many cockle burs on sheep. He told me he bought the sheep over east of Blackwell. It was late in the afternoon his sheep were still unsold.

Wish I could have been at your meeting on Jan. 19 when the subject of conversation was old times. However that is just wishful thinking.

Speaking of the Chikaski river being low I seen it one time when I wish it had been much lower. In going to Braman one day the water was about normal. I heard while in town there had been a heavy rain in Kansas on the Chikaski water shed. When I got to the river on my way home the river was really booming. I was driving one horse hitched to a top buggy. As I neared the west side the current was quite strong. The bank on the west side was high and roadway quite narrow. I was too far down stream to hit the roadway. In turning the water rushed in the buggy. About everything washed out the backend including my groceries.

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[1] The first Post Office called Braman was established in Kay County, Oklahoma Territory, on April 11, 1898, with Jerry Crowley as Postmaster (George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952).—Ed.

You said in your letter of the change in the country schools. Am wondering if the Triumph School three miles west of Braman, the Battle Ax three miles south, and the Brown Union another three miles South [This school was north of Braman.] are also consolidated? The reason I mention these three schools are the one's I built. With the help of about all the men in the districts. There wasn't much money in the Strip in those days. All the help was volunteer. I recall one day there were fifteen men on Brown Union. I had just finished my apprenticeship the year before in Illinois and hadn't had any experience working that many men and all inexperienced. It kept me on the jump to keep them busy.

The family I boarded with while working on the schoolhouse were Mr. and Mrs. Julian. Their claim was across the road to the south. A neater and more "comfy" dug-out I had never seen. They were a young couple with two small children. Among one of the first houses I built was for a little Frenchman and a more congenial man I never had the pleasure of meeting. His name was Jim La Force. His claim was south of the Battle Ax School House just across Doe Creek. Am wondering if these people are known to any of the members of the Grange?

Do you know just how or why the name Battle Ax was chosen? The people of the District met at the school house one day to choose a name. A good many names were suggested but there was no agreement. John Armstrong and his wife who lived across the road to the east. John suggested [jokingly] the name Battle Ax. Believe it or not the name stuck.

The High School band of Blackwell that was selected by the State of Oklahoma to go the Inauguration of President must feel proud and they have a right to be. Your letter arrived on the day of inauguration. I was watching T. V. Was anxious to see the band but was disappointed. The parade was late as you may know if you were listening on T. V. Our T. V. went off the air at 5 P. M. while the parade was still in progress.

Quince Brown had the first grocery store in Braman. His claim was a few miles south of town. He was our first Representative in the State Legislature. A very fine man he came to Wichita good many years ago. Was in the grocery business for a number of years. He passed away some five or six years ago. Quince told me of an amusing incident while in the grocery business here [Braman]. Bert Woodruff, whose claim was in the Battle Ax School district, came in one day with a wash tub full of eggs. The price he was paying for eggs was .03 cts per dozen. Bert said he wouldn't sell eggs for that price. He carried the eggs out on the sidewalk, got some small paper bags and everybody that came along was given a bag of eggs. I surmise that Bert had been over to Sam Jone's place where he got something that made him feel like a millionaire. (Note: Sam Jones ran a saloon in Braman.)

As tight as money was in those early days Braman supported two saloons. That reminds me of a man by name of Charles Hartgrove. There may be some one among the members of the Grange who knew Charley Hartgrove. If there is he or she can tell you an interesting story of this man.[2]

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[2] Mrs. H. M. Scott, Braman, relates this incident about Mr. Hartgrove and presumably it is the one Mr. Youngmeyer is thinking of: "One evening Charley Hartgrove was drunk and went to the Methodist Parsonage. He asked the Minister, Rev. B. C. Wolfe, to pray for him. The Minister refused but said that he would pray for him when he was sober. The Minister's wife stepped in and said she would pray for him. She knelt on her knees and the man was converted. He never again took a drink of liquor. He loved to tell this story at every opportunity."

My good wife used to say it was always hard to get me to go anywhere by harder to get me to leave. This letter reminds me it is time I was leaving. Allow me to say one more thing. It will not interest you folks, but is of great interest to me. My youngest son is being transferred from Calgary, Canada to Caracas, Venezuela (South America) by the Texas Oil Company. He was transferred from Tulsa, Oklahoma four years ago to Canada. He has been with the Texas Co. ever since he finished school in W. U. (Wichita University). He is forty seven. He is leaving New York today (3/7) by air on a nonstop flight 7½ hours to Caracas. Another son passed away on his thirty seventh birthday twelve years ago. He died of Leukemia a very rare disease at that time.

Your letter was so nicely written. Am almost ashamed to send my letter. The verse on the card is *beautiful*. Thanking you all so much.

Fraternally yours,
W. E. Youngmeyer

P. S. Speaking of Ed Johnson. I recall wagon loads of wheat more than a block long waiting to weigh on Ed's scales. Incidently, in looking over some old cards I run across a photograph of the Main Street of Braman. I mailed it to Ed. It was dated 1908. The card was evidently enclosed in a letter as there was no post mark. Think the Shoffner's sent it to me. They were tenants on the farm N. of Braman about that time.

ANNUAL OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY TOUR FOR 1957

Eastern Oklahoma is a region replete with historic spots, and the Oklahoma Historical Society Tour for 1957, under the direction of Mr. R. G. Miller, and the leadership of Gen. Wm. S. Key, visited many of these spots.

On the morning of Thursday May 16th, the Society's caravan left the Historical Society Building at 7:05. Due to down town transportation difficulties, Mrs. Logan Billingsley, and her son Bobby of Katonah, New York, arrived at the Historical Society Building three or four minutes after the caravan moved out. It was necessary for the two New Yorkers to go by taxi cab to the old Sac and Fox Agency site, south of Stroud, before catching up with the tourists.

The entire group was served squaw bread and coffee by Mr. and Mrs. Don Whistler at the Sac and Fox Agency location. A visit to the Whistler house of that vicinity proved most interesting. Members of the Pottawatomie County Historical Society and of the Lincoln County Historical Society were on hand to visit with the travelers.

It was a rather long ride from the Stroud vicinity to the Woolaroc Museum, northeast of Barnsdall, but the three big busses, and several cars of the caravan brought 135 tourists to that fine Museum by 11:30 a. m. The Frank Phillips Foundation officers, governing body of the Woolaroc Museum, were hosts to the tourists for lunch. The main course was buffalo steaks. A tour of the Museum followed the lunch hour.

From Woolaroc, the caravan traveled southeastward to the location of the old Friends Mission, north of Skiatook, and at this place the visitors were met by Mr. Milton Patrick, Mayor of

Skiatook, and a group of local citizens. Several of those in the group had attended the Mission, which was a school with boarding department for a fifty mile area, established in the early 1880's.

As the busses rolled along the road to Skiatook, the tourists could see preparations being made for high water that was expected soon in the nearby creeks. The following day, word was received that the roads over which the Tour had passed, in the Skiatook vicinity were under water.

At 3:30 in the afternoon, a stop was made at Leonard, where the site of Pleasant Porter's home could be seen. Muddy roads prevented the busses from going to the exact site of Porter's home. William Porter, grandson of Pleasant Porter, was present and gave an interesting interview conducted by Colonel George Shirk.

The caravan arrived at Western Hills Lodge, east of Wagoner, at about 6:00 p. m. Dinner was served in the main dining room, and a group from Muskogee furnished the program. Mr. Kelly Brown, and Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, who live in Muskogee, were in charge of the program. Following several musical numbers, Mr. Malcolm E. Rosser, veteran Muskogee Attorney, made the address of the evening. The theme of the program was the Five Civilized Tribes Museum, which is located near Muskogee. General Key introduced all of those in the Society's traveling party.

The second day of the Tour found the caravan rolling through the beautiful hills in the Tahlequah region. A stop was made at the outskirts of Westville, and the group was met by a number of citizens of that community, who served doughnuts and coffee. Mr. and Mrs. G. Dismukes, editors of the *Westville Reporter*, were in charge of arrangements. The tourists were especially grateful for the hot coffee, because a drizzling rain was falling at the time.

It was only a few miles to the north until the old Baptist Mission was reached. This church organization was established in 1838. It was one of the very earliest Oklahoma churches.

Continuing northward, Dripping Springs was reached by 11:00 o'clock. Here the tourists visited the falls at the springs, and clambered around over the rocky gorge. On the way to Honey Creek Bridge, the Historical Marker for the grave sites of Gen Stand Watie and Major Ridge were passed and pointed out.

One of the most enjoyable events of the entire Tour took place at Baker's Cafe, on the banks of Honey Creek, which is only a short distance south of Grove. A group of High School youngsters from Grove put on an excellent entertainment of singing and dancing. A talk on the anthropology of that region was made by W. A. Doel. The fish dinner was excellent.

After a short journey to the northeast, the Old Cayuga Splitlog Mission church site was visited. This old church is being carefully preserved, and local citizens conducted a brief program here, which was interesting to the tourists. The church was completed in 1896. The guiding spirit in promoting its erection was Mathias Splitlog, noted Seneca Indian industrialist who had a part in the building of Kansas City, Missouri, before the War between the States and later founded the thriving community of Cayuga in Northeastern Oklahoma.

Retracing their route for several miles, and then turning to the west, the busses arrived at the Grand Lake dock site for the *Cherokee Queen.* The group went aboard this boat, and were taken for a three hour trip on the lake, during which dinner was served. Despite the rain that was falling, the trip proved to be an enjoyable interlude.

About 7:30 p. m. everyone was back on the busses. The site of the Battle of Cabin Creek (1864) was passed up due to wet ground as the caravan traveled south. A night ride over the Spavinaw Hills and down the Grand River Valley brought the travelers back to Western Hills Lodge.

After a good night's sleep, the tourists were ready for the return trip to the starting point at the Historical Society Building in Oklahoma City. But there was a good day of travel and sight seeing before reaching that destination.

In the vicinity of Morris, the busses were stopped so that all might view the historic site of Council Hill, a wooded hill south on the Okmulgee-McIntosh County line. This was the location of the first Creek Capitol, and long remained a council ground for the Creek Nation.

When the tourists arrived in Okmulgee at 11:00 a. m., everyone visited the Museum, located in the old Capitol building of the Creek Nation. Judge Edgar S. Vaught had quite a thrill from sitting in the chair that had once been occupied by the Chief Justice of the Creek Nation.

Lunch was provided at the dining hall of the Oklahoma School of Technology, located at the outskirts of Okmulgee. Mr. Keith Covell, Director of the School, welcomed the tourists to Okmulgee and the School. Mr. P. T. Gilmer was Master of Ceremonies for the program that was presented. Mr. R. G. Miller, Tour Director, was the chief speaker of the program. A film was shown describing the work of the Oklahoma School of Technical Training.

The buses came to a stop in front of the Historical Society Building at 7:00 p. m. on Saturday May 18th.

From the many reports and comments received from those who made the Tour, this must be designated as one of the best Tours ever sponsored by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

—Elmer L. Fraker

BOOK REVIEW

They Met At Gettysburg, By Edward J. Stackpole. (Eagle Books, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1956. Pp. 342. $4.95).

A century soon will have passed since that fratricidal conflict which resulted in more American casualties than occurred in World War I and II combined. One writer has called the Civil War "a lapse into national schizophrenia."

A fact—among many unknown about this conflict—is the amount of national introspection that has resulted since Appomattox. Few episodes in our history have had as much written and oral description as the War Between The States. Yearly the literary output amounts to a sizeable library. This past decade has witnessed the appearance of a Civil War Book Club, a periodical devoted entirely to articles on the Civil War period and a quarterly originated just to index the literature of the war.

They Met At Gettysburg is one of the latest additions to the Civil War bookshelf. In his volume, General Stackpole has examined in minute detail the military movements of the two antagonists in the Gettysburg campaign. The author has not hesitated to make judgments and pronounce verdicts when he believes the evidence warrants an accurate assessment. While most historians have agreed that Lee's military reputation was tarnished by his leadership at Gettysburg, Stackpole flatly states, "In retrospect, it is clear that at Gettysburg Lee fought his worst battle." The author attributes the Southern General's failure to: not formulating a concise plan of action; issuing ill defined and fragmentary orders; making little attempt to co-ordinate the operations of Hill, Ewell and Longstreet; failure to appreciate the quartermaster's role and over-confidence in the ability of his army.

While shouldering Lee with his full share of culpability for the defeat, Stackpole does not ignore the inadequacies of his subordinates. Longstreet's basic disagreement with Lee over the invasion in the beginning and his subsequent falterings at Gettysburg, writes General Stackpole, may have been the "decisive factor" in the outcome of the battle. J. E. B. Stuart, Confederate cavalry leader, is treated less severely in this book than in most accounts. The author agrees that Stuart exercised poor judgment in his cavalry movements prior to Gettysburg, but he maintains that Imboden and Jenkins cavalry brigades should have been of immense help to the Army of Northern Virginia, had Lee utilized them properly. As Stonewall Jackson's replacement, Ewell performed miserably and by his vacillation lost a chance for victory on the first day of the battle.

Stackpole does not note many tactical errors on the part of the Union generals; however, he does point out that Northern leadership suffered from the defensive-minded Meade, who, as previous commander of the Army of the Potomac, consistently over-estimated the strength of his opponents.

In summary, the author writes that, viewed strictly as a military operation, the battle could be termed a draw. Meade had won a tactical victory but by allowing Lee to escape lost the chance to end the war.

General Stackpole has written a readable tome, especially valuable for the layman. This reviewer conjectures that many will disagree with this interpretation of the roles of Lee, Ewell, Longstreet and Mead. *They Met At Gettysburg* will not be a definitive work, for Civil War historiography has now reached the stage where few authors can aspire to the final word. As each generation in turn becomes intrigued and then capitivated by the conlict of the blue and gray, a successive series of ''Historical ghosts'' will be resurrected and buried—only to be again reincarnated in a different disguise twenty years later.

Gene M. Gressley
University of Wyoming

Laramie, Wyoming

The Land Called Chicora. By Paul Quattlebaum. (University of Florida Press, Gainesville, Florida, 1956. Pp. xiv, 153. Illus. Maps. Appendix and Bibliography, with Index. $3.75.)

The country extending along the Atlantic Coast from Savannah, Georgia, to Wilmington, North Carolina, and inland including what is now Northeastern Georgia and Southeastern North Carolina with all of South Carolina in between, was the Land called Chicora. Paul Quattlebaum in his study of this region has produced a fascinating book that narrates the story of the first expeditions sent out of Hispaniola along the eastern coast, referred to for many years as Florida, and the planting of the first colony on the American continent north of Mexico in 1526, called San Miguel de Gualdupe located on Waccamaw Neck, across from Winyah Bay from present Georgetown, South Carolina.

The author's boyhood home on the Carolina coast was near an old rice plantation known as ''Chicora Wood,'' a name that fired his imagination and interest. Many years later when he found the stories about this place confused, he undertook the study of its history. His education and experience as an engineer was a great assistance in this study for though the instruments used by early navigators were few and crude yet they left nautical data that are understood and can be followed by the engineer of today. Much of the data gathered by Mr. Quattlebaum in years or research had been passed by and never presented by historians in recent years for the earliest records and accounts relating to the Spanish, French and English activities and to Indian life in the region had lain away all but lost in the mist of antiquity. Peter Matyr's *Decades* (1455-1526) first published in Latin, later reprinted in English by M. Locke in *Hakluyt's Collections* (1812), and De Bry's works on Jacques Le Moyne, the French artist who visited the Province of Florida in 1564, are both cited in Mr. Quattlebaum's text. Some of Le Moyne's paintings and drawings appear as illustrations here, for these are the earliest made showing Indian life in the Province of Florida. The descriptions of Indian life are given in the chapter "The Chicora Indians & Their Way of Life," based largely on Peter Martyr's work and that of Oviedo, the Spanish historian, whose *The Natural History of the West Indies* was first published in Spain in 1526. Ethnologists have identified the Chicora (or Shakori) as a part of the ancient Cusabo which was made up of old tribal groups of the Muskhogean and the Uchean linguistic families. Thus, the author's account of the discovery and of the ways of the Chicora Indians reveals the earliest history of a people whose descendants many generations later moved to Oklahoma.

The outstanding and more noble of the Spaniards who sent out exploring expeditions to the mainland of America not long after the discovery by Columbus was Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, a native of Toledo, Spain, who came to Hispaniola in 1502, later attaining great wealth and high positions of trust in the Spanish colonial government of the islands. He sent out caravels to explore the mainland at his own expense, his captain, Gordillo, spending many months sailing along the seacoast and returning to Hispaniola with reports of all that he had seen and heard, besides bringing with him many Indian captives as slaves. Gordillo was condemned by Ayllon for the capture of these people was without license. The Indians were judged free, and until they could return to their homeland, they remained in the custody of Ayllon and another councilman in Hispaniola. Ayllon himself went to Spain taking with him one of the natives of the Land of Chicora, whom he had christianed by the name of "Francisco Chicora" in honor of his country. Francisco was a young Indian of ability who learned the Spanish language and told many stories and traditions about his country and his people. King Charles V of Spain pleased with Ayllon's accomplishments conferred upon him the habit of Santiago and granted him a patent on June 12, 1523, to return to the newly found land of Chicora as governor. In the summer of 1526, Ayllon and his associates set out on the great venture to the mainland, and succeeded in planting the colony of San Miguel de Gualdupe at the mouth of the Waccamaw River. The book-end map of the region shows the location of Francisco's tribal town of Chicora far west inland up the present Santee River in South Carolina. The story of the people and their experiences at Gualdupe, told in the chapter "The First Settlement," makes the adventures of the De Soto Expedition in 1540 seem comparatively late. It is no wonder that De Soto found articles of European manufacture—iron axes, glass beads, a rosary and a cross—in Cofitachiqui, the town of the Indian "Queen" that he discovered in South Carolina.

Other chapters tell of how France and Spain eventually contended for the Land of Chicora. At last the English came and founded Jamestown in 1607. The author tells how Charles I granted the "Province of Carolina" on March 23, 1663, and quotes part of the notable charter, including the names of Englishmen who received this royal favor. The Land of Chicora was in the boundaries of this grant. It may be noted here in passing that what is now Oklahoma, also, was within boundaries of the land described, a broad strip clear across America between the 31st and the 36th parallels of North Latitude from the "Atlantic Ocean to the South Seas" (Pacific Ocean). It is also interesting to note that it was the land grant in this charter from Charles I of England that brought Oklahoma the 2nd national flag in its history, the original "Great Union" of the British Isles.

The University of Florida Press has presented an attractive format with illustrations and maps. These with additional notes in the Appendixes add materially to the documentary evidence given by the author. *The Land Called Chicora* is a real contribution to the great drama of American history.

Oklahoma Historical Society —Muriel H. Wright
Oklahoma City

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING APRIL 25, 1957

The regular Spring meeting of the Board of Directors was held in the Historical Society Building, starting at 10: a. m. on Thursday April 25. Roll call showed the following members present: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Judge J. G. Clift, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. Joe Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Dr. Wayne Johnson, Gen. Wm. S. Key, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught. Requests to be excused from the meeting were received from Judge George L. Bowman, Mr. Kelly Brown, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, and Col. George H. Shirk. It was moved by Judge Baxter Taylor, and seconded by Mr. Henry Bass that the requests for excuses be granted. The motion was unanimously adopted.

The President of the Society, Gen. Wm. S. Key, asked if the Board wanted to hear a reading of the minutes of the preceding meeting. Mr. Miller moved that the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting be dispensed with and the motion was seconded by Judge Hefner. It was put and carried.

In his report, the Administrative Secretary pointed out that the Society would end the fiscal year, keeping within the state budget. He also reported there was a balance of $2,465.91 in the Special Fund budget. The Secretary further stated that the Society had 910 life members, and 1,651 annual members, making a total of 2,561. The names of those who had applied for membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society during the quarter were presented to the Board by the Secretary. He then presented a list of gifts to the Society. Judge Hefner moved and Mr. Phillips seconded a motion that the new members be admitted to the regular rolls of the Society and that the gifts be accepted. The motion carried.

President Key called attention to the fact there had been a vacancy in the office of Treasurer of the Society since the death of Mrs. Jessie Moore. He observed that this office should be filled as soon as possible. Mrs. Anna Korn spoke in favor of the Account Clerk being made Treasurer of the Society. Judge Taylor nominated Col. George Shirk for the office of Treasurer of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Henry Bass seconded the nomination. By a majority vote, the nomination was confirmed.

Judge Hefner made a report on the activities of the Legislative Committee. He stated that all the bills, as approved by the Board of Directors, had been presented to the Chairmen of the proper committees in the Legislature. The Legislative Committee Chairman said he was happy to report that the measure naming the Oklahoma Historical Society as the Historic Sites authority for Oklahoma, had been passed by both houses of the Legislature and was then on the Governor's desk. The first general bill to come out, he said, was found unsatisfactory, and the Committee had made strenous effort to have it amended. As a result, he said, the present bill, although not all that had been asked for, provided for much greater services by the Society. Judge Hefner estimated salary increases for staff members would be from $15.00 to $20.00 per month. He commended the members of the Legislative Committee for the fine work they had done in helping secure favorable consideration of the Historical Society's needs. Judge Hefner closed his remarks by saying that the bill was now in conference and that he had every expectation that it would come out unchanged from its present form. He reported that the bill had been so worded that the Board of Dierctors of the Oklahoma Historical Society had complete authority to carry out the provisions of the act.

Dr. Wayne Johnson said that he felt there were certain discrepancies in the salary schedule of staff members. He asserted these discrepancies should be rectified and asked if there was any way of getting changes made before final adoption of the bill. He was informed by Judge Hefner that after a bill had gone to conference, it was practically impossible to get changes made. Dr. Johnson then moved that the Board agree that the Account Clerk, Archivist, Librarian and the Museum Curator be placed in the same salary bracket and that the discrepancy, which exists in the present bill before the Legislature, be corrected by using money from the Society's special funds. Judge Cole seconded the motion. After considerable discussion, the motion was put. It failed to carry.

Mr. Bass moved that consideration of salaries of staff members be deferred until legislative action had been completed and the amounts appropriated definitely established. This motion was seconded by Judge Vaught and approved by the Board.

Gen. Key complimented Mr. Phillips, a member of the Legislative Committee, for the fine work he had done in helping secure an appropriation for micro-filming of newspapers for the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Phillips said he hoped the proposed legislation would be passed, and that he was most appreciative of the help the Society received from the Oklahoma Press Association in promoting the project.

The Chair recognized Mrs. Korn, who asked that the Board authorize the Curator of the Museum to secure a picture of Mrs. E. W. Marland, to be placed in the group of pictures of the wives of former Governors. She also moved that the Society bear the expense of having such picture made. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and was accepted by unanimous vote.

Mr. Miller, Chairman of the Annual Tour Committee, gave a brief report of the activities of his committee. He stated that the preliminary arrangements for the Tour had been made, such as transportation, meals and lodging. He said the Administrative Secretary was in charge of making reservations and urged all members of the Board to make the trip.

It was moved by Dr. Harbour and seconded by Mrs. Korn that a new carpet be placed in the World War II Room. The motion was adopted.

Gen. Key expressed great happiness to see and have Judge Taylor at the Board meeting. He said the Judge had been ill for some time and that it was nice to have him up and about again. Judge Taylor replied he was glad to be at the meeting. He said that due to his illness, he thought it advisable to have some other member of the Board act as Chairman of the Constitution and By-Laws Committee. General Key said he would appoint a new chairman within the near future.

It was the first meeting at which Judge Clift of Duncan had attended. President Key expressed the pleasure of the Board at having Judge Clift as a member and called on the Judge for comments. Judge Clift said he had always been interested in history, and particularly the history of Oklahoma. He expressed his appreciation at having been elected to membership on the Board of Directors, and said he would attend every meeting he possibly could.

Miss Genevieve Seger said she was greatly disappointed at not being able to make the Annual Tour this year. She said the fact that she was Sponsor of the Okeene High School Senior Class made it impossible for her to be away from her duties at that time.

It was announced by Mr. Curtis that Pauls Valley was not only celebrating the Semi-Centennial of Oklahoma but also the Centennial of its own founding. He said a local museum was being arranged in Pauls

Valley to care for historical materials of that area. He invited all members of the Board to visit Pauls Valley during the celebration.

The Board gave its approval for the Administrative Secretary to assist Mr. Haskell Paul to present the prophesy of Statehood, made by his father seventeen years before the actual consummation of that objective.

Mr. Bass said he had recently been in Columbia, Missouri and had visited with Dr. I. N. McCash, former President of Phillips University, and also a former member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. McCash sent his best regards to everyone.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:35 a. m.

Signed: *Gen. Wm. S. Key,*
President

Signed: ***Elmer L. Fraker,***
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS TO LIBRARY:

Old Dutch Burying Ground of Sleepy Hollow in Tarrytown, New York.
Donor: Wm. Graves Perry, Boston, Mass.

The Oklahoma Gardener, 6 copies from Mrs. H. E. Hubbard, Editor, Kingfisher, Okla.

A Genealogy and History of some Stebbins Lines
Donor: John A. Stebbins.

The Family of Thomas Scott and Martha Swan Scott, A Century in America.
Donor: George Tressler Scott, through Illinois State Historical Library.

Records of the Ancestry of John Park Cravens.
Donor: John Park Cravens.

Annual Report of Librarian of Congress—Library of Congress 1956.

The Crowson Family.
Donor: Leone Amott Rose (Mrs. Guy B. Rose).

The Corn Family of the U. S. A. Third Section.
Donor: C. E. Corn, Vancouver, Washington.

The Holway-Kerr Family Book.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Wm. R. Holway, Tulsa, Okla.

The German Language Press in America by Carl Wittke
Donor: Kaltenborn Foundation and the Carl Shurz Memorial Foundation of Philadelphia.

Magazines: 101 Ranch, Vol. 1 #2 March 1926, Historia Vol. 8 #6 April 1921; 5 old papers with historical items of early day peace officers and gunmen. Books, He Willed It So, Col. Robert McReynolds; Brown Eyes, Stories for children.
Donor: Mrs. Zoe Tilghman (Mrs. W. W. Tilghman)

1957 Inaugural Program, Washington, D. C., 1957. Oklahoma festivities Program.
Donor: The Oklahoma State Society, Washington, D. C.

Life and Adventures of Ben Thompson, The famous Texan.
Donor: Mr. Fitzpatrick, Dallas, Texas.

Books: Service on the Indian Reservation, E E. White; Story of the Cherokee Bible, George Everett Foster; Cynthia Ann Parker, James T. DeShields; Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-tales, Geo. Bird Grinnell. An Apache Princess, by General Charles King; Wannaseska, by W. W. Shipp; Oklahoma City Guide Book and Directory.
Donor: Judge Redmond S. Cole, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

12 pictures including, First P. O. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Territory April 22, 1889; Initial boom, Oil City, Penn. taken from famous collection of Mather at Col. Drake Memorial Museum, Titisville, Pa. 1859; Nob-Hill Ranch and Fort Smith Lake near Mountainburg, Ark., Home of Captain Bonneville's widow, Ft. Smith, Ark. (it is now a girls club); Hotel Trulock, built about 1875, Steamboat days, Pine Bluff Ark.; Old Jail House Kiowa Indian Agency, Anadarko, Okla., two other scenes at same

agency as they watch storm approaching; Wheat harvesting in 1938 near Yukon, Okla.; Farmer-Stockman Winter Pilgrimage 1938 to Mexico City.

Donors: Mr. and Mrs. John B. Fink.

Brochure: Showing the most modern equipment in the Aviation Industry Products Engineering Corporation, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Book: Guide to the Manuscripts of the Kentucky Historical Society by G. Glen Clift. Laws of the Choctaw Nation, 1869.

Donor: C. G. Adkins, Nicoma Park, Okla.

Year Books and Reports: Year Book of the Society of Indiana Pioneers 1956. Annual Report U. S. Steel Corporation—Donor: U. S. Steel Corporation Federal Reserve Bank, Annual Report 1956—Donor: Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City; Vermont Historic Sites Commission 1955-1956—Donor: State of Vermont; The U. S. National Museum, Annual Report 1956, Donor: Director U. S. National Museum; The Conservation of Natural Resources 1956, Donor: Secretary U. S. Dept. Interior, The Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union 1956—Donor: Directors of the Association; Bureau of Am. Ethnology Seventy-third Report, 1955-1956—Donor: Smithsonian Institution, A Statistical Record, Railroad Transportation 1921-1955—Donor: American Association of Railroads; Tulsa Chamber of Commerce, Annual Rept. 1956—Donor: Tulsa Oklahoma; Annual Report to the Governor 1956—Donor: Oklahoma Employment Security Commission; This is DuPont—Story of Science in Industry, 1956—Donor: Director, Public Relations Dept., DuPont Company, Delaware; Overland to the Pacific, California Committee, 1957-58, Donor: Overland Mail Centennials; Constraint and Variety in American Education—Donor: University of Nebraska.

Shirley Trading Company of Wichita Indian Agency dated about 1859 to 1863, owned by Dr. John Shirley, original ledger of the Shirley Trading Company, a very historical document. Dr. Shirley died in 1875 and the document became the property of his son, Lawrence Shirley, who died in 1931. After the death of Lawrence Shirley, his grandson Oscar J. Shirley came into possession of the document. On the 28th day of March 1957, it was presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society through the courtesy of Judge C. Ross Hume, Mr. Bert Heisler and Senator Don Baldwin of Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Oklahoma City has added 56 additional historical items, consisting of books, pamphlets, pictures and year books.

GIFTS TO MUSEUM:

Flag with 45 stars, Donor: E. C. Sperry, 417 N. E. Park, Oklahoma City

Rice Beads, Donor: Mrs. Emma Johnson Goulette, 1232 N. Fremont, Tuscon, Arizona.

Wyandot Motar and Pestle, Donor: Mrs. Velma Neiberling, Miami, Okla.

Shot gun, used by first game warden, Donor: J. Floyd Asken, 942 N. E. 17th Street, Oklahoma City.

Pictures Received:

Framed pictures of F. M. Paine Conference Superintendent of Indian Mission and his wife.

Home of Chief Moses Keokuk's Home copied from an oil painting.

Wagon factory built by Mathia Splitlog, copied from original.

Two pictures and negative of Mrs. E. W. Marland Donor: Ponca City News.

Rev. Edwin R. Shapard

J. Fentress Wisdom.

Wm. Penn Adair.

Josh Ross and Friss Hays

Donor: Carolyn T. Foreman, 1419 West Okmulgee Avenue, Muskogee, Okla.

John D. Benedict
Billy Bowlegs in 1858
Billy Bowlegs in 1861
James K. Hastings
Donor: Editorial Room.
Enlarged picture 20 x 40 of Quanah Parker and To Nicey.
Donor: Sgt. Bullen, Tinker Field.
Photograph of Mrs Anna B. Korn—Donor: Mrs. Anna B. Korn
Photograph of Judge Baxter Taylor for Directors Room. Donor: Judge Baxter Taylor.
Other Items:
Sod Planter—Donor: E. B. Smith, Rt. 2, Tecumseh, Okla.
Car tag, 1913—Donor: Ber Strough, 116 N. E. 7th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.

GIFTS TO INDIAN ARCHIVES:

6 cartons of records, letters, etc.
Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman.

PERSONAL DATA FOR PRESERVATION
In The
RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY

THE APPLICANT WILL PLEASE FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING

Full name (including middle name or names, spelled out)

....

Scholastic degrees, if any:...

Religious, Fraternal and Club affiliations:.......................................

....

....

....

Military service:...

....

....

Present business, occupation, profession or official position:—

....

....

Native state:...

Date of settlement and place of location in Oklahoma:.................

....

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Date.. 19........

To the Oklahoma Historical Society:

In accordance with an invitation received, hereby request that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society elect me to Annual, Life, membership in the Society. In order to expedite the transaction, I herewith send the required fee $......................................

(Signed) ....

P. O. Address.. ....

....

....

The historical quarterly magazine is sent free to all members.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP due (no entrance fee), three dollars in advance.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP fee (free from all dues thereafter), $50.00. Annual members may become life members at any time upon the payment of the fee of fifty dollars. This form of membership is recommended to those who are about to join the Society. It is more economical in the long run and it obviates all trouble incident to the paying of annual dues.

All checks or drafts for membership fees or dues should be made payable to the order of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Nominated by

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT
EDITOR
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THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Many seals were combined in making the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma. Its story told here in *The Chronicles* in this Semi-centennial year of Statehood, 1957, covers one hundred years of Oklahoma history.

The Constitution of this State adopted by a vote of the people of Oklahoma and Indian territories on September 17, 1907, Article VI, Executive Department, provides:[1]

SEAL OF THE STATE

Sec. 35. In the center shall be a five-pointed star, with one ray directed upward. The center of the star shall contain the central device of the seal of the Territory of Oklahoma, including the words, "Labor Omnia Vincit". The upper left hand ray shall contain the symbol of the ancient seal of the Cherokee Nation, namely: A seven-pointed star partially surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves. The ray directed upward shall contain the symbol of the ancient seal of the Chickasaw Nation, namely: An Indian warrior standing upright with bow and shield. The lower lefthand ray shall contain the symbol of the ancient seal of the Creek Nation, namely a sheaf of wheat and a plow. The upper right hand ray shall contain the symbol of the ancient seal of the Choctaw Nation, namely: A tomahawk, bow, and three crossed arrows. The right hand ray shall contain the symbol of the ancient seal of the Seminole Nation, namely: A village with houses and a factory beside a lake upon which an Indian is paddling a canoe. Surrounding the central star and grouped between its rays, shall be forty-five small stars, divided into five clusters of nine stars each, representing the forty-five states of the Union, to which the forty-sixth is now added. In a circular band surrounding the whole device shall be inscribed: "GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA, 1907."

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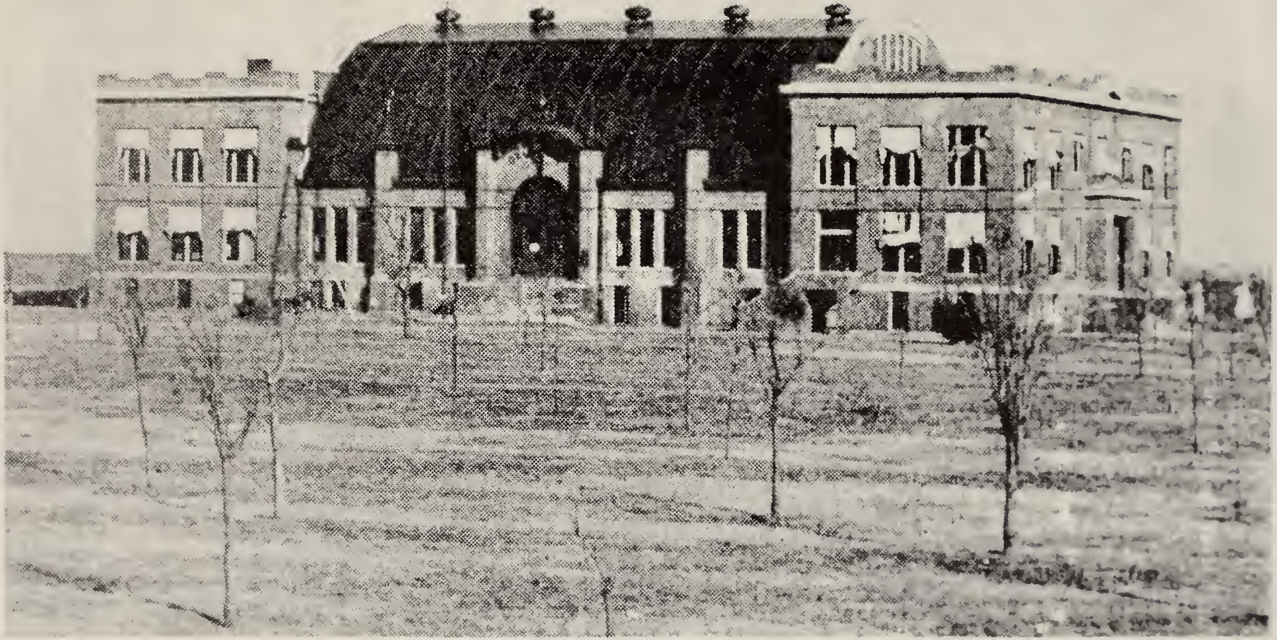
[1] The first draft of the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma was made by Japp E. Peddicord, a reporter for *The Daily Oklahoman*, the original pencil sketch of which is on exhibit in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

During the fifty years since statehood, there have been many reproductions of the Great Seal of the State made for illustrative purposes, most of these showing errors in the designs from the different seals that make up the Oklahoma Seal, simply because the draughtsmen or artists failed to check the originals and the laws creating them. For instance; the Indian Warrior taken from the Chickasaw Indian seal, standing in the upper ray, has been shown with the shield in his left hand; the design from the Choctaw Indian seal has sometimes been shown with four arrows instead of three across the pipe, in the upper right hand ray. The reproduction on the front cover of this number of *The Chronicles* is one time, if not the first time, that the different seals are shown in detail correctly, actual photographs of the original drafts or paintings of each of the seals as described by law, having been made and incorporated in this reproduction.



First Oklahoma State Capitol where the First State Legislature convened on December 2, 1907, at Guthrie, Oklahoma. Completed in 1907, this building was the Guthrie Convention Hall, now a part of the Masonic Temple at Guthrie.

The Grand Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma was provided by the Territorial Legislative Assembly in its second session that convened at Guthrie in January, 1893, by an Act effective March 10, 1893, quoted here:[2]

> (5991) Sec. 1. The permanent official Grand Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma shall be as follows: Under the motto "Labor Omnia Vincit" shall be Columbia as the central figure representing Justice and Statehood. On her right is the American pioneer farmer; on her left is the aboriginal American Indian. These two representatives of the white and red races are shaking hands beneath the scales of Justice, symbolizing equal justice between the white and red races of Oklahoma, and the Federal Government. Beneath the trio group is the cornucopia of plenty and the olive branch of peace, and behind is the sun of progress and civilization—farmer plowing, rural home, railroad train, compress, mills, elevator, manufacturies, churches, schools, capitol and city. The two scenes are symbolic of the peaceful conquests of the Anglo-Saxon and the decadence of the red race. Under all shall be the words, "Grand Seal Territory of Oklahoma."

The design for the Great Seal of the State was suggested by the one that had been designed as an official seal for the proposed State of Sequoyah to be formed of the Indian Territory, the eastern part of what is now Oklahoma. Although the proposed state never materialized, the steps taken for its organization were an event in the history of Oklahoma's formation.[3] Delegates to a convention called to frame a constitution for the proposed state convened at Muskogee in July, 1905. This is known as the Sequoyah Convention because the new state was to be named Sequoyah, honoring the famous Cherokee, Sequoyah, who invented the Cherokee alphabet used in writing the native language by 1822.

During the session of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention at Muskogee, in 1905, the Reverend A. Grant Evans, who was then President of Henry Kendall College, was asked to suggest a design for a seal for the proposed State of Sequoyah. He designed and had drawn a five-pointed star, in the angles of which were placed the official seals of the governments of the Five Civilized Tribes, then known as the

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[2] A brief history of this Act is given in "Grand Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (Summer, 1957). pp. 126, the front cover of which shows a reproduction of the Territorial Seal in colors.

[3] Amos Maxwell, "The Sequoyah Convention," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 2 (Summer, 1950) and 3 (Autumn, 1950).

Indian nations in the Indian Territory—Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and Seminole.[4] Above the star in Dr. Evans' design and between the upper points was a half-length figure of Sequoyah, holding a tablet upon which were the words, "We are Brothers," in the Cherokee letters. In the other spaces between the points of the star were placed forty-five small stars, emblematic of the constellation to which a forty-sixth star was to be added.

Early in the session of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention meeting at Guthrie from November 20, 1906 to April 19, 1907, members of the Committee named to design a great seal for the new state included Gabe E. Parker, a Choctaw Indian, graduate of Spencer Academy (an old Choctaw school for boys, established in 1841) and of Henry Kendall College.[5] Mr. Parker wrote to Doctor Evans for suggestions. Dr. Evans replied calling attention to the design that had been made for the proposed State of Sequoyah and suggesting that the design might be appropriate in adopting a seal for the new state. His suggestion was followed in designing a great seal that combined that of the proposed state of Sequoyah with the Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma. The position of the large central star was changed so that one point stood vertically upward instead of one pointing vertically downward as it was in the Sequoyah Seal. The five seals of the Indian nations were placed in the angles of the large star as before, with the Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma in the center. This design admitted symmetrical arrangement of the forty-five stars representing the Union, in five groups in the spaces between the points, with nine stars in each group.[6] In the surrounding circle were placed the words, "Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma," and the date of Statehood, "1907."

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[4] The official seals of all the Five Civilized Tribes have appeared on the front cover of *The Chronicles* in colors, beginning with the Winter (1955-56) number—Choctaw Seal (Vol. XXXIII, No. 4) through Winter (1956-57)—Chickasaw Seal (Vol. XXXIV, No. 4). For a history and description of the seals of the Indian nations see, Muriel H. Wright, "Official Seals of the Five Civilized Tribes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (December, 1940).

[5] References that give an account of the creation of the Great Seal of Oklahoma and other events since statehood include: Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, (New York, 1929), 4 volumes; E. E. Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1948); Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1952); Edwin McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, 1954); Muriel H. Wright, *The Oklahoma History* (Guthrie, 1955); Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1957), at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood, 4 volumes.

Oklahoma was admitted to the Union as the Forty-sixth State on November 16, 1907. On the morning of that day, President Theodore Roosevelt at the White House in Washington, D.C., was handed an eagle quill pen, and signed his name with heavy strokes to the Proclamation that declared Oklahoma a State. During the half century since that time, its official papers have borne the impress of the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma.

—*The Editor*

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[6] The Great Seal of Oklahoma reproduced on the front cover of this number of *The Chronicles* is shown in colors selected in the Editorial Department. These colors follow those given in the reproduction of the Oklahoma Seal in "Seals of Our Nation, States and Territories," *The National Geographic* Magazine, Vol. XC, No. 1 (July, 1946), the colors red and blue used there having been suggested by the Editor of *The Chronicles* (MHW) upon request of *The National Geographic*. The Oklahoma Legislature has never adopted special colors by law, to use in reproducing the Great Seal of the State for illustrative purposes. The red and blue used in a painting of the Great Seal made for public school activities at Dustin, Oklahoma, 1943, by the Editor, were suggested to *The National Geographic* in 1946.

"THE WEDDING OF OKLAHOMA AND MISS INDIAN TERRITORY"

By *Muriel H. Wright*

One of the highlights at the inauguration of the first Governor of the State of Oklahoma at Guthrie, on November 16, 1907, was the pageantry showing the marriage of Mr. Oklahoma and Miss Indian Territory. Guthrie and Oklahoma City newspapers gave wide space to this part of the inauguration ceremonies, *The Oklahoma City Times-Journal* for November 17, reporting under the headline, "Oklahoma Gem of the Prairies, the 46th State in the Union."

The part of Miss Indian Territory, the bride in the memorable wedding ceremony, was taken by Mrs. Leo Bennett of Muskogee, a beautiful young woman of Cherokee descent, with dark hair and eyes. She wore for this occasion a lavendar satin dress made in the latest fashion of the time, floor length princess style with long sleeves and high collar;[1] and a large picture hat and gloves, carrying one large, mauve colored chrysanthemum.

The part of Mr. Oklahoma, the bridegroom, was taken by Mr. C. G. Jones of Oklahoma City, a well known leader and business man in the history of the city. He was tall, fair haired, and—noted for his punctilious appearance—wore for

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[1] The description of Mrs. Leo Bennett's dress and her accessories worn by her when she played the part of Miss Indian Territory in the memorable wedding scene shown during the State's first inauguration ceremonies on November 16, 1907, was given the writer in a personal interview by the late William A. Durant who "gave the bride away." Mr. Durant also gave details and descriptions of costumes worn by others on this memorable occasion. One of the repeated requests that has come to the writer in the field of Oklahoma history has been from schools and other organizations for data on costumes worn in the pageantry of the "Wedding of Mr. Oklahoma and Miss Indian Territory" given on November 16, 1907, during the inauguration ceremonies at Guthrie. The data gathered in research on this subject have provided notes for the writing of this article in *The Chronicles*. Most pageants and scenes given by schools and organizations, presenting the marriage of Miss Indian Territory in recent years have not given the costuming worn in that memorable event in 1907. Directors and writers of present day pageantry generally have Miss Indian Territory shown as an Indian girl wearing her hair in two braids, a feather headdress and a buckskin, beaded dress and moccasins; Mr. Oklahoma always in a cowboy outfit, not in keeping with fact.

CHARLES N. HASKELL
First Governor of the State of Oklahoma

C. G. Jones who played the part of Mr. Oklahoma in the pageantry of the "Wedding of Mr. Oklahoma and Miss Indian Territory," given at the inauguration of the First Governor of Oklahoma, Guthrie, November 16, 1906.

the wedding ceremony the best in striped trousers and black coat suitable for such an occasion.

The bride was given in marriage by the Honorable William A. Durant, who had served as Sergeant-at-Arms during the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, 1906-1907, at Guthrie, the Capital of Oklahoma Territory. Mr. Durant was a prominent young Choctaw Indian who afterward became well known as a member of State Legislature and Speaker of the House of Representatives. In his last years, he served as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The wedding ceremony of Miss Indian Territory and Mr. Oklahoma was performed by the Reverend W. H. Dodson, of the First Baptist Church at Guthrie. The scene was opened with the introduction of Mr. C. G. Jones, by Judge Frank Dale, former Chief Justice of the Oklahoma Territorial Supreme Court and, in 1907, well known practicing attorney at Guthrie, in partnership with Judge A.G.C. Bierer, former Associate Justice of the Territorial Supreme Court.

The leading Territorial newspaper, *The Oklahoma State Capital,* for November 17, 1907, pointed up the wedding pageantry, reporting the order of the inauguration ceremonies that had taken place in front of the Carnegie Library at Guthrie. First had come a big parade down the street: sixteen carriages with officials of Oklahoma Territory and others, one open carriage with the chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes, these Indian Territory leaders fine looking in white collar, dark tie and citizen clothes; there was a marching band resplendant in their band regalia, and a large crowd of white people and Indians walking—some of the Indians in feathered headress and blanket, with the women carrying baby cradle boards bright with decoration and bead work; there was a company of mounted police and another of Muskogee lighthorse troops. The parade ended at the steps of the Library where an immense crowd had gathered.

At ten o'clock on Saturday morning, November 16th, Honorable Charles N. Haskell, a citizen of Muskogee, Indian Territory, and the Governor-elect for the new State, was escorted to the platform on the steps of the Library Building, the bright sunlight dazzling his eyes as he bowed right and left to the cheering crowd. Charles Filson, Secretary of the Territory of Oklahoma, stepped to the front of the platform and read the Presidential Proclamation declaring Oklahoma a State.

Judge Frank Dale then came forward to introduce Mr. C. G. Jones, stating that Mr. Jones would propose marriage of Oklahoma to Miss Indian Territory. Mr. Jones stepped to the front of the platform, bowing right and left to the cheering crowd, to deliver his proposal, in which he said in part:

> I have been asked to perform the agreeable duty of proposing marriage to Miss Indian Territory. Permit me to say that nothing gives me more pleasure, as the President advises us of his Proclamation and that the marriage will be strictly legal, without regard to age, condition, or previous servitude. The bridegroom is only 18 years old, but is capable of assuming all the matrimonial responsibilities of a stalwart youth. Though he was born in tribulation, in the City of Washington in 1889, his life of 18 years on the plains has been one of tremendous activity and he has grown to the size of a giant . . . On account of his youth and inexperience, he is possessed of an unconquerable modesty and has asked me to propose marriage to the Indian Territory . . . By authority in me by the high contracting parties and in obedience to their request, I now call upon Rev. W. H. Dodson, of the First Baptist Church of Guthrie to perform the ceremony.

Mr. William A. Durant, wearing a dark business suit, stepped from the midst of the officials present on the platform, and replied in part:

> To you, Mr. Jones, as the representative of Mr. Oklahoma, I present the hand and fortune of Miss Indian Territory, convinced by his 18 years of wooing that his love is genuine, his suit sincere and his purposes honorable . . . Despite the unhappy circumstances of her youth. which have cast a shadow of sorrow over a face by nature only intended to give back only warm smiles of God's pure sunshine, this beauteous maiden comes to him as the last descendant of the proudest race that ever trod foot on American soil . . . Although on orphan, Miss Indian Territory brings her spouse a dower that, in fertile fields, productive mines and sterling and upright citizenship, equals the fortune of her wooer. Mr. Oklahoma into whose identity Indian Territory is about to be merged forever, must be entrusted to care for this princely estate. We resign it to you in confident hope that it will be cared for, developed and conserved to the unending glory of our new state and the untold benefit of her people.

The music of the traditional Wedding March was played as the bridal party came out on the platform, the identity of the bride having been kept secret until then. The crowd "gallantly shouted" as the lovely Indian bride[2] reached the front of the platform where she smiled and bowed right and left occasionally shading her eyes from the sunlight with the chrysanthemum in her hand.[3] The bridegroom took his place. Mr. Durant gave the bride away, the Reverend Dodson performing the marriage ceremony which was closed by his "fervent prayer."

Judge Frank Dale again came forward and raised his hand as Charles N. Haskell and Leslie Niblack stepped out from the crowd of officials on the platform. Mr. Niblack specially commissioned Notary Public administered the oath of office, one hand raised and the other holding the Bible. Governor Haskell signed the official papers. A group of Cherokee girls standing near the platform sang the "Star Spangled Banner, and were cheered lustily. The governor then followed with his inaugural address, followed by loud applause. Greetings from cities in the new state were presented him with a huge bouquet of chrysanthemums. Mr. C. H. Pittman, in behalf of the women of Enid, immediately presented another large cluster of these flowers in the name of Mrs. R. W. Johnson, saying "I give the 20th Century flower to the 20th Century Governor of a 20th Century State. "Yells of approval arose from the throng of onlookers as Mr. Pittman added an explanation that the chrysanthemum was to be the official flower of the new State.

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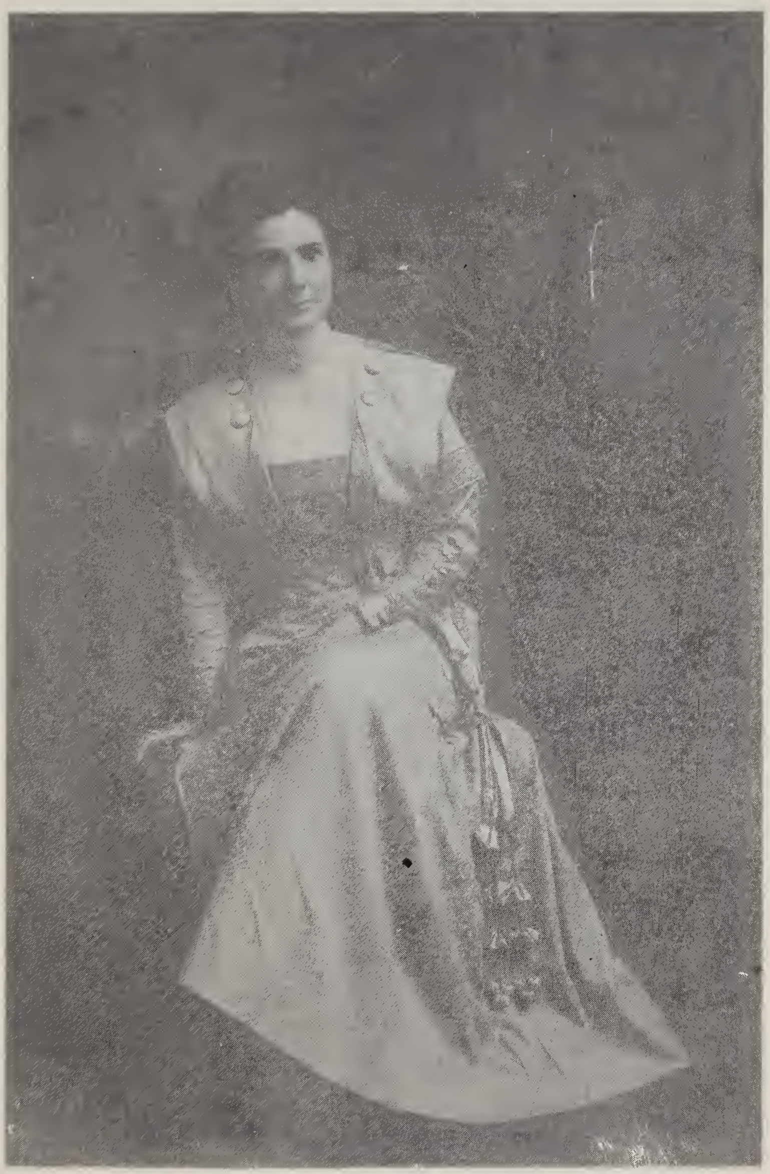
[2] In 1907, the people of the Indian Territory were sensitive to the idea that they were uncultured, living in a backwoods region. They felt that they were to "the manor born," with a long background in civilized ways with educational advantages and good living. Therefore, the bride, Miss Indian Territory, was the modern, beautiful Indian princess wearing a lovely dress made in the heighth of fashion of the time. It may be added that Mrs. Leo Bennett very likely had her satin gown, worn at the Oklahoma inauguration in 1907, made in either Louisville, Kentucky, or some other city where the leading dressmakers were patronized by some of the beautifully dressed women of the Indian Territory.

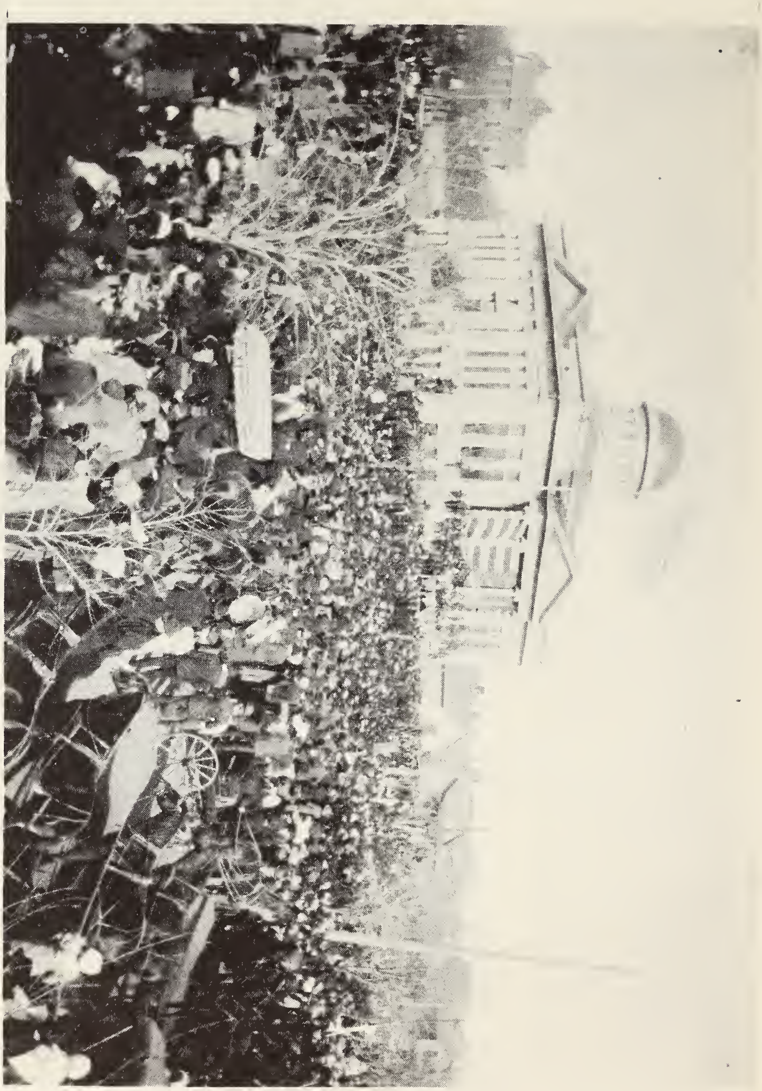
The photograph of Mrs. Leo Bennett shown on another page of this article was loaned by her daughter, Mrs. Ann B. Medlock of Grand Prairie, Texas, through Miss Eula Fullerton, of the Oklahoma State Health Department, a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, who is known for her interest and writing on Oklahoma history. Mrs. Bennett is shown in this photograph, in the dress that she wore when she took the part of Miss Indian Territory on November 16, 1907. This photograph was received in the Editorial Department recently, and has been a satisfaction to the writer, in that the dress shown fits the description given by Chief Durant over fifteen years ago.

[3] *The Oklahoma State Capital*, Sunday, November 17, 1907, p. 2, cols. 3 and 4.

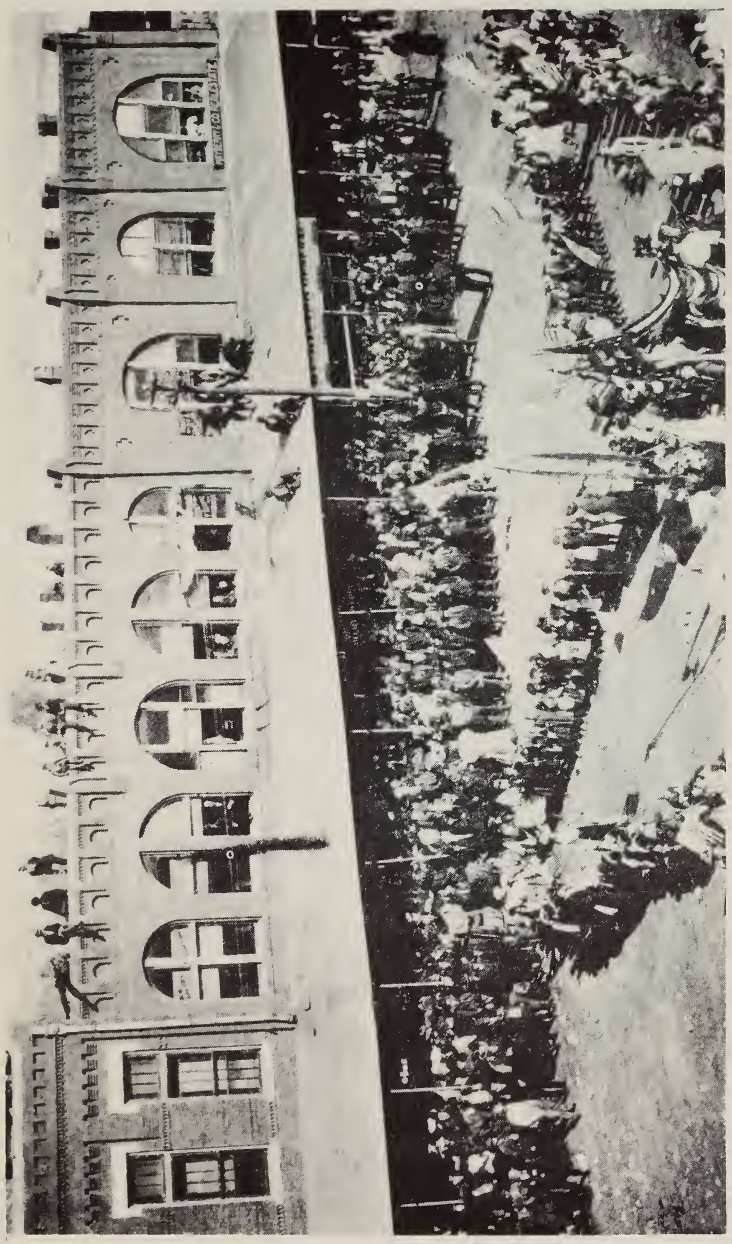


(Courtesy of Mrs. Ann Medlock)

Mrs. Leo Bennett, Miss Indian Territory, in the dress she wore in the "Wedding of Oklahoma and Miss Indian Territory".

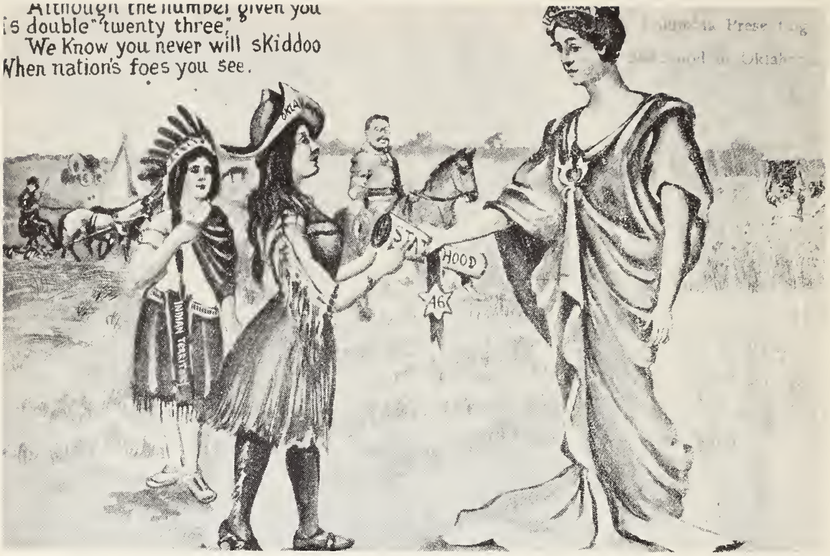


Inauguration of Governor Haskell, Guthrie 1907



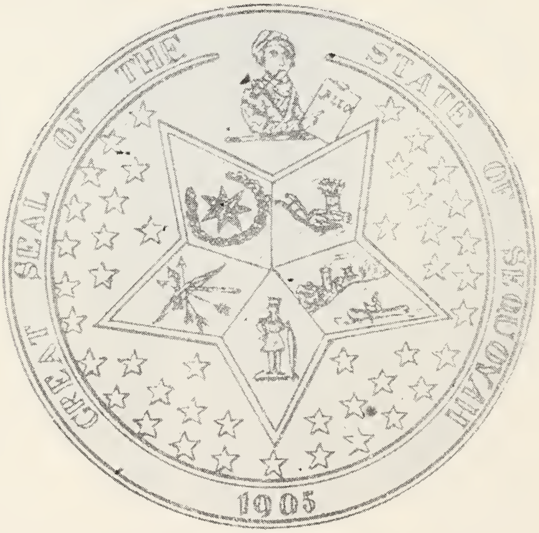
(George H. Shirk, Philatelic Collection)

Picture post card of street parade at Purcell, forming star commemorating Oklahoma's admission as the 46th State.


Although the number given you
Is double "twenty three,"
We Know you never will sKiddoo
When nation's foes you see.
OKLA
INDIAN TERRITORY
STATEHOOD
46

(George H. Shirk, Philatelic Collection)

On the lighter side of history, picture post card in 1907, commemorating Oklahoma's admission as the 46th state.


GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF SEQUOYAH
1905

Original design of the Great Seal for the proposed State of Sequoyah, 1905, by Dr. A. Grant Evans.

SENATOR THOMAS P. GORE

By Monroe Billington[*]

When Oklahoma became a state in 1907, totally blind Thomas P. Gore and part Cherokee Indian Robert L. Owen went to the United States Senate to represent the former Indian lands. Drawing the short term, Gore was re-elected in 1908 and again in 1914. He was defeated for a fourth term in the Democratic primary six years later. The voters of Oklahoma returned him to the Senate for a final term after he had been out of office for a decade. This is a study of an ardent, youthful, Populist politician who became an ultra-conservative, anti-New Deal, old man.

A native of Mississippi, Gore had been active in politics before he was a legal voter. He made his first public speech at a Farmers Alliance gathering before he was eighteen years old[1] and three years later was nominated for the Mississippi State Legislature by the state Alliance. Gore was forced to withdraw when it was realized the election was to take place a month before his twenty-first birthday. With the national Populist movement engulfing the various splinter parties which had sprung up among the politically dissatisfied southern farmers Gore readily joined the movement and was nominated as a presidential elector by the State Populist convention in 1892. He traveled to Corsicana, Texas, two years later to aid the election of Populist candidates by his oratory. He moved there in 1896 to practice law (he had been graduated previously from the Cumberland University law school) and to engage in the political battles being waged between the Democrats and the Populists.

The Populist Party declined sharply after William Jennings Bryan's defeat in the presidential campaign of 1896,

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[1] Thomas P. Gore to Dawes Gore, May 29, 1947, in Thomas P. Gore Papers (Manuscripts Division, University of Oklahoma Library.)

Senator Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma

and Gore, opportunist enough to appreciate the decay of the Populist movement, joined the Democratic party three years later. As a rampant Populist orator, Gore had been openly hostile to the Democrats. After changing his allegiance, he knew that his political fortunes had a brighter future elsewhere than in Navarro County, Texas. With his wife, Gore joined those pioneers who were creating a state out of the Indian lands north of the Red River. Settling at Lawton in Comanche County, Oklahoma Territory, in 1901, Gore established a law office and immediately joined the action on the political stage.

Representing the Lawton area, he traveled to Enid in the spring of 1902, to attend the Democratic Territorial Convention. He spoke to the Oklahoma Democracy for the first time when he responded in behalf of the delegates to the speech of welcome. This speech tickled the ears of the delegates: "I would rather be a humble private in the ranks of those who struggle for justice and equality than to be a minion of plutocracy, though adorned with purple and gold." Many said it was the finest piece of oratory they had ever heard.[2] Gore became the Democratic nominee for the Territorial Council from the district composed of Caddo and Comanche counties. He was confident of his own election, and spent most of his time traveling over the Territory campaigning for William Cross the party's nominee for delegate to Congress. The speeches and connections Gore made that summer were of significant import in his campaign for the United States Senate five years later.

Gore's contributions to territorial legislation during his term of office were meager; the importance of the session for him was that he kept himself in the public eye. He publicly admitted that he desired a United States Senate post when Oklahoma became a State, causing the Oklahoma City *Daily Oklahoman* to effuse, "When Gore becomes a senator for Oklahoma the land of the fair god may well rejoice in having one man the equal of the representatives from any state in the union."[3] Active in the statehood movement and giving "sound advice"[4] to the constitution-framers, Gore continued to keep himself before the public. Along with Owen, he was nominated in the Democratic primary of 1907, and the first Oklahoma State Legislature made the election of the two Democrats official.

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[2] Unidentified newspaper clipping, in Fred S. Barde Papers (Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City).

[3] May 8, 1903.

Quickly stamped as a Progressive Democrat, Gore spent much time during his early years in the Senate opposing Republican - sponsored legislation. The administration's answer to the panic of 1907, the Aldrich-Vreeland Emergency Currency act, the new Senator considered wrong in principle, and he believed it would prove unwise in policy. A makeshift measure, the bill was coaxed through Congress only after the failure of the famous La Follette-led filibuster. During the filibuster, Progressive Republican Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin held the floor continuously for over eighteen hours. William J. Stone of Missouri at last came to the aid of La Follette, and Stone was relieved by Gore as the blind man took up the cudgels for the obstructionists.

Before joining the marathon, Gore had laid careful plans with his cohort. He was to be relieved by Stone, after which La Follette was to resume. Stone had left the Senate Chamber for a rest during the Oklahoman's speech, and when he returned Gore was informed by friends that Stone was present and ready to speak. Gore concluded his speech within a few minutes, turned his sightless eyes toward Stone's seat, and sat down, expecting to hear the Missourian claim recognition. But Stone had stepped out of the Senate chamber after Gore's having been informed of his return. Unaware of Stone's departure, the blind obstructionist surrendered the floor when no collaborator was present to claim it.

Many suspected that Stone had been called out of the Senate in order to trick the blind man, but this was never proved. A popular rumor had it that Gore had been forced to sit down by an opponent behind him pulling at his coattails, but Gore later discounted this version of the incident.[5]

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[4] William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma* (Boston, 1945), Vol. I, p. 76.

[5] Gore to Franklin L. Burdette, August 18, 1939, in Gore Papers; Franklin L. Burdette, *Filibustering in the Senate* (Princeton, 1940), p. 90.

The proponents of the bill capitalized on the situation, demanded a roll call, and the bill was passed. It was a costly mistake on the part of the blind obstructionist.

During the debates on the currency measure, Gore praised La Follette with these words: "I trust that he will regard it as not otherwise than a compliment when I say that, in my opinion, he is the best Democrat and the poorest Republican in the Senate and in the United States."[6] This was the first time Gore had praised La Follette publicly, but it was not the last time they were to stand side by side on important issues. The "Fighting Progressive" had the blind progressive Democrat's support many times during the next decade.

The fight in the Senate over the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act was primarily a struggle between the middle western Republican progressives and the eastern protectionist Republican regulars, the controversy seeing the Democratic minority for the most part cheering from the sidelines. But some of the Democrats could not refrain from entering into the heated debates on the subject, and Gore fell into this group. Never one to leave the scene of a word-battle he joined the progressives with vigor.

Representing farmers who complained about transportation abuses, Gore assisted the Progressive Republicans in their drive for railroad regulation. During the debates on the Mann-Elkins Act, he consistently voted with the Middle Western states' representatives in their opposition to the abuses which the railroads imposed on the farmers of the prairie plains. In the Progressive tradition, Gore was an early advocate of direct election of Senators.

Although William F. McCombs, William G. McAdoo, and Walter Hines Page led the drive in the summer and early fall of 1911 to make Woodrow Wilson President, Senator Gore publicly expressed his accord with the movement a year before the Democratic nominating convention. He observed of Wilson: "In respect to legislative policies, he is abreast of the times. He is in harmony with the spirit of enlightened and rational progress, and yet he is wise enough to know that 'too swift arrives as tardy as too slow'."[7] Later admitting that he joined the Wilson ranks because he thought it was a shrewd political calculation,[8] Gore was the first important political figure holding a national office to advocate Wilson's nomination.

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[6] *Congressional Record,* 60 Congress, 1 Sess., pp. 3566-67.

As a close friend of McCombs, the general manager of the Wilson campaign, Gore gave valuable preconvention advice. When the Democratic National Committee selected a city for the nominating convention, McCombs, following Gore's suggestion, named Baltimore as the site. Gore and McCombs favored Baltimore over New York City because they did not want Wilson's candidacy to have the appearance of being Tammany-dominated.[9] When Bryon R. Newton, publicity agent for preconvention activities, clashed with McCombs, he was discharged, and McCombs accepted Gore's suggestion for a replacement.[10] As the preconvention struggle intensified, the sickly McCombs leaned more heavily on Gore. "It was to him, more than any other person," McCombs recalled, "that I turned in the most difficult moments."[11]

Gore publicly defended Wilson against the verbal attacks of political opponents. During the Harvey-Wilson episode, Gore piously intimated that Wilson was refusing George Harvey's support in order not to be obligated to him, remarking that the Governor's critics should be willing to tell the public frankly whether their candidates would accept a financial obligation similar to the one the governor declined. "I would rather see Governor Wilson defeated and his heart an open book, 'that all who run may read'," he declared, "than to see him triumphant with a skeleton in his political closet which had been concealed from the eyes of a confiding people."[12]

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[7] Gore to Henry S. Breckenridge, May 25, 1911, quoted in *The Weekly Chieftain*, (Vinita) June 2, 1911.

[8] Gore in conversation with A. S. Link, August 15, 1942. Link, "The South and Democratic Campaign of 1912" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1945), p. 71.

[9] Maurice F. Lyons, *William F. McCombs: The President Maker* (Cincinnati, 1922), p. 41.

[10] William F. McCombs, *Making Woodrow Wilson President* (New York, 1921), p. 106.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

Gore also aided Wilson's cause by persuading Francis G. Newlands of Nevada, himself a possible presidential candidate, to declare his support of Wilson. Determined to carry the Midwest in the primaries, McCombs sent Gore, in March, on a speaking tour of Wisconsin. But Gore did more than speak. He helped organize an active publicity agency, and from Milwaukee he directed the organization of a campaign which reached to the smallest precinct in the state. Nor should Gore's work for Wilson in Oklahoma be overlooked. With several able lieutenants, including William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, Gore was able to get half of the Oklahoma delegation to the national convention pledged to the New Jersey governor.

At the Baltimore convention Gore worked diligently for Wilson. McAdoo recalled in his autobiography that Gore was "skillful and active" as one of the Wilson floor leaders and praised the Senator for his "great work."[13] McCombs' secretary, Maurice F. Lyons, called Gore "a power on the floor."[14] After the balloting was underway and it was apparent that the hundred-odd delegates pledged to Oscar W. Underwood held the balance of power between Wilson and Champ Clark of Missouri (the two leading contenders for the nomination), McCombs, Gore, and others held long conferences with the Underwood leaders promising that if Wilson should be put out of the race at any stage, they would use their influence to deliver the Wilson delegates to the Alabamian. With the Underwood men agreeing in return to remain loyal to their candidate, a solid anti-Clark block was formed, and Wilson ultimately probably won the nomination because of the deft and persuasive arguments of his backers.[15] *The New York Times* said, "Senator Gore was referred to by Governor Wilson just before the deciding ballot was cast at Baltimore as a field general so capable that it would be mere impertinence on his own part to intervene in the situation instead of trusting all to the Senator."[16]

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[12] Lyons, *McCombs*, p. 53.

[13] William G. McAdoo, *Crowded Years* (Boston, 1931), p. 152.

[14] Typed statement signed by Lyons, in Maurice F. Lyons Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

[15] Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton, 1947), p. 450.

After the convention the most perplexing business facing the Democrats was the reorganization of the Democratic National Committee. Josephus Daniels, A. Mitchell Palmer, A. S. Burleson, and Gore conferred several times, finally agreeing that McCombs and McAdoo should be recommended as chairman and vice-chairman respectively of the national committee. A strong executive committee, including Gore, was chosen to support McCombs and McAdoo.[17] Gore, impressing his fellow workers with his organizing genius during the preconvention campaign, was named chairman of the National Bureau of Organization. When the Senator took charge he found the party machinery in a state of "utter dilapidation," and it was October before the organization was under full sail.[18] Directing the campaign with extraordinary ability, he perfected the organization to such an extent that it was possible to reach the personnel of the smallest precincts. Distributing pamphlets giving detailed instructions to local workers on how to form Wilson and Marshall clubs, Gore urged the establishment of these groups throughout the country, supplying them liberally with campaign literature and buttons.[19] The organization bureau distributed 760, 000 packages of campaign material to an estimated 360,000 different individuals. Some 3,300,000 pieces of printed matter were sent directly from Gore's office and about 2,500,000 were sent from the general supply room by order of his bureau.[20]

When the general election gave Wilson an electoral college landslide, the Democratic leaders held conferences from November to March, their discussions centering around cabinet choices and the program for the next session of Congress. Gore conferred with Colonel Edward M. House in November, at which time the Oklahoma leader expressed his favorable opinion of Bryan as a possible cabinet member.[21] The following January the Senator talked with the President-elect on two occasions, at one of which he and Hoke Smith conferred with Wilson for three hours discussing cabinet posts and the program for the coming session of Congress.[22] There were rumors that Gore would be given a cabinet position, and it was generally believed in Oklahoma that the Senator could have one if he desired it.[23] But Gore did not care to leave his Senate post. He had attained the height of his ambition when he reached the Senate, and he had no desire to leave it at a time when his influence was obviously gaining momentum.

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[16] August 12, 1912.

[17] Of the committee of fourteen, Burleson evidently considered McCombs, McAdoo, Gore, Daniels, Joseph E. Davies, W. R. King, and William Saulsbury the most important members of the campaign committee. See memorandum in A. S. Burleson Papers (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress).

[18] Gore to John J. Raskob, December 15, 1928, in Gore Papers.

[19] Gore to "My Dear Democratic Friend" (mimeographed), October 3, 1912, in Joseph Daniels Papers (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress).

[20] W. D. Jamieson to T. P. Gregory, November 7, 1912, copy in Edward M. House Papers (Yale University Library), quoted in Link, op. cit., p. 482.

Gore lent his support to the New Freedom measures. The Underwood tariff bill and the act establishing the Federal Reserve System received his votes, the Clayton Antitrust Act and the bill providing for a Federal Trade Commission gained his support, and the various social-justice measures enacted during the Wilson regime, including woman suffrage, met with his approval. When an amendment to the Constitution proposing suffrage for women was voted down in 1914 the National Suffrage Association published its first blacklist, naming nine United States Senators and nine Representatives in Congress "whose opposition to woman suffrage is so powerful as to constitute the greatest obstacle to federal legislation that the women have to face."[24] Gore was included in this list; he had voted against woman suffrage.[25] But Gore learned his lesson, and thereafter he voted and spoke for the extension of the suffrage until it was accepted by the legislature.[26]

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[21] House to Wilson, November 28, 1912, quoted in Charles Seymour (ed.), *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (Boston, 1926), Vol. I, pp. 94-95.

[22] *The New York Times*, January 9, 1913.

[23] *The Post-Herald*, (Hollis) November 7, 1912; *The Weekly Star*, (Mangum) November 28, 1912. *The Arizona Gazette*, (Phoenix) December 9, 1912, suggested Gore for Secretary of Interior.

[24] *The New York Times*, August 30, 1914.

[25] *Congressional Record*, 63 Congress, 2 Sess., p. 5108.

When the Democrats organized the Senate in the spring of 1913, Gore was appointed to the position he desired above all others: chairmanship of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. In this position his major responsibility centered around the annual agricultural appropriation bills allocating money for the Department of Agriculture. Working behind the scenes on many other pieces of legislation, Gore was the Senate floor leader when agricultural appropriations were being considered.

The most significant legislation with which Gore dealt in his capacity related to rural credits. With agitation for rural credit reform increasing, Gore secured an amendment to the 1914 agricultural appropriation bill, making possible the creation of the United States Rural Credit Commission with power "to investigate and study in European countries cooperative land-mortgage banks, cooperative rural credit unions, and similar organizations and institutions devoting their attention to the promotion of agriculture and the betterment of rural conditions."[27] President Wilson appointed Gore as a member of his commission, but other duties hindered him from making the European tour.[28] From the data gathered in Europe,[29] Duncan U. Fletcher of Florida, chairman of the commission, framed and introduced a bill to establish a system of privately controlled land banks to operate under federal charter. A clause in the bill providing for government support was opposed by both Wilson and Secretary of Agriculture David F. Houston, and the agrarians were forced to halt temporarily their agitation for rural credits.

While guiding the 1916 agricultural appropriation bill through the Senate, Gore submitted Fletcher's original rural credit measure as an admendment, but it was never reported from committee. A second attempt was made to attach the bill as an amendment, and Gore had a conference with the President on the subject, but when House conferees insisted on drastically revising the amendment, Gore voiced objection, and the subject was laid aside for further study.

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[26] *Ibid.*, 65 Congress, 2 Sess., p. 10987; 65 Congress, 3 Sess., p. 3062; 66 Congress, 1 Sess., pp. 229, 232.

[27] 37 *U. S. Statutes*, p. 855.

[28] *Harlow's Weekly*, Vol. III (May 3, 1913), p. 12.

[29] See *Senate Documents*, 63 Congress, 1 Sess., No. 214, IV (Serial No. 6519), 2 parts.

At Gore's insistence a substitute for the amendment was included in the bill, creating a twelve-member congressional joint committee charged with the responsibility of preparing and reporting to Congress in January, 1916, a bill providing for the establishment of a system of rural credits adapted to American needs and conditions. After working for nearly a year, this committee introduced a bill in the Senate. Aware of the need for a system of long-term loans at low rates of interest with the amortization method of payments, Gore lent his support to this bill.[30] When the measure was signed into law by the President a number of interested guests were present, including the members of the United Rural Credits Commission.[31]

Gore's 1907 campaign platform contained a plank against militarism,[32] and the Senator manifested his pacificism during the critical period in the United States-Mexican relations prior to this country's entry into World War I. Introducing a resolution in the Senate to authorize the President to negotiate with Mexico for a neutral zone along the northern border of Mexico, Gore expressed his increasing pacifistic tendencies. This pacificism had been exemplified in a more concrete way with the outbreak of the World War in Europe. In the progressive tradition, Gore assumed that the war was mainly economic in causation, and he attacked the bankers, munition makers, and industrialists who profited financially from the war. He refused to support the President's defense program as he aligned himself with the antipreparedness group.

The problem of neutrality facing the United States received Gore's attention when the intensified German submarine campaign brought violations of the rights of American citizens traveling on belligerents' armed ships. After several incidents, a multitude of diplomatic notes, and general confusion owing to the administration's reversals and counter-reversals relating to the subject of travel on the high seas, a crisis was reached in the early spring of 1916. With the Congress (whose members generally favored restrictions on American travelers) and the President (who wanted to hold the Germans to "strict accountability" for loss of American lives by U-boat attack) in disagreement on the issue, it appeared to many that Wilson was deliberately trying to maneuver this country into war by going to almost any extreme to support the principle of American rights to travel on the high seas. The climax came when Wilson decided to fight his critics in Congress who, he felt, were trying to take from him the control of foreign affairs. [33] The Gore-McLemore resolutions, around which the controversy had raged, were decisively defeated in March, 1916, (although Gore amended his resolution beyond recognition) and the crisis was past.

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[30] Gore in address before the New York Credit Men's Association of New York City, January 25, 1916, *Senate Documents,* 64 Congress, 1 Sess., No. 386, XLII (Serial No. 6952), p. 7.

[31] Woodrow Wilson to Duncan U. Fletcher, May 23, 1916, Woodrow Wilson Papers (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress).

[32] *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine,* Vol. IV (March-April 1907), p. 16-p.

Gore had been in the thick of the fight since early January, 1916, when he introduced bills to prevent Americans from traveling on belligerent ships. These bills were not acted upon, and the situation seemed to indicate that the President was leading the country into war. Gore then introduced his resolution, which if accepted, would have expressed Congress's disapproval of United States citizens exercising the right to travel on armed ships.

Although not a pacifist in the sense that he opposed war under any circumstances,[34] Gore was consistent with most of the progressives in leaning toward isolationism. But Gore opposed involvement in the European war for another reason. By 1914, he had pledged himself to reducing government expenses to save the taxpayers' money, and he knew that a declaration of war would bring havoc to the United States treasury. Pacifist progressive tendencies, opposition to militarism, obsession with saving money, and a fear that the President desired war in the spring of 1916 forced the blind

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[33] Wilson to Edward A. Pou, February 29, 1916, Wilson Papers.

[34] Thomas P. Gore, "The True Basis for America's World Influence," *Annals of American Academy (of Political and Social Science)*, Vol. LXVI (July, 1916), p. 133.

Senator to advocate suspension of what he considered a trivial right in order to lessen America's chances of becoming a part of the European conflict.

In the spring of 1917 the situation in Europe was increasingly foreboding, and Wilson's antagonists filibustered to death a bill designed to give the Chief Executive the power to arm American ships. Gore was seriously ill during the filibuster,[35] but he surely would have joined it had he been present.[36] This sickness also prevented him from being present when the vote was taken on the war declaration, but he later announced that he opposed the declaration and would have voted against it had he been there.

Gore's voting record during the war was generally anti-administration. He voted for the war-risk insurance act for American military personnel, the civil rights act for soldiers, the preferential shipping bill, the so-called trading-with-the enemy act, and several similar bills, but these measures were negligible when placed beside the ones he opposed. Favoring a volunteer army, the Senator feared that the draft would make this country too militaristic. For similar reasons he voted against the bill providing for censorship of the press during wartime. Although supporting the espionage bill, Gore soon expressed regret for having done so, "because it has already been used or abused to throttle freedom of speech and freedom of the press." [37] As a result of Gore's stand on these measures, especially the draft, the Oklahoma press and electorate became aroused. Much popular disapproval was expressed against Gore's voting record. According to one survey of 225 Oklahoma newspapers, not a single editorial column openly supported the Senator.[38]

A member of the Senate Finance Committee, Gore helped prepare the war-revenue acts, and he voted for almost all of the major appropriation bills, but he negated the effect of his co-operation by opposing the government's policy for war-financing. He favored the pay-as-you-go plan, continually stressing that he did not want to lay a great debt on future generations. He believed that the government should tax rather than borrow money to finance the war. Wishing to tax companies reaping huge war profits, he declared, "I would like to demonetize war. I might almost say . . . . every dollar of war profits is dripping with blood and tears."[39] If the Senator had had his way, a high flat rate--he failed to mention a specific figure--would have been established rather than the graduated scale of taxation on war profits which the Senate ultimately accepted. Claiming to have originated the slogan "draft money as well as men," the Senator favored the various liberty and victory loan drives, although he was accused of opposing them. Before the Southern Commercial Congress in New York in October, 1917, Gore said, "It is as much a public duty to buy bonds as to pay taxes. The man with the pocketbook must stand back of the boy with the bayonet. It would be almost as great a disaster to lose this liberty loan drive as to lose a battle in France." [40]

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[35] *Congressional Record*, 64 Congress, 2 Sess., pp 863ff; 2749; Personal interview with J. Roy Thompson, Jr., November 16, 1954.

[36] In later years Gore strenuously objected to being classified as one of the "little group of willful men," and it is technically inaccurate to refer to him as one of them, but events in 1916 and 1917 warrant the conclusion drawn here.

[37] Gore to Alger Melton, August 23, 1917, in Wilburn G. Cartwright Papers (Manuscripts Division, University of Oklahoma Library).

[38] *The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) September 2, 1917.

Except for the food survey requested by the President, Gore generally did not agree with the President's recommendations concerning food legislation in wartime. He openly opposed the Lever food control bill because he concluded that it delegated unconstitutional powers to the executive. As a result of the opposition, Gore, as Agriculture Committee chairman, appointed a member of his committee and a friend of the measure to take control of the bill,[41] and then he led the opposition to it.

Gore did not like the broad powers over food production, distribution, and regulation delegated to the Chief Executive. The section of the bill requiring businesses to secure licenses to operate repelled Gore. "To require a free country to take out a license to transact business when he should be encouraged to transact business runs counter to my view of first principles as well as of sound public policy," he declared.[42] His opposition to the President on this issue caused many Oklahoma newspapers to suspect that Gore was in league with the food speculators. His opposition was so strong and his criticism so biting that he was charged with obstructing the war legislation by a fellow Senator. President Wilson agreed that Gore had used obstructionist tactics in his fight against the bill, and thanked George Chamberlain for making his remarks against Gore on the Senate floor.[43]

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[39] *Congressional Record*, 65 Congress, 1 Sess., p. 6849.

[40] A typed manuscript of this speech is in the Gore Papers.

[41] *Congressional Record*, 65 Congress, 1 Sess., p. 3772.

With the enactment of the Lever Food Control Act, President Wilson placed a minimum price on wheat and set the stage for another clash between the administration and the independent "Sooner" Senator. When it became apparent that the fixed price for wheat was not only the minimum but also the maximum figure, Gore went into action. Although he opposed price fixing in principle, Gore advocated a higher absolute figure since he had been assured by Food Administrator Herbert Hoover and Secretary of Agriculture Houston that the price was not the minimum but the absolute price.[44] In February, 1918, the Senator introduced a resolution providing that the minimum price for the 1918 wheat crop be raised from $2.00 to $2.50 per bushel. When this measure made no progress, he introduced an amendment to the agricultural appropriation bill proposing this increase.

Responsible for steering the appropriation bill through the Senate, Gore included his amendment and in March, 1918, the Senate made the wheat amendment a part of the appropriation bill. Senate and House conferees discussed this amendment until June, delaying the passage of all agricultural appropriations when at last Gore agreed to a reduction of ten cents per bushel. But the President was not disposed to accept the wheat amendment. "Nothing more distinctly against the public interest has been put into a bill in many a month," he had written when the Senate first accepted the amendment, "and I fail to see any need for it, from the point of view even of the farmer."[45] In a veto message which the House subsequently refused to override, the President dissented from the amendment on principle as well as expediency.[46] Coming from a state with a large portion of its area in the wheat belt, Gore tried but failed to assist his large farm constituency.

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 5272.

[43] Wilson to Chamberlain, August 8, 1917, quoted in Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters* (New York, 1939). Vol. VII, p. 209.

[44] *Congressional Record*, 65 Congress, 2 Sess., p. 8488.

He was more successful in securing benefits for his oil-interested constituency under the guise of war legislation. To the War Revenue Act of 1918 he secured the adoption of an amendment which inaugurated the discovery depletion allowance, the principle for exempting from the income tax all proceeds from oil which represented capital by providing for the return of capital based on the market value. Oil producers thus paid less taxes than when depletion had been based on cost.

When the Treaty of Versailles was before the Senate for ratification, Gore insisted that reservations be made in regard to the United States' entry into the League of Nations. Knowing that the treaty could not pass without reservations, Oklahoma's junior Senator had voted for many of them and during the voting in November, 1918, he cast his ballot for the treaty with reservations. He was one of four Democrats who refused to listen to the President's plea for the supporters of the League to vote against the treaty with the Lodge reservations.

Gore has generally been considered one of the "Irreconcilables" opposed to the treaty in any form, but it is more accurate to label him a Reservationist. The treaty advocates generally voted aganst the reservations while the Irreconcilables voted for them, with both groups joining to vote against the treaty in its final form. The Reservationists, although a large group not lending itself to accurate generalizations, were ordinarily in favor of the reservations and then voted for the treaty in its completed form. Gore fell within the bounds of this group and should definitely be classed with one of the several groups of Reservationists.

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[45] Wilson to Atlee Pomerene, March 25, 1918, in Wilson Papers.

[46] *House Documents,* 65 Congress., 2 Sess., No. 1229, CXIV (Serial No. 7444), p. 3.

Gore insisted that he favored a league of nations; but he did not like the League that Wilson advocated. He wanted a world organization "to regulate international law, set up a code of justice and establish a court of conciliation," but he did not want an arrangement requiring an army to enforce its decrees.[47] He claimed he did not want to see the treaty defeated, but he was realist enough to understand party politics, and he foresaw that if the treaty were accepted it would be with Reservations. Favoring the reservations which Henry Cabot Lodge advanced, Gore manifested his growing isolationism by expressing fears of entangling alliances and frequent wars.

Gore's defeat in 1920 resulted from his outspoken opposition to the administration's war policies, his stand on the League, and the fact that his political opponents laid careful plans for his defeat, taking advantage of the Oklahoma voters' aroused attitudes because of his clash with their popular President. During the decade of the twenties while he was out of the Senate, Gore crystallized his isolationist thinking; and he became economically more conservative. Practicing law in Washington, he fought and won the case of Burnet, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, *v.* Coronado Oil and Gas Company, dealing with petroleum recovery on tax-exempt state-owned school lands. [48] He argued this case twice before the United States Supreme Court, finally winning it in 1932. Gore's interest in the oil industry's welfare undoubtedly helped his growing conservatism, and the money he made as a result of this and other litigations did not hinder the trend.

Gore's re-election to the Senate in 1930 is attributable to several factors. The pacifism which he had manifested during the First World War and his isolationism apparent during the debates on the Treaty and the League were not so repugnant to Oklahoma voters after a decade dominated by similar sentiment. Not to be discounted was the fact that Gore tied his campaign securely to the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, "Alfalfa Bill" Murray. Appealing to the marginal farmers of Oklahoma by campaigning as the candidate with a hole in his pocket, Gore ousted the Republican incumbent.

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[47] *Harlow's Weekly*, Vol. XVII (December 3, 1919), pp. 1-2.
[48] 285 U. S. 393 (1932).

During the first two years of his last senatorial term, Gore criticized the Hoover administration's efforts to solve the problems created by the depression. The only positive suggestion offered by Gore for solving the depression dilemma while the Republicans were in office was his advocacy of the reviving of international trade. With protectionism triumphing during the Republican supremacy of the twenties, Gore was sure that the tariff barriers aided depression. He was convinced that these walls would have to be lowered for trade and prosperity to return. Thinking that all of the efforts of the administration were in vain, Gore was a stalwart advocate of *laissez-faire* in the midst of one of the world's worst economic crises.

The Senator campaigned for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, but he soon became an opponent of the New Deal because it was "going too far too fast." Voting for the banking holiday bill, he soon had misgivings about the unlimited plenary power granted under it. He did not vote on the bill establishing the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and he was unhappy with many of the activities of the "Triple A" program. He voiced opposition to the Government's regulating the choice and quantity of crops to be planted by the farmers. Scoffing at crop reduction as a way to decrease surpluses, he questioned the policy of "murdering" pigs under the program.[49]

The spectacular New Deal experiments to rehabilitate and regiment industry for recovery and reform, especially the National Industrial Recovery Act, received Gore's opposition. The virtually complete regulation of industry proposed under the N.I.R.A. Gore termed "as revolutionary as anything that happened in this country in 1776, or in France in 1789, or in Italy under Mussolini or in Russia under

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[49] Gore to Henry A. Wallace, September 14, 1933, in Gore Papers.

Stalin."[50] He expressed astonishment at the amount of authority to be invested in the head of the National Recovery Administration, and he vocally protested the section which he thought would destroy private property. He reasoned that the framers of the measure were confusing the police power with the power to regulate commerce. His primary constitutional objections were raised in regard to the issuing of licenses to carry on business, and his strongest opposition to the N.I.R.A. related to these government-issued permits.

On the contention that the N.I.R.A. was unconstitutional, Gore voted against its passage. When the Supreme Court vindicated his position by declaring unanimously that the act was unconstitutional,[51] Gore could hardly restrain himself. He wrote an open letter to the Oklahoma press in which he gave himself verbal pats on the back by reminding his readers that he had predicted this outcome, hinting that his stand by the Constitution in the face of popular disapproval should be remembered at election time. He also wrote a letter (which he never mailed) to Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes the day after the historic decision, praising the Court's action and recalling his defense of the Constitution during the debates on the bill.[52]

Along with Gore's constitutional and economic opposition to governmental control of industry went his philosophy regarding federal relief, a prominent aspect of the Rooseveltian program. Gore insisted throughout his last term in office that relief should be administered at state and local levels rather than by the federal government. Because of his attitude toward the "give-away" programs and his obsession to protect the taxpayer, Gore was a perennial opponent of the New Deal relief measures. Every relief measure adopted invariably took more money from the taxpayer's pocket, and the Senator pleaded the cause of the taxpayer who financed the measures. When Congress debated the bill appropriating nearly five billion dollars for relief, Gore freely expressed his dissent and voted against the bill in the face of disapprovol of large numbers of unemployed voters in Oklahoma.

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[50] Senate Finance Committee, 73 Congress, *Hearings* (May 31, 1933), p. 374.

[51] Shechter *v.* United States, 295 U. S. 495 (1935).

[52] Gore to Charles Evans Hughes, May 28, 1935, in Gore Papers. The writer has edited this letter which has been published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol XXXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1954-55), pp. 429-31.

Gore attacked pensions in his old age, expressing disfavor with the administration's efforts to institute old age benefits and social security both as relief measures and public welfare legislation. On occasion he expressed fears of socialism advancing under the guise of the New Deal.[53] He held that assistance for persons over sixty-five should be opposed on the principle that it might make the recipients cease to have initiative.[54] He often expressed the opinion that the virtues self-help, self-denial, self-reliance, and self-respect were being stifled by the enormous sums set aside for relief. He was not simply using a euphonious catchphrase when he said that "the dole spoils the soul." He honestly believed that the New Deal policies repressed individual initiative, contributing to greater numbers of persons demanding subsidiza tion.

Soil conservation was the one important area in which the Oklahoma Senator and the New Deal were in agreement. Although opposing government competition with private enterprise by voting against the Tennessee Valley Authority, Gore considered the program of conservation indispensable for the future of the country and was one of the prime movers for soil conservation. The damaging dust storms of the early thirties, with the loss of valuable topsoil by wind and soil erosion, forced Gore to favor government intervention for the hard-hit plains states. Generally opposed to federal regulation, he acknowledged erosion control as a function of the central government since it entailed engineering problems which individual farmers or states could not handle. To solve the problems of flood and erosion the Senator advocated a network of dams and reservoirs on the Mississippi River's tributaries, as well as terraces and other conservation measures on individual farms. With this in mind he introduced a bill to protect the Mississippi watershed against soil erosion. A similar House bill was ultimately accepted, but Gore deserves mention for his strong advocacy of this conservation measure. He also introduced a bill to establish a soil conservation service to deal with flood waters affecting the navigability of streams. Again his bill was not the one which finally became law, but the phrase "soil conservation service," originated by Gore, was substituted for "soil erosion control service," the name originally designated for the new division in the Department of Agriculture.[55]

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[53] Senate Finance Committee, 74 Congress, *Hearings* (January 25, 1935), p. 133. See also Francis Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew* (New York, 1946), pp. 298-99.

[54] *The New York Times*, January 26, 1935.

Excluding legislation regarding soil conservation, Gore did not give great effort to the needs of his farm constituency during the 1930's. He was often out of step with the New Deal legislation attempting to meet rural needs, and he played the role of opposer more often than that of advocate. The Senator's interest in farm assistance was no longer as intense as it had been during his earlier period in the Senate. The moving of his legal voting residence from Lawton to Oklahoma City in 1930 just after his re-election was symbolic of his shifted emphasis in regard to his constituents. During his earlier terms in public office he had defended progressive measures, the farmers, and the poor, but during the 1930's—even though he insisted he was still a voice of the farmers—it was apparent that his interests no longer lay primarily with his first love. For example, although Gore harped on the expense added to gasoline for farmers' tractors when he discussed the federal gasoline tax, his opposition actually stemmed from his interest in his large oil constituency. He often figuratively shed public tears for the overtaxed oil industry and preached against the tax structure which he believed placed an unnecessarily heavy burden on that industry. Instrumental near the end of the Wilson era in the passage of a depletion allowance which greatly benefitted oil producers, Gore spent efforts to obtain a larger allowance for oil depletions during his last term in the Senate.

Gore's longtime stand against protective tariffs, dating from early years in the Senate and expressed freely during the Republican ascendancy of the twenties, was reversed when he voted for a tariff on oil during the depression. He circumvented his previous anti-protectionist stand by saying that the hard times demanded a tariff on oil, and he soothed his conscience by announcing that he preferred an embargo on a monthly basis rather than a tariff law.[56] Gore raised both constitutional and economic doubts about the reciprocal trade agreements of the thirties. He did not believe that the executive should be given the power to raise or reduce tariff duties or that reciprocity was the best way to promote international trade.

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[55] *Congressional Record*, 74 Congress, 1 Sess., p. 6012.

Gore's isolationism came to the front in the Senate fight over World Court. President Roosevelt felt that the public favored the United States' joining the World Court, and in 1935 he sent a special message to the Senate pressing that body to vote to join the Court. Gore worked against the Court with Hiram Johnson, William E. Borah, and George W. Norris, old-line progressives of the postwar era who had long expressed fears about international "entanglements." It was these men more than any others in the Senate who defeated adherence to the Court.

Although Gore had voted for some of the New Deal measures, he was too conservative to support all of them. The aged Senator was washed ashore when the New Deal reached high tide in 1936, the policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt being the significant issues in Oklahoma's Democratic primary campaign of that year. When the prognosticators analyzed the election results showing the incumbent running a poor fourth, they saw the powerful impact the New Deal had made on the Oklahoma populace. Gore's independence in the face of the national administration was the most important element in his defeat.

Another factor causing his demise was prejudice aroused among the lower classes by the support given him by metropolitan newspapers and business. Although the wealthy and conservative urban vote was cast for the Senator, he was unable to appeal to the rural voters, and he lost much of his former strength in the farming areas.[57] His affinity with the oil interests superseded his appeal to the marginal farmers in his conservative old age, and this became an important detriment in his last campaign. For the second time in his career Gore had been defeated for a Senate seat primarily because of his opposition to a popular program. His stand against Wilson and the war measures was only a portent of his final retirement in 1936.[58]

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[56] Speech by Gore before the Governors' Oil Relief Conference, January 16, 1931, pamphlet in Gore Papers.

[57] *Harlow's Weekly*, Vol. XLVIII (July 4-11, 1936), p. 8.

Even though Gore was a staunch conservative in the 1930's, he claimed to be a "true" progressive. Reminded of his opposition to the New Deal as an illustration of his conservatism, Gore used an analogy of a cannon ball fired at night which appeared to be standing still if a flash of lightning came while the ball was in the air. Said he, "I am going as fast as the cannon ball but I am not going as fast as lightning."[59] Claiming to be in the Jeffersonian tradition, he believed in the philosophy that the government which governs least governs best. Upon his final retirement, Gore stated that throughout his career he had tried to steer his course by the "fixed star of principle" and not by the "shooting stars of expediency."[60] Yet there is a marked difference between his early progressive career and his later conservative one.

He cannot often be charged with voting on the grounds of expediency, but it is obvious that his outlook on government regulation and federal domestic supports changed with the years. During his later years, he opposed many things which he had favored in his earlier career: direct election of Senators, the income tax, pensions, reciprocal tariff agreements, federal aid to various groups, and federal supervision of industries.

Claiming that his Populist ardor was due to the radical errancy of youth, the Old Senator had become ultraconservative. He was removed from the political scene because he was out of step with the times. But his career, spanning the first third of the twentieth century, is inseparably linked with the early history of the State of Oklahoma.

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[58] Gore spent the remaining thirteen years of his life practicing law in the nation's capital specializing in Indian affairs and tax matters.

[59] *The Washington Post*, June 18, 1934.

[60] Gore to the editor of *The Independent*, (Oklahoma City) March 14, 1936, quoted in *Congressional Record*, 74th Congress, 2 Sess., p. 4378.

PIONEERING ON THE GREAT PLAINS

*By William E. Baker**

Slowly the covered wagon drawn by two weary and sweating horses moved westward. The sun this August afternoon 1901 bore down upon parched ground where no rain had fallen for many weeks, creating a temperature, taxing the endurance of both man and beasts. A death like stillness prevailed with only an occasional breeze to rustle the leaves on the Cottonwood trees. The meadow lark with wings lightly spread and bill open sought relief from the burning heat in the shade of fence posts, turfs of grass or weeds wherever possible.

In the wagon with me were my wife and our two small children, one two and one-half years old, and the other 6 months. The baby had become very ill soon after leaving our home near Guthrie, Oklahoma, and now lay listless on his pallet in the torrid heat of the covered wagon.

Our destination was a homestead upon which I had placed a filing the previous winter some 80 miles west of Guthrie in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian Reservation. These Indians had previously selected their allotments of 160 acres each, which was generally nearby or adjacent to running streams, after which, that portion remaining was opened for settlement by the white men, April 18, 1892. The better agricultural land was quickly taken up by homesteaders; however some of the poorer and more hilly land remained unsettled for several years and was used by cattlemen for grazing purposes. It was upon some of this grazing land that I had placed a filing the previous winter.

Since our marriage I had been farming in a small way and teaching school. Two children had been added to our family and we had collected a small herd of cattle, which had created in us a desire for a home of our own where we could raise our children and pasture our cattle. This prompted us to file upon 160 acres of this grazing land.

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* Soon after copy for the Autumn number of *The Chronicles* was sent to press, the Editorial Department received the sad news of the death of Mr. William E. Baker—"Uncle Bill Baker"—who personally had contributed this story of "Pioneering on the Great Plains," early last summer. With Mr. Baker's passing on Sunday afternoon, September 22, 1957, Oklahoma lost another of its fine old pioneers who gave much to the history and progress in this State.—Ed.

The following June after filing upon the land my wife and I had proceeded to our new home where we built a half dugout, dug a well and broke out a few acres of land. Thus complying with the first requirements necessary to obtaining a patent to our new home. We then returned to our old home near Guthrie, planning to work through wheat harvest and threshing to obtain sufficient money to carry us through the winter. That summer being one of the driest ever known in Oklahoma. No wheat was raised and no farm work of any kind was available, making it imperative that I teach school again the coming winter. The regulations relative to a homestead were that the occupant must not be absent from the homestead for more than 6 months at any one time for a period of 5 years, to obtain a patent. To comply with these regulations we had planned to spend the latter part of August on the homestead, and then again a few days during Christmas holidays, and return to it permanently the following spring.

Travel with a team and wagon was very slow, thirty miles per day being a good average. We had started from our home near Guthrie and the first night camped amid large trees in a beautiful cove on the banks of Kingfisher Creek, a few miles west of Kingfisher. The next day we climbed the Gyp Hills, and camped that night among sand hills and black jacks on the east side of the North Canadian River. The next morning we crossed the dry bed of the river and continued on what we hoped to be the last day of our outward journey.

Slowly the sweating horses plodded onward through the intense heat and the soft sandy roads. We were now traveling due west from Watonga, through black jacks and sand hills. About mid-afternoon we came to the allotment of "Big Baby," a Cheyenne Indian, where we turned south one-half mile to the banks of the South Canadian River. This ford was known as the "One-Horse-Crossing," so named for a

Cheyenne Indian having his allotment adjacent to the southeast. The river at this point had a sandy bed near one-half mile across. The extreme drouth the preceeding summer had resulted in the drying up of practically all streams in this portion of the state.

One can well imagine our consternation when upon arriving at the river's edge we found that just recently it had been running almost bank full. And at this time a stream of water some three hundred feet across still flowing rapidly onward. Evidently there had been a flash flood on its head waters far to the west or in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. While the river had now receded to its present flow, no wagon had attempted a crossing since its recent rise. During high waters in this type of sandy bottom streams the swift current will erode out depressions in the river bottom to be filled quickly again with loose sand forming quicksand. After each rise it becomes necessary before attempting a crossing with a team and wagon to wade back and forth across the current to locate and avoid those quicksand traps, and outline a firm crossing. This I had done many times the last several years as we had lived on the north side of the Cimarron river and, Guthrie; our trading point was on the south side. With no bridge, fording became necessary.

The Cimarron and South Canadian rivers were alike in having a wide sandy bed except that the South Canadian was much the broader. One important difference which I learned later was, that the Cimarron where I knew it only had a drop of 7 feet to the mile while the Canadian at this point had a drop of 14 feet. This gave the flow in the Canadian, even when moderately low, sufficient speed to erode out depressions in current bed in a very few minutes and then be filled with quicksand.

I now waded across the current several times before feeling I had located a crossing sufficiently firm to be safe. By aligning trees on the river bank with hills in the distance marking the crossing I had selected, I mounted to the spring-seat beside my wife and at command the horses moved forward.

Either we veered from the crossing as outlined, or in the short space of time between wading across and starting with the wagon a quicksand area had been formed. We had not advanced more than one hundred feet into the current before both horses dropped into the quicksand; only the tops of their heads, necks and hips remaining above water. With a bewildering shock I now realized our situation and the danger confronting my wife and children. Also should the horses be drowned and the contents of the wagon destroyed we would be stranded eight miles from home and relation with neither food nor extra clothing. A very sick baby, and the only means of communication, several miles afoot to post office, thence by slow traveling mail hack to destination. Next to my wife and children the horses had to be saved if humanly possible.

My wife remained in the springseat holding both children while I rushed to the horses' heads and catching each by the bridal bit, with all my strength raised their nostrils above water, enabling them to get their breath. The off-horse soon began to struggle which settled the sand under his front feet raising his head and neck above water. Now centering my attention on the near-horse I soon had it struggling sufficiently to obtain the same results. Pushing back to the double-trees I withdrew the wagon hammer freeing them from the tongue. Then back to the front I unsnapped the breast-straps from the neck yoke, thus freeing the horses entirely from the wagon. All this time watching the wagon intently that the first indication of its starting to turn over I would abandon the horses and rush to my wife's aid. Thanks to the Unseen Forces to be, fortune now seemed to change and be with us.

A moderately heavy load aided materially in causing the wagon to sink in the soft sand to its running gears. Here the sand settled about the wheels up to their hubs holding the wagon firmly in place. The water was now flowing between the top and bottom box. My wife, born and bred on the frontiers of the great plains, sat calmly in the springseat about eighteen inches above the raging waters, clasping the two children to her breast without manifestation of fear though well knowing the danger confronting us.

The end of a driving line properly applied to work horses can often produce remarkable results. I now exerted all the skill I could command in this particular act. The horses, struggling, to avoid the stinging blows falling upon their necks and shoulders soon settled the quicksand sufficiently firm about them to be driven ashore.

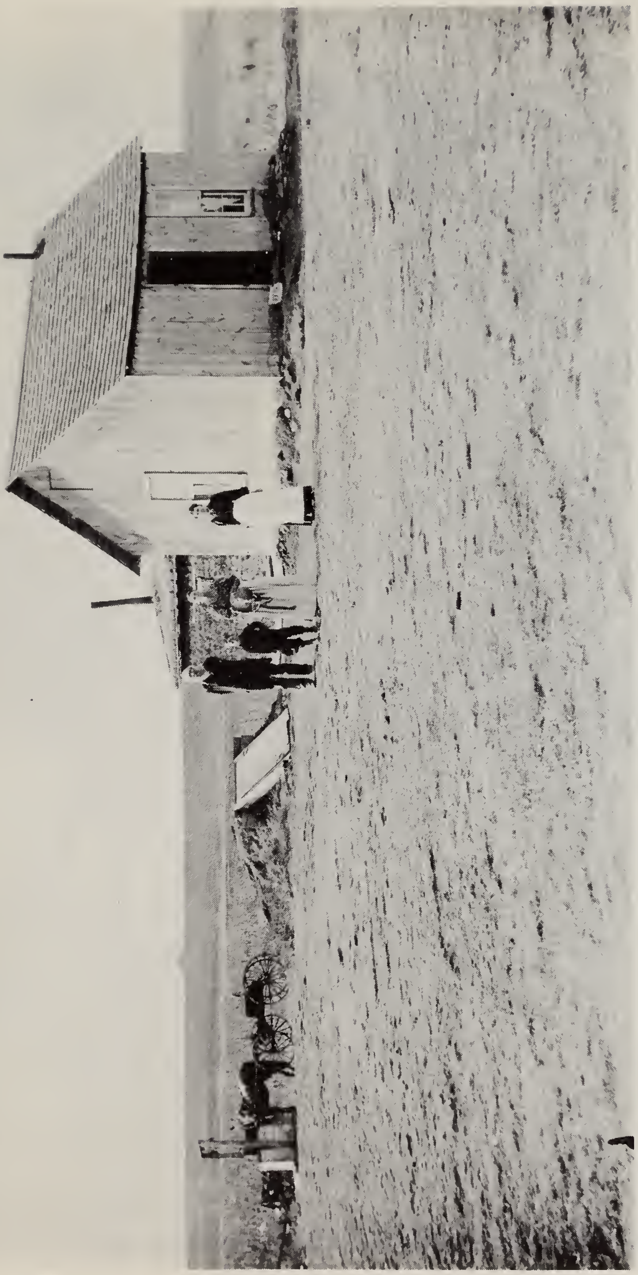
Dropping the lines I pushed back to the wagon and took the oldest child to shore and placed him on the quilt from the springseat. Returning to the wagon I took the baby in one arm, and holding to my wife with the other we reached shore altho at times it seemed the raging current would surely take us off our feet. My wife with the children now sought shelter in the shade of the large cottonwood trees on the river bank, while I hurried on foot across the river one half mile to a white settler with whom we had become acquainted the preceeding spring. Here I found two men willing and ready to help us. Just as we reached the water's edge, a cowboy who was riding range some distance away, espied our wagon stranded in mid-stream and came galloping down to aid in any way possible. First every thing in the wagon was removed and carried ashore. Next we detached the box from the running gears and floated it ashore. We then uncoupled the front gears from the back gears and by working the tongue and front wheels soon had them free and taken ashore. The same procedure was used with the coupling pole and rear wheels. Thus, after considerable time, we had every thing scattered about on the sand bar. We then re-assembled and reloaded the wagon. Just as the sun was going down, our benefactors started wading back across the river to their homes. And as we drove up the banks out of the river bed into the protecting cover of the large cottonwood trees, we experienced a feeling of thankfulness and relief seldom felt in a life time.

Camp was soon established, and with the many dried limbs from the fallen cottonwood trees a rousing fire was soon made.

Other than the quilt from the springseat, everything in the wagon including wearing apparel and the clothes we had on were thoroughly saturated. Small saplings with forks were cut and placed in the ground adjacent to the fire, and other saplings were cut and placed in these forks. Articles from this saturated assembly were placed upon these poles for drying. The fire was kept replenished and as fast as one article became dry, it would be removed and another put in its place. The coyotes from the surrounding hills with their mournful howl and multiple barking kept up a nerve disturbing contest the whole night through. The great horned owls from their lofty perches in the majestic trees of the surrounding timber kept up their continuous inquiry of "Who, Who, R, U," from dusk to dawn. At the teepee of One-Horse, one-half mile to the southeast, the Cheyenne Indians were holding an Indian dance. The tom-tom with the "Ki Yies" of many voices would peal forth with all energy, after a time to loose some of its volume, only to break forth again with renewed energy and enthusiasm. This continued through the entire night. My wife and I had heard all of these many times before and ordinarily would not have given them more than a passing thought, but after the ordeal through which we had passed the preceeding afternoon, a sick baby lying almost motionless on his pallet except for an occasional outburst from pain, and distress, and the disappointment that our trip had been in vain made this one of the most distressing nights my wife and I have ever experienced during our fifty-nine years of married life. It was not until two o'clock in the morning that everything was sufficiently dry to justify out attempting to get a few hours rest. Even then when our tired nerves longed for peace and quiet, our slumber was continuously broken by the coyotes howl, the "who who," of the owl, and the continuous throb of the tom, tom, only one-half mile away.

Next morning a tired and disappointed couple retraced their weary way over the hot and dusty roads traveled by them the last few preceeding days. The Land Office at that time was at Kingfisher through which we had to pass. We stopped there to see what information we could obtain, and were advised that we could make application for an additional six months leave of absence which if granted would give me sufficient time to teach school the following winter. This we did and the leave of absence was granted. Our sick baby speedily recovered after reaching home where proper care and medical treatment could be had. The next spring we returned and established permanent residence on our homestead.

My wife and I now frequently hear people speak of "The Good Old Days," but we have no desire to trade our present mode of travel and splendid highways for the old covered wagon and unimproved roads with few bridges. Nor do we care to exchange our present home, though modest, yet fully modern, for the old dugout, the open well, distant from the house from which water had to be carried in both summer and winter, the smoking coal oil lamp, and the men's "rest room" over one hill and the ladies' over another to be used in all kinds of weather. And we give thanks that we have been born and bred in a country, the most wonderful in the world, where such transformation in the lives of mankind has been achieved in so short a time.



(Oklahoma Historical Society Collections)

Homestead on the Prairie in Oklahoma Territory, 1894. View shows three types of early dwelling: the frame house, the sod house and the dugout.

(Oklahoma Historical Society, collections)

The Reverend J. S. Morrow at the age of ninety-one.

JOSEPH SAMUEL MURROW, APOSTLE TO THE INDIANS

By Frank A. Balyeat

Father Murrow's life has been well told in available biographies.[1] There is need of further study of some of his many phases of service to humanity. Based mainly on his own diary and letters and on some of his writings, this article is an attempt to explain and evaluate this man and his works. His career as a Christian missionary to Indians and to whites and Negroes in the Indian Territory and his services in and through Masonry have been published and need less study than do the phases included in this article. A brief biography follows for the benefit of readers who do not know the life of this great pioneer.

Joseph Samuel Murrow was born June 7, 1835, in Jefferson County, Georgia. After fifteen years in the rural schools, he attended Springfield Academy and then taught the next two years. Though a successful teacher, he was not satisfied, largely because he was then struggling with his vocational choice and leaning toward Christian service. Ordained as a Baptist minister in 1855, he entered Mercer University in January, 1856. When repeated calls for help came from H. F. Buckner, missionary to the Creeks in the West, the president of Mercer urged that young Murrow consider this call. The Rehoboth Baptist Association of Georgia agreed to sponsor him and he discontinued college study in the summer of 1857, then ready for his senior year in college. With advanced credit at entrance and probably carrying an over-load, he made possible this rapid progress.

With his bride f a few days, he started the five-week trip to their new home, traveling by boat, train, stage coach, and such hired conveyances as could be had. They arrived in November, 1857 at Micco, or North Fork town, Choctaw Nation, where Buckner was stationed. There he was soon initiated into speaking to a strange people through an interpreter, one of his major problems through the years. Working with as many tribes as he soon did, it was not practical for him to learn any one of their languages sufficently for public address.

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[1] The reader is referred to such writings as the following for further biographical information.

Charles E. Creager, *Father Murrow and His Ninety Busy Years,* Muskogee Times-Democrat reprint, about 1925.

W. A. Carleton, *Not Yours, But You,* (Berkeley, Calif., the author c. 1954.)

Clara A. McBride, "Fifty Beautiful Years," *The Indian Orphan,* Vol. V., No. 11 (November, 1907). Mrs. McBride was the daughter of J. S. Murrow.

W. H. Underwood, "Rev. Dr. Joseph Samuel Murrow," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VII, No. 4 (December, 1929).

In 1859 he moved sixty miles farther west and established work with the Seminoles. Two years later, just as he had the program well started and had ordained and was training some able native workers, the outbreak of the Civil War interrupted. Federal troops and agents were soon withdrawn, leaving the Indians without protection or leadership. The Seminoles chose Murrow to lead them and soon had their choice confirmed by President Davis, who appointed him Confederate Agent in charge of Seminole welfare.

Like all the Five Tribes, most of the able bodied Seminole men enlisted in the Southern army under General Albert Pike. Their women, children, and older and disabled men fled southward and established a refugee camp near the Red River. Numbering three or four thousand, they were joined by some Comanche, Osage and Wichita refugees. Murrow had charge of securing and issuing Confederate rations to these helpless and harrassed people. On this assignment, as in other work in the years that followed, he proved completely honest, dependable and efficient.

The camp was often moved for reasons of sanitation and safety from Union troops. One of the first buildings in a new camp was a brush arbor or some other place of public worship. During the war months he baptized more than 200, preaching every day but one, and then when fleeing from hostile troops. In various ways he ministered to these Indians and helped to keep them in touch with relatives in the service, whom he was often able to visit.

At the close of the War, with his family, he joined Buckner in Linden, Cass County, Texas, where he taught for a year. In the spring of 1867 he left his family at Linden while he made the journey back to resume his work with the Seminoles, planning to establish a home with them in what is now Seminole County. In passing through the Choctaw Nation, he was impressed with the greater opportunity there and decided to leave the Seminole work to the native leaders whom he had trained. He helped found the town of Atoka on the newly built M.K.&T. Railway. Atoka proved to be a strategic place from which to reach the Choctaws and other tribes and to travel to other states. While in Texas he became interested in Masonry, taking the first three degrees, later to add the others and hold through many years high positions of trust and service in that order. Thus he added to the church a second agency, Masonry, through which to reach the people of the new country, both red and white.

He organized the Baptist Church of Atoka, with six members, May 5, 1869. In spite of frequent and sometimes long absences, he was pastor of that church until April, 1902. He found time to establish churches for white settlers as well as for Indians. It is estimated that he organized about 100 churches, sometimes pastoring them part-time until a resident pastor could be had. Many thousands of miles he traveled to preach, organize and encourage groups, visit the sick, marry couples, conduct funerals, and solicit interest and aid for the missionary and educational program. These were difficult miles, too. No established or improved highways, few bridges and often hazardous ferries and fords, few and poor places for lodging and meals, rain, snow, and dust, heat and blizzards, mosquitos and flies, often unsafe drinking water, and danger from men or wild animals,— these added to the troubles of travel. Many journeys were made on horseback, with supplies and books strapped behind the saddle. However, the usual hospitality of pioneer families, some of them lonely and longing for someone with whom to visit, helped to make his travel pleasant and rewarding.

In 1872, he organized the Choctaw-Chickasaw Baptist Association which he led for many years. Other associations and conferences followed, which depended much upon him for direction and for developing leadership among Indians and whites. In 1889, Indian University conferred the Doctor of Divinity degree, as did Mercer in 1923, "as an appreciation of the service to Christianity and education." His diary plainly and strongly shows his objection to these well-meant gestures. He did not want to be called Dr. Murrow and his deep feeling in this matter is respected by this writer and the title not used in this article.

Three publishing ventures took a part of his time for several years. Efforts to establish and promote schools among several tribes he considered his best opportunity to supplement his Christian ministry. His active participation in Masonry and with the Odd Fellows gave him other contacts and avenues of reaching white men of Oklahoma and, through them, more of the Indians. He traveled much in the United States and some in Canada and Mexico. He often led the way in curbing the efforts of white intruders to profit at the expense of the Indians. Counseling individuals and groups took much of his time. Here we try to show, as revealed in his writings, how and why he chose to lead such a varied, busy life. His services through schools we stress most.

APOSTLE TO THE INDIANS

Murrow felt deeply that he was called, sent, and supported mainly to work with the Five Civilized Tribes and such others as he could reach. Other interests and activities than the Christian ministry he tried to subordinate and relate properly to helping the Indians, especially the full bloods. The ever increasing number of white settlers made necessary a religious program for them. Neglect them he could not, even when it interfered with his dominant purpose. And maybe he would thus develop leaders and support for his work with the Indians.

His pastoral duties in the Atoka church presented a constant and difficult problem. Away so much, he had to depend upon such pulpit supply as he could get. Visitation of members and others had to be neglected nor could he develop his members in lay service and leadership. Numerous are the diary entries of his decision to resign, only to be persuaded to reconsider and remain.

He very seriously and sincerely desired and sought harmonious relations among denominations, in Atoka and elsewhere. His very deep convictions about denominational differtnces and his rather militant spirit and attitude often antagonized those of other sects. This weakened his influence with others, who were sometimes offended by his continuous, ardent presentation and defense of matters that divided them. A reading of his diary entries concerning his desire for harmonious relations among the churches would surprise those who knew of his inability to carry out his good desires.

Rev. Murrow naturally considered spiritual welfare most essential to other development. Some moral conditions and problems greatly disturbed him. Careful study of the Indians enabled him to understand them better than did some other well-meaning missionaries. Though some of their standards and customs seemed to him wrong, he respected their pride and attitudes and tried to help them to raise their standards. The examples set by so many white settlers interfered greatly with the efforts of men like Murrow, of whom there were many in the Indian Territory.

One of the most difficult problems came from the sale of liquor from bordering states. White men who promoted this traffic cared much more for financial gain than they did for the Indians' welfare. Murrow's speaking and writing and that of his wife did much to promote the cause of temperance. For several years Mrs. Kate Murrow had made many trips in efforts, sometimes quite successful, to organize and promote temperance organizations. His major objection to single statehood was based on a fear that the Oklahoma side would prevent having prohibition in the Indian Territory portion.

Health of Indians, as well as of white and Negro settlers, was a problem that constantly troubled Murrow. Some tribal beliefs and practices, coupled with primitive conditions that prevailed, made sickness difficult to handle. He tried to impress all with the need for safe drinking water, provision for better bathing and washing, use of available remedies and preventives, and better cooperation with doctors. Many white pioneers, who had known better conditions in the states whence they came, shared in these difficulties and in Murrow's concern about them.

Protecting the Indians, especially the full bloods and orphans, became increasingly the dominant motivation and purpose of his life and work. Many of his friends in church and in lodge were among those who worked against the Indians' interests. He strove to retain their support and cooperation and yet curb their wrong dealings and mistreatment. Numerous diary entries show his deep concern and his increased determination to protect the more helpless Indians, among the various tribes, from the government and from white men who would defraud them.

As statehood approached, he increased his efforts to inform those responsible and to interest them in making the transition from territorial status less disturbing to the Indians. In November, 1906, when a Congressional investigation was under way in McAlester, he spoke to the committee in session. How he worked and prayed over that brief presentation of Indians' rights, only the diary reveals. He really had a good speech prepared but his burning indignation got the better of him and caused his speech to descend to bitter accusations, in his effort to be specific and convincing. His diary records the next few days show that he realized why he had failed. Territorial editors scolded him and many letters were written by him explaining what he had meant and trying to prevent the loss of support of those papers. There were other instances where his zeal caused him to overdo his efforts to help. His best efforts often back-fired.

In August, 1926, this writer had a very fine interview with Father Murrow in his home in Atoka. Then he told at some length of an incident often mentioned in writings about him. As he slowly sailed up the Arkansas River in early November, 1857, he kept wondering what would be an effective motto and slogan for his work with the Indians. There came to him 2nd. Corinthians, 12:14: ". . . . for I seek not yours, but you." This was the text for his first sermon and remained his watchword through the years. But he failed to convince the Indians that many white people felt that way. "Yes, we know you and believe you," they would say, "but not your people." The government and many of the white men that they knew impressed them as meaning, "Not you, but yours."

SCHOOLS

Father Murrow believed much in the possibility of reaching and helping Indians through the schools. Soon after his family came back from Texas, his wife, Mrs. Clara Murrow, organized and taught the Rehoboth Mission School, enrolling Indian and white children. This, and other similar church schools of different denominations, provided about the only opportunity for white pupils. Her successors continued and enlarged the work of this school, adding staff and building space as needed and as they could be had.

A diary entry of May 9, 1885 states, "I went to work with a large committee to select site for a Baptist Academy." It should be explained here that "academy," as used then throuhout the Indian Territory, meant school with primary and elementary pupils and possibly with a very few enrolled in the high school subjects that were advertised. In October of that year he prepared a bill to "charter and found a Baptist College at Atoka." This he presented to the Choctaw Council but, as so often true of his proposals, his plans were premature, to say the least. In October, 1886 he persuaded the trustees of the Atoka Baptist Church to purchase a building and establish a tuition school. Donations were sought and some received. The March 24, 1887, entry shows that the campaign had reached the stage of financing and erecting a building. Soon the contract was let and the building steadily grew that summer, advertising the plan to open the academy that fall. Murrow then tried to get support from Southern Baptists, but failed.

Early in September, 1887 the Baptist Academy at Atoka opened in the new building, with Reverend F. G. Smith, of Illinois as principal, and with a small staff of teachers. By November, the enrollment had reached seventy and steadily grew as others heard of the new school or succeeded in making financial arrangements to attend.

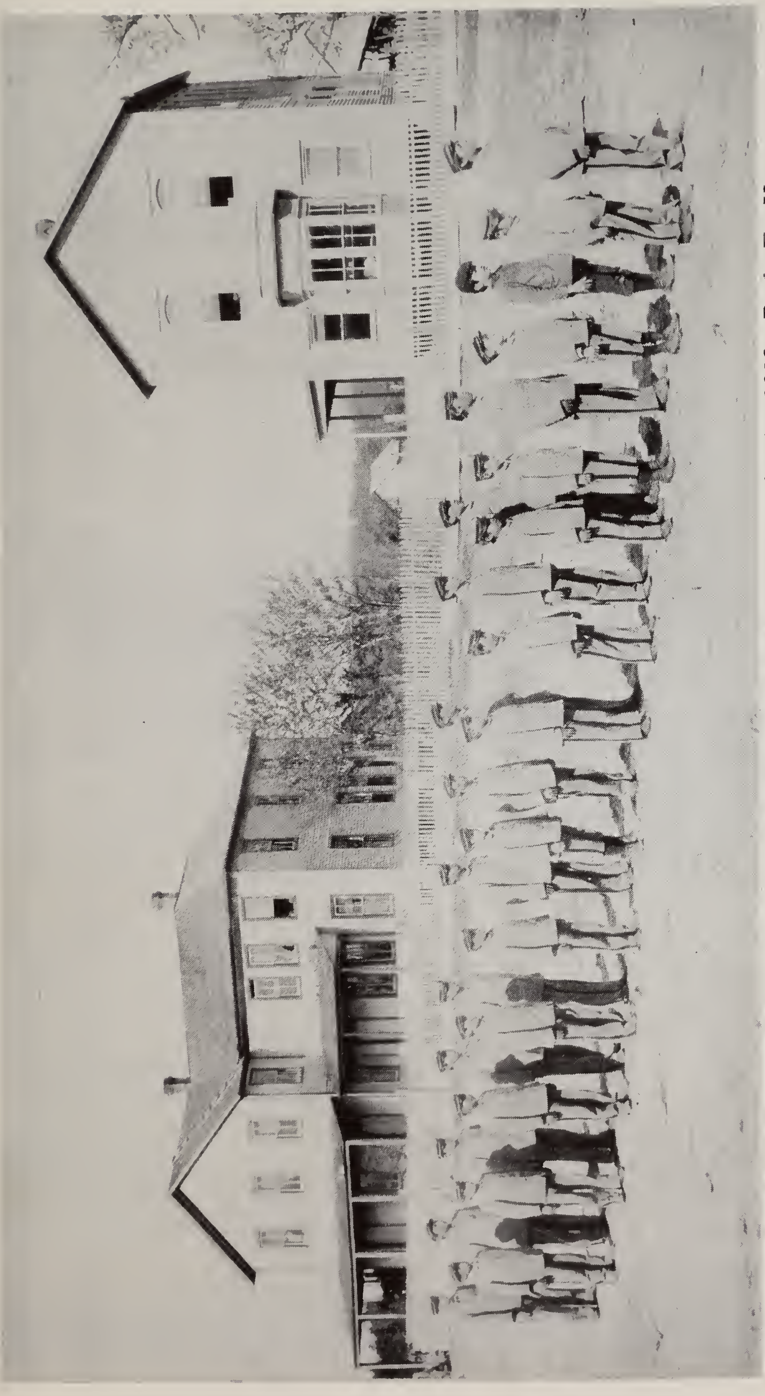
In March, 1888, the Northern Baptist Home Mission Society assumed financial responsibility for the school, assisting much from time to time, but depending largely on tuition receipts and on such contributions as Murrow and others could obtain. Other tribes besides Choctaws were welcomed and some of their children came. Soon the building was inadequate, especially for boarding pupils, and a long and difficult drive enabled them to build a dormitory. Cash gifts, some large but most very small, permitted the gradual expansion of the plant and the staff. In March, 1889 letters came from two women in Florida and Ohio, each containing $1,000 for the Academy. Continued, diligent efforts to interest many, even with small payments, really enabled the school to grow through the eighteen years that it operated as an academy.

The work was mainly primary and elementary, though the catalog continued to offer high school courses. A July, 1888 advertisement in the *Indian Missionary,* Murrow's paper, listed these offerings: political economy, philosophy, geology, chemistry, astronomy, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, Latin, Greek, mental philosophy, psychology, and shorthand. The latter, along with penmanship, had a surprising number of correspondence study enrollees.

The $12 a month fee for board and room, usually including washing, was soon reduced to enable more Indian children to attend. Some were sponsored by individuals, churches, or lodges. Others earned part of their fee by working for the school. Music was stressed. Religious instruction was much in evidence. Murrow and his colleagues expected to reach the parents and friends more quickly and effectively through work with the children. Often they did.

ORPHANS HOME

In September, 1902, Murrow met with some interested friends, whom he had invited, to consider a plan for an Indian Orphanage. Twenty men and women were chosen, with him as president, to draw and present a charter for such a home. He visited the Buckner Orphanage at Dallas to get practical ideas. The charter was granted by the U. S. Court in November, 1902, but the development of the plans had just begun. To assign this as the date of the beginning of the Murrow Orphans Home is inaccurate. Actually it took nearly three years to make the change from academy status. Therefore, the usual statement that the Academy existed eighteen years is approximately correct.



This picture was taken of the Baptist Academy at Atoka in 1892. Prof. F. H. Rishel, Superintendent.

It was planned to convert the work of the Academy to include only Indians, with preference to orphans, as soon and as rapidly as possible. The Home Mission Society, then legally owning the Academy property, agreed to sell it and invest the proceeds in the proposed Orphans Home. Murrow wrote circular letters and mailed them to thousands of prospective contributors throughout the United States. To some he made personal appeals. He visited conventions and conferences and spoke in behalf of the plan, talking personally with many who were most interested or most able to give. The total grew slowly, enough to discourage a man of less faith. To all givers he sent personal letters of thanks, no matter how small the gift, with literature about the plan for educating orphan Indian children.

A tract of land was obtained about twenty-five miles north of Atoka, which was to be used as a farm on which to build the new home. Here the children were to be given a chance to work and to learn better how to support themselves and to be better home makers. Farmers, some with their families, were employed to develop the property, preparatory to erecting school houses, dormitories, barns, and other needed buildings. Orchards were set, herds of domestic stock were started, fields were cultivated, water was impounded, and the new farm was underway. Finding and holding competent men for this work was very difficult and did much to discourage those promoting it.

School continued at the Academy in Atoka, limited almost wholly to Indians after September, 1903.[1] Though Murrow was president of both the Academy and the Home, he was largely dependent on the principal to effect transfer from town to farm and from academy to orphanage. Principal Rishel, who had succeeded Smith in September, 1891, was reluctant to make the move. Sometime, about the middle of the school year 1906-07, he took the older boys to the farm, where he taught them the school work and used them to help speed up the farm preparation. Mrs. Rishel and other staff members kept the girls and the smaller boys in town and continued at the Academy. Apparently the move was completed by September, 1907, the Atoka property then mortgaged or sold to get additional money for the more expensive venture. By this time only Indian children were enrolled and the orphans continued to predominate, the program in process of change to a plan more suited to their status and their needs. Father Murrow, who had given up all other responsibilities, felt encouraged in the promising development of the Orphans Home that had become the crowning work of his life.

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[1] After 1902 Congressional appropriations enabled such towns as Atoka to provide public schools for other than Indian children. Then the need for the Atoka Academy, and such schools, was no longer felt by the white families.

The isolation of the farm, further complications in management, competition with the Masonic and Baptist orphanages for financial support, and other unforeseen and very troublesome conditions combined to cause the Home to fall farther and farther behind in its financial program. The Choctaw Council was generally loyal in its support. The new constitution of Oklahoma specifically named the Murrow Home as exempt from taxation. A post office was opened in August, 1909 at Unchuka, which became the new address of the Home. There was still some hope for full fruition of Murrow's dream of a good farm home, but the more realistic saw the insurmountable difficulties that were arising.

The Murrow Orphans Home was moved in 1910 to the campus of Bacone College, formerly Indian University, where it continues in 1957. Gifts have continued through the years, some from Indians whose land has brought them wealth in oil and gas. The dormitory buildings are giving way to cottages with family plan of living, the children transported to Muskogee schools, three miles away. Orientation to the new life for the younger children and religious instruction for all of them have been and continue to be stressed in their "home" life. It is reliably estimated that more than 3,000 Indian orphans have profited from living in this home. Most of them are from the Five Civilized Tribes.

Bacone College

Very early in his work with the Indians, Father Murrow was impressed with the need of competent native religious and educational workers. He foresaw the lack of suitable college training for them and began to talk and plan for an institution where Indians could be developed for such service. His hopes were rewarded when, in 1880, Rev. Almon C. Bacone, a teacher in the Cherokee Male Seminary at Tahlequah, withdrew to establish a school for the Indians. Encouraged and guided much by two men, Joseph S. Murrow and Daniel Rogers, Bacone developed his program, getting some financial aid and promise, and moving in 1884, to the present site, just Northeast of Muskogee. Until 1910 it was called Indian University, then changed to Bacone College, in honor of its founder who died in 1896. For awhile the degree program was offered, with emphasis on religious courses, with Indians definitely in the majority. Murrow was for many years on the official board, sometimes the president of the board, and always a valued advisor of administration and students.

Aided by John D. Rockefeller, a college classmate of Bacone, Rockefeller Hall was built on the new campus, a grant of the Creek Council. Campus, offerings, and enrollment grew. After awhile college work declined in favor of preparatory but, in the spring of 1957, all high school courses were discontinued and the school became a junior college. A denominational school, it gives religious and other instruction to pupils of all faiths, and to those from many tribes from several states. In a sense, it is truly "international."

During the time when degrees were conferred, an outstanding graduate was Patrick J. Hurley, a youth who has shown his appreciation of the opportunity that this school gave him. A member of the first graduating class, the Reverend George W. Hicks, with the help of his wife, a Bacone girl, established the Wichita Mission and school. Other professional and lay leaders among the Indians have been found and well trained by Bacone.

Other schools for Indians grew under Murrow's inspiration, encouragement, and support. The work with the Plains Tribes had an interesting beginning. In 1870, while hospitalized in Georgia to save his sight, he often thought of the Comanches and Wichitas whom he had known in the refugee camp. He longed to see religious and educational work begun with them. Shortly after his return to the territory, he visited what is now the areas of Caddo and Kiowa Counties and studied the field and its prospects. The Reverend John McIntosh, a converted Creek Indian, went as a missionary, with financial support that Murrow had developed among Texas Baptists, later supplemented by others. The Kiowas were ready for such help, with Chief Lone Wolf an encouraging supporter. Murrow and his wife made several trips to see the Plains Tribes and their needs, and succeeded in getting interest and support from various persons and groups.

MISSIONARY WORK THROUGH PAPERS

The Atoka *Vindicator* was the first of three papers to share in Murrow's time and services. In 1872 he became associate editor, in charge of religious news. This association lasted only a few months, with Murrow continuing to help promote its circulation.

The *Indian Missionary* was his next effort to supplement the too limited services of preachers, colporteurs, and lay workers among the Indians. He became editor and publisher in November, 1886, discontinuing this work with the September, 1891 issue. He and his wife did much of the writing, editing, and mailing. After their marriage in 1889, Mrs. Kate Murrow had charge of four departments in their monthly paper: "Women's Missionary Work," "The Household," "Temperance," and the "Children's Corner." Often a large part of an issue would be in the language of one or more of the Five Tribes, Indians assisting in these departments. It was definitely a religious paper, stressing missions, and slanted to favor Baptist doctrine.

At fifty cents a year and with limited circulation and advertising, the venture never was self supporting. A fair estimate of the deficit, based upon several diary entries, is $100 a year. In their last issue, the "Valedictory" editorial said, "We have never made one cent out of the paper, nor desired to do so." Why, then, was this costly enterprise continued, taking so much of the time they needed for pressing phases of their work? He and his wife felt definitely that this was a means of promoting the Academy and Indian University, of informing both Indians and whites about missionary work with the Plains Indians and elsewhere, and generally helping to reach their readers with information that individuals could not bring them. It was maintained, at personal expense, to promote the total cause of missions.

The *Indian Orphan,* a monthly begun early in 1903 and continued during the days of struggle of the new Orphans riage fees ranged from two to twenty-five dollars, if paid at all. Declining to marry run-away couples and child brides, he would write, "I lost a little money but it saved my conscience." Sometimes when friends learned of his financial plight, they came to his aid in various and often clever ways, sometimes inserting money in his Bible.

Both he and his wife enjoyed reduced railway fare, enabling them to travel more in their field and in the States, attending many religious assemblies and spreading the news and need of their work. He could thus afford to travel to Washington to appeal to governmental officials for Indians' rights. Visiting a wide range of religious and editorial groups broadened his interests and his contacts.
Home, was obviously an organ to promote the work among Indian orphans, especially the new Home that was growing out of the Academy.

Through most of the years, Murrow wrote frequently for many newspapers and magazines, in the Territories and elsewhere, providing information about various needs, with emphasis on missions. There is much evidence that in this way he interested many of their best financial supporters.

A Missionary's Finances

The first years of Murrow's life in the West were made more difficult by financial problems. To support his home and the program, he often did whatever gainful work he could obtain. He supplied in the postmaster's absence, helped merchants with their accounts and invoices, and worked on farms to get food for his family and others in need. Then, as later, he was helped by others in many ways, though these sources were usually small and unpredictable. Mar-

In the first years he received salary checks from Georgia, at first from the Rehoboth Baptist Association that sent him to the new field. In the early 'eighties came a break with the Southern Board, due largely to his persistent cooperation with other denominations and with Northern Baptists. Soon thereafter, and through the years that followed, his program enjoyed continuous support from Baptists in the North.

Another regular and much needed source of income for many years was his salary as secretary of the Grand Lodge of Masons. He often commented in his diary on the interference thus caused to his missionary work, as such; but this supplementary income enabled him to carry on and to enlarge his program. The position also gave him needed contacts with men whose support and leadership he so often needed.

Pastoral income and occasional small pay for other preaching brought only a small part of the needed support of the various phases of his program. In fact, his frequent and generous giving to the work of the local church and the school that it founded often equaled or exceeded what they paid him.

Living to the age of ninety-four, his latter years were less and less active, with no salaried work and little opportunity to earn. But he did receive "deferred" income from two sources. When he retired as Grand Secretary in 1913, the Masons made him secretary "emeritus" with a monthly pension. Also, when he deeded his Atoka residence property to the Home Mission Society, for which they were to assume financial responsibility of the Orphans Home, it was agreed that he should continue to live there and receive monthly payments. Of course, neither he nor either of his benefactors expected him to enjoy these benefits for so many years. Few men, though, would have used the money to help so well the many persons, institutions, and causes that he carefully selected to share in his "salary," as he liked to call it.

An 1889 diary entry reads, "O, Lord, keep me out of debt." Frequent entries tell of his desire not to be a burden on anyone. Through the years he was a very liberal giver to "charity" and to the church. It is probable, as numerous diary entries indicate, that he averaged 40% of his income paid to others, besides the tithe to the church that he had given for so long. He sometimes feared that he was imposed upon by "beggars," but gave them the benefit of the doubt, helping most who asked, if the person or cause appeared genuine and worthy.

His giving included much more than money and time and advice, with all of which he helped so much. A great lover of flowers, he had for many years a successful flower and vegetable garden at Atoka. Many people profited from his example and the plants and cuttings that he liberally gave to those who would try to grow them. His interest in roses helped much to provide recreation for him and, in the "golden years," to give him much delight.

He enjoyed singing. Numerous diary entries tell of his singing for or with those whom he visited in their sickness and affliction. The phonograph and album of church music that he was able to buy with his "salary" in those long, last years provided much enjoyment for "me and my canary," as a diary entry relates.

And how he liked to read and regretted that his overcrowded life allowed so little time for it. Nor did a pioneer country provide many magazines or books. He once tried to promote circulating libraries, urging the Masons to adopt it as a project of service. Most people then had to depend upon the frequent and generous loans or gifts of the books that he bought. Many young religious workers shared in the hundreds of books that he gave, as did some struggling colleges. Frequently an individual was loaned or given a book, with specific suggestions for reading that was liked or needed by that person.

For more than a half-century, he did systematic reading and study of the Bible, even in his busiest days. In his last years he was able to satisfy the urge that he had felt through the years of labor, having much time with his Book. On August 15, 1926, this writer enjoyed visiting his weekly Bible class of Atoka women and enjoyed the very fine presentation of Revelation, chapters 14-16. The most interesting interview that followed with the veteran missionary of ninety-one years, was made even more meaningful by sharing in that study hour.

People, all kinds of people, but especially Indians, were his main interest. Though often imposed upon by callers who overstayed their time and interfered with important duties, he kindly and patiently counseled with them about their problems. All through the years, many people of all ranks and races came to him with their difficulties and usually left him much helped. It was probably in this individual service that he found his greatest joy and satisfaction.

Several terms have been applied to this pioneer missionary. His parishoners liked to call him "Brother," and the man about town probably preferred the usual "Reverend." In several organizations he was "President" or "Secretary." "Editor" he was for several years. "Doctor" was the title that he so reluctantly received from two colleges. "To that Pioneer, Patriot, Patriarch, Priest, and Prophet," is the beginning of Joseph B. Thoburn's dedication to his *Standard History of Oklahoma,* 1916. "The Father of Freemasonry in Oklahoma" is the evidence of esteem and affection voted by the Grand Lodge of Masons of Oklahoma. His long and helpful service as counselor, guide, and friend to so many brought him the name that he liked best, as he heard it from people of all ranks, races, and religious belief,—"Father Murrow."

(Oklahoma Historical Society, collection)

Mrs. Mary Lewis Herrod.

TWO NOTABLE WOMEN OF THE CREEK NATION

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

MARY LEWIS HERROD

It is well known that among the Five Civilized Tribes there were some women chiefs, also that there were certain women in each tribe who were well informed on national affairs and who wielded great influence. In that field, may be mentioned Mary Lewis Herrod of the Creek Nation. A daughter of John and Louisa Kernels Lewis, she was born in the early 1840's in a small Indian village between the Grand and Verdigris rivers in the present Wagoner County, Oklahoma. This village, first called "Rex" was known in later years by several other names and is now called "Okay."

Mary's parents belonged to the Wind Clan and the "Thlekatka" or "Broken Arrow Town" of the Creek Nation. When she reached school age Mary was sent to Tallahassee Mission, and placed under the care of the Reverend W. S. Robertson and his wife, the scholarly Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson. Miss Nancy Thompson was the matron of the school at that time, and Pleasant Porter, the later celebrated Principal Chief of the Creek Nation, was a pupil there.

After finishing the course of studies at Tallhassee, Miss Lewis was employed as one of the faculty; later she taught at Wewogufkee Town. It was said that "the people of that town, as the little communities were designated, were of the highest type of citizenship; none ever having been brought to court for any offense. Mary was the first woman to teach in the Creek National Schools and the first to teach English to the Indian children." This was a hard task but she solved it by using object lessons, connecting a word with a picture so that the children soon learned to read. She next became a teacher among the Euchees, and that was equally difficult as she did not speak their language.

Miss Lewis reported to Creek Agent William H. Garrett on August 15, 1853, that she had commenced teaching at Old Agency School on March 15, and closed for vacation July 13. She later wrote about her work:

> As to numbers, I had on my list twenty-two different names, but only nineteen who were at all regular in attendance. As far as I may be permitted to judge, they have improved all that could be reasonably expected. When school commenced in March, three only of the scholars could read. At the close of the school in July, all could read in easy sentences or syllables except five, and they learned the alphabet. [1]

The report from Old Agency School August 28, 1855 was signed by Miss Lewis, in which she said that the term commenced with seven students in September, and continued until December 23rd, with five to ten attending. Six were reading in the New Testament, Kay's Third Reader, and arithmetic as far as multiplication — the remaining four could spell in words of two syllables. Owing to the small attendance at Old Agency, the school was transferred to Euchee Town. There was a delay in finishing the school there so that term did not commence until March 26, but it opened with twenty-seven children, only one of whom knew a letter, or could speak a word of English. Miss Lewis wrote that "the school would have been larger had it not been from the scarcity of food. The people seem to be highly interested in the school, and the chiefs did all in their power to assist me." [2]

In the late 1850's, Mary taught at North Fork Town and it was there that she married Goliath Herrod, a full blood Creek who had attended school in Kentucky and was graduated from a Baptist College in Danville, Kentucky. [3] On his return to Indian Territory he acted as interpreter for the Reverend Henry Frieland Buckner, a prominent Baptist missionary. Herrod sent a report from North Fork, September 8, 1858 to Agent Garrett. At that time he was Superintendent of the public schools in the Arkansas District of the Creek Nation.

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[1] *Report, Commissioner Indian Affairs,* 1853, p.151.

[2] *Ibid.,* 1855, pp. 147-48.

[3] Goliath Herrod was entered in the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky in 1828 when he was only eight years old. His name was incorrectly spelled "Goliah Harward." In the list of students in 1834 his name was properly spelled; his age was fourteen; he was in Class 4 and he was described as having a good mind. In 1836 he was the oldest of fifteen Creek students in the Academy, and he was still in attendance in 1938 when there were only six other Creeks—Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy." "*Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 9, No. 4 (December 1931) p. 385; *ibid.,* Vol. 10, No. 1 (March, 1932). pp. 84, 98.

Mr. Herrod described conditions in that area in sanguine terms saying,[4]

> The past year has been one of improvement in many respects, particularly though in regularity of attendance of the scholars. Teachers have heretofore always complained that the scholars were so irregular in their attendance, parents permitting their children to attend or not as they chose ..... The teachers employed have been as efficient as could be procured, and have proven to be faithful and diligent in the discharge of their duties.

Mr. and Mrs. Herrod built a new house and had just moved into it when the Civil War started. When they heard cannon firing at the Battle of Honey Creek, they realized that they must leave home and they prepared to take refuge in the Choctaw Nation when the Confederates lost the fight.

They packed all the goods their wagons would hold and buried their fine china dishes under a tree. One of their Negro women decided to remain, and she was sitting on the porch in a rocking chair when the Federal soldiers arrived. When she told them that she owned the property, they said that she was lying and proceeded to set fire to the house. Some of the officers tied their horses to the tree under which the china was buried. The horses pawed the soil and since the dishes were not very deep they were soon exposed and broken to pieces. Mrs. Herrod had a large flock of yellow turkeys and people later told her that the soldiers caught the birds and rode along picking them so the countryside was sprinkled with yellow feathers.

While serving in the Confederate forces under General Stand Watie, Mr. Herrod was present when a steamboat, loaded with supplies for the Federal army, was steaming up the Arkansas River and captured by the Southern soldiers. Among the supplies on the boat was a quantity of calico, and this furnished needed dresses for the wives and daughters of the Confederates.

At the end of the war the Herrods settled at North Fork Town. The Creek records in the Oklahoma Historical Society show that Captain Herrod was paid $50.00 for services as prosecuting attorney for North Fork District, and on October 14,

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[4] *Report Commissioner Indian Affairs*, 1858, p. 147.

1869 he received $100.00 for acting in the same capacity in that district.[5]

When she was left a widow Mrs. Herrod resumed teaching. She became matron at Asbury Mission, a Methodist school near Eufaula, then under the supervision of the Reverend Young Ewing. Later she served as matron at Wealaka Mission.

According to the Creek Neighborhood School records, Mrs. Herrod taught at "Owekofker" School in March, 1871; at Hillabee School, November, 1874; at Arbeka School in September, 1875; at Okmulgee School in September, 1881; and at Coweta School in March, 1888.

Among Mrs. Herrod's papers are eight school certificates valid from 1876 to 1888. The first one dated August 15, 1876, Eufaula, Indian Territory reads:

"This certifies that, after due examination the bearer, Mrs. Mary L. Herrod, is hereby pronounced competent to fill the position of Teacher in the Public Schools in the Creek Nation . . . " The paper was signed by Sam Grayson, Charles S. Smith and (Joseph) M. Perryman.

The next certificate was written on paper from Grayson Brothers, Dealers in General Merchandise, and dated Eufaula August 2, 1877. It was signed by G. W. Grayson and Sam Grayson. The third certificate, dated Okmulgee, July 14, 1880, certified that Mary L. Herrod "has been examined in English Grammar, English Composition, U. S. History, Pennmanship, Geography, Arithmetic, Theory and practice of teaching, and such other branches as are usually taught in the neighborhood schools of the Nation; and is competent to teach in any of said schools." The certificate was good for one year after being signed by John McIntosh, C. C. Belcher, John Island, Nath. Wright, Board of Examination.

On April 20, 1881, McIntosh wrote: "In compliance with the requirements of the Teachers Institute, I respectfully assign as the subject of your essay 'My Opinion of Public

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[5] Creek Courts, North Fork, Indian Archives #27962; *idem.*, #27968.

Schools. To be delivered at the next Institute which meets at this place (Muskogee) on Tuesday, the 5th day of July next."

In 1881, Mrs. Herrod was sent to the school at Okmulgee, known as the Okmulgee School. At the Teachers Institute in session in Okmulgee in July, 1881, the public was notified that Mrs. Herrod had been examined in all branches taught in the public schools and had been found competent to fill any position in the schools of the Muskogee Nation. Again the Educational Department, Muskogee Nation, July 10, 1885, issued a statement by L. G. McIntosh, P. Porter, and S. B. Callahan that Mrs. Herrod had been found competent to teach after an examination.

James Colbert, superintendent of public instruction issued Mrs. Herrod a certificate of competency and assigned her as instructor in the Okmulgee school, where the term was to begin September 1, 1886. After her next examination, the veteran teacher was given a certificate which expired June 28, 1889 according to L. G. McIntosh.

On retiring from school work Mrs. Herrod located at Eufaula where she owned the Herrod Hotel, well known among travelers for many years because of the warm hospitality of the hostess and the good food she served. On the retirement of Mrs. Herrod the following account appeared in an Indian Territory newspaper:

> Mrs. M. L. Herrod is probably the oldest teacher in continuous service in Oklahoma and Indian Territory, if not in the entire West. She has been a teacher among the Creek Indians for the last fifty years, and has only lately resigned from the work on account of old age, being now over 70 years old.
>
> She is among the very first who tried to teach English to the Indians and her experiences along that line are interesting. She early discovered that it was hard to impart lasting information to the Creek Indians. The most successful way she says is to associate words with subjects when teaching him. Her experience had been though that after he had acquired a lesson perfectly in this way that as soon as he got home, where nothing is spoken only in the Indian way, the pupil would forget all that he had learned at school and the lesson would have to be repeated the next day. Mrs. Herrod taught her first school at Tallahassee in 1850.

The welfare of the Creek people was always close to Mrs. Herrod's heart and her greatest ambition was to be of service to them. On one occasion when a company of Creeks became restless and dissatisfied they contemplated leaving Indian Territory and settling in Mexico; she met with them and admonished them to remain in their own country—a united people, She addressed her tribesmen as follows: [6]

> I earnestly hope and pray you will not be rash or hasty in deciding, but deliberate and weigh the matter well.
>
> Will it not be best to look at both sides of the question and remember, that while it is hard for us here, it might be much worse there. There we would be strangers in a strange land among a people whose language, laws and climate are far different and we would perhaps have more trouble of various kinds, and greater disappointments than we have here. After all we might make ourselves happy here. It is never so bad but it might be worse; therefore would it not be well for us to be very cautious and prudent so that nothing would be done that would be a regret to ourselves and our children . . . . . Let us ask wisdom and guidance of the Lord in this most important matter.
>
> I write this because I want my nation to study well before they leave their native land, and do what they might regret . . . .

Mrs. George W. Harrison in writing of her great aunt, Mrs. Herrod, stated that she had a remarkable memory regarding the citizens of Indian Territory and their relationships. "She really was a very wonderful person but a most peculiar one." She was only eighteen when she taught among the Euchees near the present site of Sapulpa. On receiving her salary she bought a handsome gold watch which she wound with a key. It was stolen from her room in Muskogee a few years before she died.

Because of her unusual intellect some of the missionaries had wished to send Mary to school at Mount Holyoke, and she had almost decided to go when she heard from former students in that college that the girls were obliged to do work which was performed by Negroes at home. That settled the question for the Creek young lady. [7]

Mrs. Herrod had occasion to prove her bravery when she and her husband were living in Old Town. Mr. Herrod prosecuted some members of the Sam and Washington Grayson families, and he was notified that they planned to kill him. The Herrods were living in a house of one large room with a loft above and a separate kitchen. Mrs. Herrod hid her husband in the loft, and when the men arrived she said her husband was not there. John Tiger, an Indian boy, was living with the Herrods and Mrs. Herrod managed to slip him out so he could go to Hotiche Herrods for help. After young Tiger got a short distance from the house he gave a series of war whoops which frightened the raiders away as they thought assistance was near. In later life John Tiger was convicted of murdering a man, and Mrs. Herrod, remembering his help in time of great danger, tried in every way to save his life.

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[6] Clipping from Mrs. Herrod's scrapbook. Unfortunately the name of the paper and date were not preserved.

[7] Mount Holyoke College was established by Mary Lyon who made it a rule that the students must devote part of the day to their books and the remainder to household tasks. This fact did not deter a number of Cherokee girls belonging to the first families from attending the college and they became useful teachers in the schools of their nation.

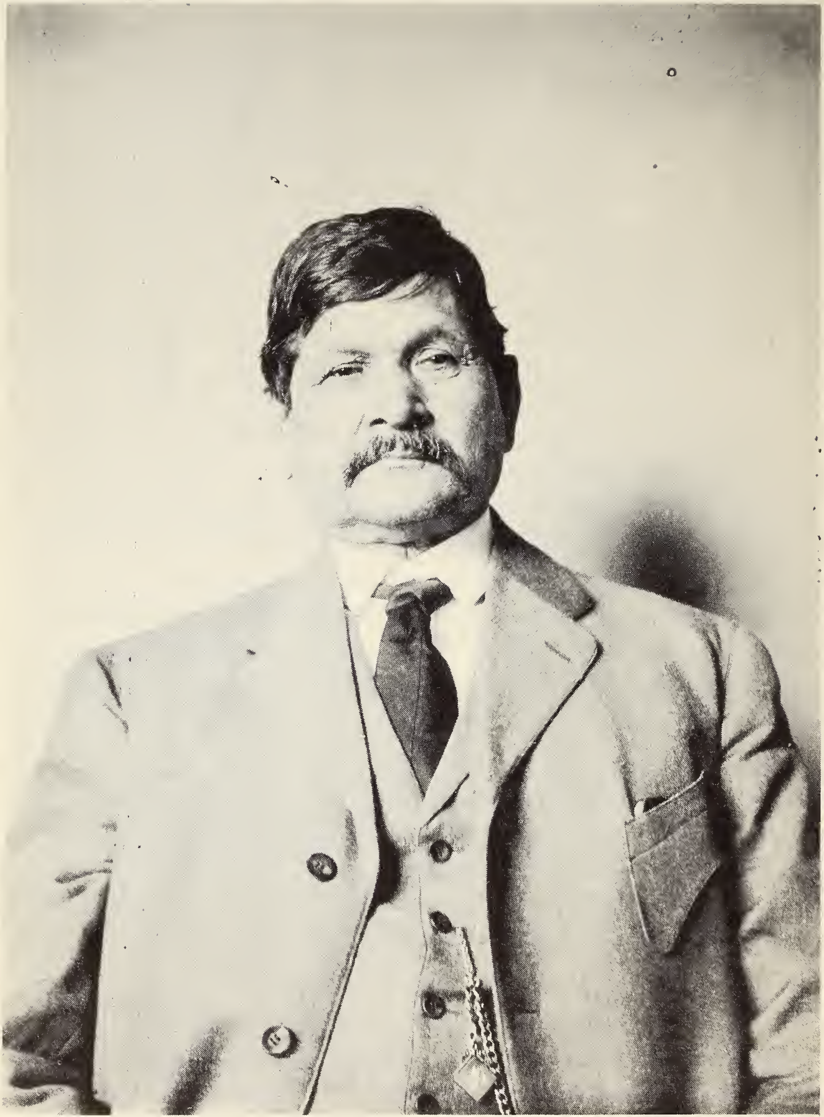
Mary Herrod devoted much of her time and strength to helping young people, in educating young Indian girls whom she had living in her home, and after the girls married and had families she never lost interest in them and their children.

Mrs. Herrod was teaching in the Council House at Okmulgee at the time Timmie Jack was executed. Her school was in session and Mrs. Herrod lowered the window shades so her pupils could not see the gruesome Creek punishment for murder.

Like many southern women who were reared with slaves to perform the household tasks Mrs. Herrod had never cooked a meal although she knew how to instruct other women to do so. She always refused to tell her age, and when some one called her "Grandmother" she was furious and declared: "I've never been a mother so how can I be a grandmother?"

Mrs Harrison has two bills of sale for Negroes bought by Goliath Herrod on February 13, 1860. One is for a Negro boy fifteen months old bought from Motey Kenard and witnessed by Allen Lucas, Kizziah Lewis, Hotiche Herrod and W. O. Buckner. The second bill of sale was for two Negro girls; one was about eight or nine and the other four or five years old. They were bought from Nicholas Marshall and the sale was witnessed by R. Cook and Melinty. This bill was dated April 7, 1850.

By a second marriage, Mary's sister, Kizzie Shaw, became



(Oklahoma Historical Society collections)

MOTY TIGER
Chief of the Creek Nation

the wife of Moty Tiger, a full-blood Creek Indian who was appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt Principal Chief upon the death of Chief Pleasant Porter. Tiger was about sixty-five years old and for twenty years had been a member of the National Council: [8]

> He is an intelligent broadminded, deep thinking man and a fluent talker, he wears a black beard and has an eye as pearcing as an eagle.
>
> In the Green Peach war he established a fighting record, in joining the Porter forces against Ispargecher and demanding an immediate and decisive settlement at arms with the Ispargecher Clans . . . . Since that time he has become a Methodist preacher, and now no Indian camp meeting is complete without Moty Tiger preaching at least one sermon.
>
> His home is six miles west of Okmulgee on the Deep Fork . . . . his first wife was a full blood who bore him three children . . . . his second wife is a mixed blood . . . . .

Miss Lucile Walrond of Muskogee, daughter of Major and Mrs. Z. T. Walrond, recalls that her mother and Mrs. Herrod were friends and she told the writer of an incident which showed Mrs. Herrod's shrewdness. After the Herrod Hotel burned in Eufaula insurance adjustors came from Kansas City to settle for damages. Mrs. Herrod decided to speak no English and she insisted that the white men provide interpreters before she would listen to a settlement. All of the discussions were carried on in Creek until the adjustor asked, "Mrs. Herrod which will you accept—a check or cash?" She replied in perfect English, " I will take cash." Her reason for this pretence was that she wished to hear any remarks the men made when they thought she would not understand them. [9]

Mrs. Herrod attended meetings of the Creek council at Okmulgee and kept informed on all business coming before that body. She was bitterly opposed to statehood in any form and she particularly disliked being joined to Oklahoma Territory. She not only wrote to the newspapers but she had printed at her own expense and sent to her tribesmen the following letter:

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[8] Newspaper article from Mrs. Herrod's scrapbook.

[9] Many years later the same trick was played on a young Chicago college man who was writing his thesis on the Natchez Indians at Braggs, Oklahoma. Although those red men spoke English they forced the Illinois man to hire an interpreter for several months.
—Authority Miss Winifred Clark, teacher at Braggs.

As Friday, the 15th of November, will be the last day of the Indian Territory and after that we will be no longer a nation, some of us feel that it is a very solemn and important crisis in the history of the Indians. And we want you to join with the other women of your neighborhood and spend this last day in fasting and prayer to Almighty God. Let us appeal to him to grant us his blessing and implore Him to be our ruler now that we no longer have our tribal government.

Let us meet at the church, school-house or in the women's prayer meeting and implore our Heavenly Father to guide and direct us in all that we do so that we may do what is right and what is best for ourselves and those of our people who will come after us and will be here when we are dead and gone.

And especially let us beg Him to direct us in our plans for caring for the poor, defenseless orphans who may soon be turned out of the Orphan School to grow up without an education. May God pity those poor children, and grant that some way be provided that they might grow up to be good Christian men and women . . . . .

Hoping that this may receive your prompt attention and that God will have mercy upon all the Creek Nation, I am, Yours truly.

Mrs. Mary L. Herrod.

One of the Okmulgee newspapers in November, 1907, published an appeal written by Mrs. Herrod, saying:

We reproduce above an appeal addressed by a venerable old Creek lady to her friends. This old person bordering on four score, stands with the dignity of a true queen to remind us of the piety, the fortitude, the patriotism of her gentle epistle that the completion of our plan marks the final extinction of another. It makes the end of the national existence of ancther.

Those lines breathe a pathos no heart can resist. If there is a suggestion of distrust and a trace of accusation in them, there is yet no injustice, no want of charity. They are the language of pride—a noble pride.

And while this old person acknowledges the ascendency she denies the superiority of the new regime. "I shall never write another letter," She said yesterday. I cannot date my letter "Indian Territory" and I shall not write. I was raised four miles from Muskogee. I can remember as a little girl hearing my people tell of their trip from Alabama. I can remember hearing them tell of their wrongs and how the white people induced them to come west and made such great promises.

I can remember how some of the wiser ones used to predict that in the end all our power would be taken from us. Since I have grown up I have witnessed the sly litle encroachments, step by step, until now I've lived to see the last step taken and the Indian does not count any more even in his own territory.

I tell you our people would not have come out here if they had not been given great promises. They did not want to come. And we had a good government. Our chiefs governed well, I tell you. Our laws were enforced. We had order. We had none of this bootlegging until your people came among us. We had honesty in our little dealings. Our chiefs and our judges were good men, nearly all. I knew them all and I tell you they were good men.

Having no children of her own she regarded her sister's daughter, Kate Shaw, as her child, and she helped in her rearing and education. "As long as her health permitted Mrs. Herrod was engaged in work that tended toward the upbuilding and betterment of her people. With an intellect far above the average and a consecrated heart, she was able to do much for the Indians."

Mrs. Herrod was a member of the Presbyterian Church, following in her training at Tallahassee under the Robertson family. She was a member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and an active member of the Eastern Star. When her health failed her niece, Kate Shaw Ahrens, took her to her own home in Wagoner where she died in 1917. The Eastern Star conducted its ceremonial service at her funeral. "No citizen of the Creek Nation ever exerted a finer influence or was more greatly missed than was Mrs. Mary Herrod." [10]

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[10] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Pioneer History, Foreman Collections, Indian Archives Division, Vol. 12, pp. 132-36. Much of the matter contained herein was obtained from reminiscences of the late Mrs. F. H. A. Ahrens, Wagoner, Oklahoma, for notes from which the writer is grateful to Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist of the Historical Society. Grateful acknowledgement is given Mrs. George W. Harrison, Sand Springs, Oklahoma for the loan of Mrs. Herrod's scrapbook as well as many interesting facts concerning Mr. and Mrs. Herrod. Miss Mottie Belle Ahrens, Muskogee, kindly furnished the writer with transportation for visits to relatives of the family.

Mrs. Kate Shaw Ahrens at Ninety-one.

KATE SHAW AHRENS

Among the early day teachers in the Indian Territory none had a more interesting and useful life than Kate Ellen Shaw. Born at Boggy Depot in the Choctaw Nation on March 25, 1864, she survived until the age of ninety one and in that long and eventful life she never lost interest in people and world affairs. To the last her bright eyes kept their sparkle and her keen sense of humor added to her charm.

Kate Shaw was the daughter of William Shaw and Kizziah Lewis Shaw. These young people went to the Choctaw Nation during the Civil War, and Mr. Shaw died in Fort Smith while on a business trip.

After the war the family returned to Eufaula, and Mrs. Ahrens earliest recollections were of living in an old house on the banks of the North Canadian River at "Old Town," across the creek from the Stidham and Scales store. To reach the town they crossed the creek where William Nero ran a store.[11]

The house occupied by the Shaws was a two room frame building consisting of one large room, a side room and a loft. There was a kitchen a short distance from the main house. Mrs. Shaw and Kate lived there with her aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. Goliath Herrod, various other kin and her grand father, John Lewis who was there most of the time. Several of their former slaves stayed with them and "Aunt Mahaley," who had belonged to Mrs. Herrod, remained as cook.

In 1869 or 1870, the family returned to a small farm they owned nearer to Eufaula. They built a hewed log house with a large chimney and puncheon floor. A hole was dug under the floor near the fire place, and it was packed with straw and served as a storage place for sweet potatoes. The winter evenings were made pleasant by roasting the potatoes in the fire place while the children warmed the cotton and picked out the seeds, thus making it ready to be carded for use in quilts.

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[11] William Nero died September 12, 1872 (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "North Fork Town," "*The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring, 1951) p. 91 and note 32.

Mr. Herrod died at this home, after suffering a long time with tuberculosis. Mrs. Shaw helped with the living expenses by sewing for the family of Judge G. W. Stidham of Eufaula. After her husband's death Mrs. Herrod went to Asbury Mission as matron. [12] This Methodist Mission was then under the supervision of the Reverend D. P. Holmes. Mrs. Shaw was teaching a day school at West Eufaula, and since she could not have Kate with her, the young girl was sent to Asbury Mission with her aunt.

Kate Shaw had previously attended a school at North Fork Town, taught by Mrs. Elizabeth Stidham Ross (later Mrs. Ingram). [13] Kate's outfit consisted of two linsey (part wool and part cotton) dresses and several calico aprons. Other pupils at that school were Tookah, Manley, Bob and Sarah Butler, [14] and the children of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph McDonald Coodey. At one time Kate attended a school taught by one of the Perrymans.

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[12] Asbury Mission located near North Fork Town in 1847, was named for a Methodist mission in the East. This school, belonging to the Southern Methodists, was closed during the Civil War, but was left in the custody of a missionary. After the war money was appropriated to restore that school and the one at Tullahassee, and both were reopened by 1868 or 1869. These schools accommodated about eighty students and Asbury cost $5,600 to maintain. Asbury was burned in 1888 and was not rebuilt. A Creek boarding school was later established in nearby Eufaula, and is still in operation (1957). Asbury Mission School was visited by Bishop George F. Pierce who wrote a vivid description of the three story brick building before the Civil War. The Reverend Thomas B. Ruble, superintendent of Asbury for several years, reported that "The girls as a general thing are more industrious than the boys; but, in a moral point of view, not more reliable." Asbury was badly damaged during the War. Everything movable was carried away, but work was resumed in 1869 and the Creeks appropriated $10,000 to restore the school. While still in use as a mission, it was burned in September, 1881.—Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941,) pp. 120, 147, 181, 186, 204, 310, 352; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), pp. 197, 209, 212; Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942,) p. 149; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "North Fork Town," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring, 1951), p. 149.

[13] Mrs. Elizabeth Stidham Ingram, a sister of Judge George W. Stidham, was born near Choska, Creek Nation, in April, 1832. After her death on June 18, 1891, the Reverend R. M. Loughridge contributed an obituary of her to a local paper. She was a pupil at Coweta and Tullahassee missions in the Creek Nation. She was engaged in supervision of the girls at the latter mission where she proved of great value. Later in life she taught in one of the Creek National Schools.

[14] Children of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Butler.—*Ibid.*, p. 90 and note 28.

While living at Asbury Mission, Kate learned to speak Creek and this acquirement proved to be valuable in her career. The supper at Asbury Mission consisted of yellow corn bread, molasses and water. The hungry children would fill their plates with molasses and often they were not able to eat all of the food so Mrs. Herrod made a rule that the students must return and finish all of the food they had left.

When about eleven or twelve years of age Kate was enrolled in a convent in Parsons, Kansas for one year.

Dwight Moody who became the greatest evangelist of the Nineteenth Century, founded Northfield Seminary for young women in Massachusetts. In 1880 he sent the principal of his school, Miss Harriet Tuttle, to the Indian Territory to interview young women of the Five Civilized Tribes as prospective students in the seminary. She made her headquarters at the Eufaula House in the Creek Town. This hotel was owned by Mrs. Mary Lewis Herrod, and her niece, Kate Shaw, was making her home there at the time.

A group of Indian girls met at the hotel and sixteen were chosen to go east to the Northfield school. From the Creek Nation: Jennie and Rose Yargee, Mary Colbert and Lonie Stidham.[15] From the Choctaw Nation: Anna Balentine

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[15] Lonie Stidham was a daughter of the distinguished Creek leader, George W. Stidham by his second wife. In the autumn of 1884 she was married to Dr. Leo E. Bennett at Eufaula. They became the parents of three children—Lonie, Gertrude and Leo E. Bennett, Jr.

Wright [16] of Boggy Depot and Hatty Ward [17] of Stringtown. From the Cherokee Nation: Mamie Ross [18] of Fort Gibson, Lydia and Fanny Keys, [19] Kate Timberlake, Ida Stephens, Jessie West, [20] and Ida Beaty, all of Vinita. From the

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[16] Anna Balentine Wright, the daughter of the Reverend Allen and Harriet (nee Mitchell) Wright, was born at the home of her parents in Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation in September, 1865. She was the namesake of Anna Hoyt Balentine, a friend of her mother at Wapanucka Academy and the wife of the Reverend Hamilton Balentine superintendent of the Academy.

After one year in the school at Northfield, Massachusetts, Anna Wright attended Miss Carnes' Seminary, Kirkwood, Missouri until her graduation in 1886. She served as a teacher in the schools at Lehigh and at Tushkahomma Academy before her marriage on November 22, 1893, to Edwin Ludlow, Superintendent of Mines at Hartshorne and Gowen for the Choctaw Coal and Railway Company. Mr. Ludlow was a native of New York (Ludlow and Nicoll families of Oakdale, Long Island), and a graduate of Columbia University, School of Mines. He died at Muskogee in 1924.

Anna Wright Ludlow died in San Antonio, Texas, July 9, 1955, and was buried by the side of her parents in Old Boggy Depot Cemetery. She had made her home in McAlester after Mr. Ludlow's death but in her last illness was in a hospital in San Antonio where her sister, Mrs. Clara Wright Richards, resides.

Mrs. Ludlow had an interesting life as her husband and she traveled widely in America and abroad. Mr. Ludlow was a sucessful mining engineer for many years making their home in Mexico where he was with the Guggenheim mining interests. In his last years, he was a consulting mining engineer in New York City and Muskogee. Mrs. Ludlow remained staunch in her faith in the Presbyterian Church, and was known for her philanthropies especially to American Indian missions and church work. (Miss Muriel H. Wright furnished this interesting account of her charming aunt, Mrs. Ludlow.)

[17] Hattie Ward was probably one of the four daughters of William G. Ward, a Choctaw, and Eliza Beck Ward a Cherokee.

[18] Mamie Ross of Fort Gibson, a daughter of William P. and Mary Jane Ross, was a sister of Hubbard Ross, postmaster of Fort Gibson for many years and custodian of the Fort Gibson Stockade after it was rebuilt in 1937.

[19] Lydia Emma and Fannie Keys, daughters of Monroe Calvin and Lucy Lowrey Hoyt Keys. Lydia married Charles J. Taylor and Fannie became the wife of James A. Leforce. Her first husband was William Balentine. Muriel H. Wright, *Springplace Moravian Mission and the Ward Family,* Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1940, p. 84; Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians,* Oklahoma City, 1921, p. 233.

[20] Jessie West, a daughter of Hester Ironsides West and the wife of Captain McDonald, Military Department, A and M College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, for many years. This information was furnished the writer by Mrs. James Davenport of Oklahoma City. Mrs. McDonald, now ninety years of age, is living in a nursing home in Stillwater. The writer wishes to express her gratitude to Mrs. Vera Jones Chauncey of Stillwater and Mrs. Davenport for supplying facts.

Chickasaw Nation a Miss Stewart was selected.[21]

In September, 1880, all of the girls who lived south of Muskogee met in that town where a Pullman coach had been dispatched by Jay Gould,[22] the famous railroad man of New York, to transport them to Northfield. The other pupils joined the party at Vinita.

In an old scrapbook that had belonged to Mrs. Herrod is a faded letter dated "Northfield, Massachusetts, July 25, 1880":

"Miss Shaw

"Your letter received and contents noted. The school will open about the middle of September. There will be a car to bring the girls from Indian Territory, without charge and free of expense. We shall expect to receive you as one of our scholars.

"Yours truly
"D. L. Moody,"[23]

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[21] No one living is able to supply the name of the sixteenth student.

[22] Jay Gould (1836-1893) in early life engaged in surveying. Entered the brokerage business in 1857 and made an immense fortune through railroad speculation. "He was said to control nearly one-eighth of the railroad mileage in the United States." (J. Franklin Jameson, *Dictionary of United States History*, Boston. 1897, p 271.) "Gould . . . had the patience of Job. and if he could not acquire control of the Katy today, why there was always tomorrow, he saw it as a feeder for the Gould system; and eventually it became just that, a feeder—to be fed upon and bled almost white before it managed to shake off the coils of the system."—V. V. Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier*, (Norman, 1952,) pp. 206, 214.

[23] Dwight Lyman Moody was born in Northfield, Massachusetts, February 5, 1837. He lived on a farm until seventeen when he started as a clerk in a shoe store in Boston. In 1856 he went to Chicago where he engaged in business, at the same time carrying on missionary work. He soon built up a Sunday school of over a thousand members. He became associated with Ira D. Sankey a well known singer and they held religious services in Great Britain and the United States. "In both countries he had a wonderful success and exerted a powerful influence for good in different classes."

In addition to his church and school in Chicago, Moody established two schools at Northfield and he published "Arrows and Anecdotes," (1877) "Heaven" (1880), "Secret Power," (1881). He died in 1899. (Joseph Thomas, *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography*, (Philadelphia, 1888,) p. 1759; *Who Was Who in America*, Chicago, 1943, p. 857) Northfield was a post-village in Franklin County, Massachusetts on the east bank of the Connecticut River, twenty-three miles north of Amherst.

Moody had little formal education so "it is . . . . rather fine and strik-

The Indian girls traveled on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad owned by Jay Gould. He was known at that time as the most ruthless financier in this country. It was said that "Jay Gould, the purest of mercenary adventurers, acquired the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Lines merely as a great feeder line . . ."

It would be interesting to know what influence Moody brought to bear on Gould that induced him to send a Pullman car to Indian Territory for the Indian girls. Was it a bit of advertising to show him as a philanthropist interested in the welfare and advancement of some of the citizens of the section of the country where he was operating a railroad? Or was it the sympathy of his good wife who influenced him?

Dining cars were not included in the trip of the young ladies, and they were advised to bring baskets of food to sustain them from Monday to Thursday on the long journey.

Miss Shaw wore a calico frock and a leghorn hat for the journey. At many of the stations in the East crowds had gathered to gaze at the Indians. Mr. Moody met them on their arrival at Northfield in Massachusetts, and they were housed in his home until a brick dormitory was completed.

Board and tuition in the school cost $100.00 a year and several wealthy citizens of Boston sponsored some of the students for four years. During the first summer the girls spent in Northfield a meeting was held at the school attended by religious leaders from all over the world. During this gathering the Indian students waited upon the tables and no doubt

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ing indicative of largeness of spirit that he should have made it one of the chief efforts of his life to propogate in others what had been so emphatically omitted in himself." He organized his school on the lines of Mount Holyoek. Mary Lyon the celebrated founder of that school," . . . . . was an educator, she was not a scholar any more than Moody was . . . . she did not want her girls to be scholars only . . . Her ideal, she said, was that her girls 'should live for God and do something.' Moody would have been perfectly content to inscribe that motto over the doors of his schools . . . . " Gamaliel Bradford, *D. L. Moody A Worker in Souls* (New York, 1927,) pp. 259, 262.

they added greatly to the interest of the affair. [24]

During the autumn the girls were permitted to go on hunts for chestnuts. They carried lunches and greatly enjoyed the picnics in the beautiful woods. The student body of young women was made up of girls from all parts of the country, but the meals served to them were strictly New England. Sunday breakfast was baked beans, brown bread and coffee. The southern Indian girls were amazed when Negro delegates were seated among the whites at religious meetings. The Negro Jubilee Singers' visits to Northfield College added interest to the life there. In addition to their literary studies the pupils were taught all sorts of home arts and an hour a day each student devoted to housekeeping, cooking, serving meals and laundry work. They were given credit for such duties. Miss Shaw spent the second summer in Canada in the home of a schoolmate. The third vacation was passed in Brookline, Massachusetts with a friend from the school. Of the sixteen Indian girls who attended the school Kate Shaw, Kate Timberlake, Lydia and Fanny Keys were the only ones who finished the four year course.

Many customs in the East were interesting to the Indian girls. One was when Kate Shaw saw the women in the town carrying huge loaves of bread to be cooked at the municipal bakery. On one occasion she was invited by her hostess to accompany her to the market to buy meat and seeing the astonishment of the Indian she inquired "Where do you get your meat?" Kate replied, "From the smoke house, of course."[25]

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[24] The story of "Northfield Seminary Life" was written by Mrs. A. W. Yale, "One of the Girls." In this narrative is related that Moody got his idea for a girl's school when he saw a group of young women "engaged in the monotonous occupation of making baskets. It was by no means an unusual sight, especially in New England . . . . and the thought at once flashed into his mind, 'Those girls have as much right to an education as anyone else, but how can they get it?' "

Gradually the minister interested wealthy people in his school and handsome buildings were erected so that 300 girls were accepted as students. Music was a hobby of Mr. Moody and the singing at Northfield gave him great pride. He frequently suggested the hymns to be sung at chapel and one morning he chose "We'll all be ready when the bridegroom comes." The first time the hymn was sung through perfect gravity ensued, but when repeated time after time it proved too amusing for the girls and a ripple ran over the assembly. "I guess we'll try another," said the smiling Mr. Moody. —Lawrence M. Colfelt, *Iife and Work of Dwight L. Moody,* (Philadelphia, and Chicago, 1900), pp. 209-232; *The New York Times Magazine,* December 2, 1956, pp. 145-46.

While Kate was at school in the East, her mother was married to Motey Tiger, a prominent Creek who was later elected the chief of his nation. After her return to the Territory, Kate worked in the office of Dr. Leo E. Bennett, publisher of the *Indian Journal* in Muskogee. During the summer she attended the Teachers' Institute at Okmulgee and took examinations for a teacher's certificate, after which she applied for a school at West Eufaula where she taught during 1884-1885. This was a country school where the teacher built the fires, and at the end of the week she rode back to Eufaula on a wagon loaded with cotton. In the autumn of 1885, Miss Shaw entered the Baptist Female College at Lexington, Missouri.[26] When she was graduated in June, 1887, she was awarded gold medals for art and good deportment. During the summer vacation, she again assisted Dr. Bennett in work on the *Indian Journal* at Eufaula. In the autumn Miss Alice M. Robertson offered Miss Shaw a position on the faculty of the Presbyterian Mission school she had started in Muskogee. She taught there a year but continued to work for Dr. Bennett in all of her spare time.

Because of her ability to speak Creek Miss Shaw was tendered a position on the faculty of Nuyaka Mission, but she accepted a place in Muskogee in the private school of Mrs. Burke to teach the primary class. Other teachers in this school were Miss Cora Archer and Miss Addie Willey, both Cherokees.

After a few months, Indian Agent Dew M. Wisdom secured a position for Miss Shaw as primary teacher at the Ponca Indian Agency. The Ponca Agent on November 30, 1888 wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John H. Oberly: "I have the honor to submit herewith the nomination of Miss

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[25] Authority Miss Ella M. Robinson, Muskogee, Oklahoma

[26] Lexington, county seat of Lafayette County, Missouri, situated on the south bank of the Missouri River, about 84 miles below Kansas City, in 1880 the town had a population of 3,996. *Lippincott's Gazeteer of the World* (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 1232.

Kate E. Shaw, of Eufaula, Ind. Ter. to be teacher at the Ponca school. Carrie C. Shults, transferred to the Pawnee School." After telling of Miss Shaw's schooling the agent continued: "Miss Shaw is an accomplished musician and artist, a disciplinarian and teacher and I congratulate this school upon having secured her services. She is highly recommended by Miss A. M. Robertson of the Presbyterian Mission and Hon. R. L. Owen of Muskogee, I. T." The following year the agent wrote: "I will further add that, since the employment of Miss Shaw she has proven herself to be perfectly satisfactory." In 1892, Miss Shaw was described as an excellent teacher by D. J. M. Wood of the Ponca Agency when he recommended teachers for the Brice School. [27]

The Ponca School was housed in a large brick building and one hundred pupils were accmmodated. Miss Shaw was paid $50.00 per month, and she paid her own expenses. In the summer, the Indians lived in little houses built for them by the government, but they camped on North Fork River during the winter. There was a strict rule prohibiting the Indian children from being taken away from the school. [28]

Miss Shaw was married on December 9, 1891, to Albert J. W. Ahrens whom she met while attending college in Lexington. An account of their wedding has recently been found in a newspaper clipping preserved in an old scrapbook made by Mrs. Mary Herrod:

> Wednesday afternoon at 4:30 o'clock Mr. A. J. W. Ahrens and Miss Kate E. Shaw were married by Rev. R. C. McGee in the parlor of the Eufaula House, in the presence of a few friends. The bride is one of the most intelligent, accomplished and refined Creek ladies . . . . Mr. Ahrens is a prominent salesman in St. Louis, and during his few days stop here favorably impressed those who met him. After the ceremony the guests were seated to a magnificent lunch in the dining hall of the hotel.
>
> The bridal pair left on the 5:45 train for Lexington, Mo., the home of the groom's parents, and where the bride attended college and has a large circle of friends. After February 1st, they will be at home, 2656 Lucas Avenue, St. Louis, to their friends.

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[27] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Ponca Schools, Vol. 10, p. 431.

[28] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Vol. 12, pp. 136, 141. Miss Shaw remained in this position from the autumn of 1888 to the same time in 1891, when she returned to Eufaula.

Mr. and Mrs. Ahrens made their home in St. Louis for four years after which they returned to Eufaula where Mr. Ahrens was engaged in the mercantile business. In 1898 they moved to the east side of Wagoner where Mrs. Ahrens had taken her 160 acre allotment. With them they took their two children, Juliet (Mrs. George W. Harrison, Sand Springs, Oklahoma) and Henry Shaw Ahrens. [29]

Life on the prairie farm was primitive as there were no modern improvements, and not even a tree or fence, and Mrs. Ahrens was kept busy with such work as she had never done before in her whole life. Mr. Ahrens first built a small frame house. Later he erected a fine brick residence which was the comfortable home of his wife during the remainder of her life, and it is still occupied by her son and his wife.

Mrs. Ahrens was a charter member of the First Presbyterian Church in Wagoner and she never failed in attendance. She drove her horse and surrey to town for church meetings. With her many duties, she always found time to read, and she frequently resumed her china painting. The women of Wagoner gave dinners to help pay for the church and Mrs. Ahrens contributed her part. She sang in the choir and occasionally played the organ for services. During World Was I, she took part in the Red Cross work, and was a charter member of the Legion Auxiliary. A high light during the summers were the Chautauqua meetings in Wagoner, and the Ahrens family was always on hand to enjoy the interesting and profitable entertainments. After moving to Wagoner Mrs. Ahrens was amused when the postman first brought a special delivery letter addressed to her, and he asked her if she could write. She modestly replied, "A little."

Mr. Ahrens was an elder in the Presbyterian Church from 1891 to his death in 1899. Before the church was built services were held in Cobb' sHall, a building still standing on

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[29] According to the *Final Rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes* Kate E. Ahrens was thirty-five and one-quarter Creek Indian. "Juliette Ahrens" (*sic*) four years old, one-eighth Creek and Henry Shaw Ahrens, one year old, was also one-eighth Creek. Juliet Ahrens (Mrs. George Harrison) of Sand Springs, Oklahoma is the mother of two children: Captain William S. Harrison, a doctor in the U. S. Air Force, stationed in California, and Miss Kathryn Harrison of the home.

Cherokee Street in Wagoner.

Naturally Mrs. Ahrens was a sincere believer in education and her daughter grew up with the expectation of receiving college training. Her mother frequently quoted to her, "Educate a woman and you educate a family." Although there was much hard work on the farm, Mr. and Mrs. Ahrens believed in outings for their family, and they frequently attended barbecues given by Gid Sleeper at Okay, or picnics near the river.

A former pupil of Miss Shaw's is Mrs. Anna Peterson Shortall (Mrs. Frank Shortall, Porter, Oklahoma), who has many fond memories of her teacher and describes her as her "best teacher." Mrs. Shortall says, "she taught me how to think and study. We all loved her but had a wholesome respect for her in regard to behavior. Miss Shaw was a strict disciplinarian. She was very fine in English, and she taught me Latin and algebra."

Mrs. Ahrens died in a Muskogee hospital Saturday, November 19, 1955 at the age of ninety-one. Funeral services were conducted by the Reverend Coy Lee in the First Presbyterian Church in Wagoner, [30] and her body rests in Elmwood Cemetery in that town.

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[30] *Muskogee Times Democrat*, November 21, 1955; *Muskogee Phoenix*. November 22, 1955: *Tulsa World*, November 20, 1955, p. 50, col. 7.

An application was made to the *National Archives*, Washington, D. C., which brought the following reply: "A careful examination of the records of the office of the Secretary of the Interior and of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, now in the National Archives, has failed to reveal any mention of the Indian girls or the Moody School. A special search of letters received from the Indian Agent at the Union Agency, John Q. Tufts, did not disclose any information about the Indian girls." This careful search was reported by Miss Jane F. Smith, Archivist in Charge, Interior Branch Natural Resources Records Division, The National Archives, Washington, December 13, 1956. Gratitude is due her, and it is hereby extended.

LEASING OF QUAPAW MINERAL LANDS

By A. M. Gibson

A considerable portion of Oklahoma's natural resource abundance is situated on lands assigned to the various Indian tribes. Grazing, hay, field-crop, and timber lands, as well as coal, petroleum, and lead-zinc bearing areas have occurred on several tribal reservations and member allotments. Only sporadic and clandestine use had been made of this restricted natural bounty until the public domain supply of agricultural, timber, and mineral lands waned. This attracted national attention to Oklahoma's Indian lands, and incessant pressure by promoters and special interest groups gradually won out as restrictions on use were lifted. Official experience had shown, however, that if opened to exploitation, the use of these lands must be regulated so as to protect tribal and individual member rights.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs of the United States Department of the Interior has been delegated the major responsibility for regulating the use of Indian lands. Out of years of dealing with the evident problems that accompany the use of Indian lands, a series of regulations have evolved with each land use system, be it grazing, petroleum, coal, or lead and zinc, developing a sort of special code.

While public pressure has brought about availability for exploitation, it has been tempered by protective regulations. Each land area opened has had a somewhat different policy depending upon the use adopted. Farm, hay, and grazing land necessarily had a different set of regulations than coal or oil bearing land. One of the most complex and interesting land use systems has evolved out of the utilization of lead and zinc properties situated on Quapaw lands in Ottawa County, Oklahoma. As a geological region, this section of Oklahoma is the southwestern anchor of the fabulously wealthy Tri-State District. Ottawa County shares the district with Jasper and Newton counties in southwestern Missouri, and Cherokee County in southeastern Kansas. The district, first opened in the Missouri sector around 1850, extended into Kansas in 1876, and reached northeastern

Oklahoma on a limited basis in 1891 with the discovery of lead ore at Peoria, Indian Territory. From 1900 to 1950, the Tri-State District has been the world's leading producer of lead and zinc ore, and for the last thirty-three years of this production epoch, Oklahoma mines made the greatest contribution.[1]

Mining operators from the Missouri-Kansas section of the district were largely responsible for developing the Indian Territory mines. Ottawa County ores were discovered by Tri-State prospectors. The methods of mining, milling, smelting, and marketing found so effective in the northern section of the district were applied to the new field. Accustomed land use and tenure practices, however, presented a different problem. The historic free-hold and lease tenure of the older portions of the district could not be applied to the new field. The mineral was located on Quapaw Indian lands, and exploitation was held up until an adjustment was made to this new condition. Local Indian agents could authorize the negotiation of leases, but it was charged by promoters that mining operations were curtailed because of the uncertainty of lease tenure and the hostility of Indian agents toward non-Indian leaseholders.[2]

The basic problem facing the mining operators was to work out conditions for a secure first lease since fee simple tenure was impossible. Once a first lease could be established, then the old pattern of Tri-State District land use systems could be applied. This briefly, meant that a land and royalty company negotiated the first lease with the landowner at as low a royalty percentage as possible, seldom if ever above ten percent, and generally three to eight percent. Then the land company would sub-lease the mineral lands in various sized plots, 200 feet square up to a section, for a royalty of from fifteen to thirty percent. This had the effect of pyramiding royalty payments and cutting the operational margin of ore profits.[3]

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[1] See A. M. Gibson, "Early Mining Camps in Northeastern Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXIV (July, 1956), pp. 193-203 for production statistics.

[2] United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report for* 1895 (Washington, 1895), p. 147.

[3] Clarence A. Wright, *Mining and Milling of Lead and Zinc Ores in the Missouri-Kansas-Oklahoma Zinc District*, U. S. Bureau of Mines Bulletin No. 154 (Washington, 1918), p. 15.

The uncertainty of developing Quapaw lead and zinc properties was gradually lifted by various congressional and administrative actions. In keeping with the general Indian policy of Allotments in Severalty, the Quapaw Reservation was allotted to *bona fide* tribesmen in 1893, and approved by Congress in 1895.[4] Each member received 240 acres.[5] While the use of these lands by non-Indians was restricted, a law of 1897 authorized agency approved leases of allotments for farming, grazing, and mining. This condition had existed before, but now an added requirement placed final approval and administration of all leases negotiated directly under the Secretary of the Interior.[6]

Under Department of the Interior supervision, Tri-State mine operators were able to develop a total of 7,000 acres of mineralized land by 1930. These Quapaw holding yielded by this date more than two-thirds of the Tri-State District's lead and zinc concentrates. The leases on Quapaw lands generally were approved for a period of ten years or as long as mineral was found in paying quantities.[7] As a protective measure, the Interior Department has maintained, through its Bureau of Indian Affairs, an agent to supervise and protect the Indian's mining interests.[8] Often leases have been auctioned by the local Indian agent, so as to obtain a bonus for the Indian landowner in addition to his regular royalty. Probably the biggest sum ever received for the use of a Quapaw mineral tract was $105,000 paid by the Kansas Explorations Company in 1926 to John Quapaw for the use of six acres of his allotment.[9]

It should be noted that only about one-sixth of the

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[4] *United States Statutes at Large* XXVIII (Washington, 1895), p. 907.

[5] *Ibid.*, XXX (Washington, 1899) p. 72.

[6] United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Lead and Zinc Mining Operations and Leases, Quapaw Agency—Regulations of the Indian Service,* (Washington, 1934).

[7] *Ibid.* Also see C. F. Williams, "The Leasing System," *American Mining Congress and American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers Convention Booklet* (September 28, 1931), p. 10.

[8] Samuel Weidman, et al., *Miami-Picher Zinc-Lead District* (Norman, 1932), p. 92.

[9] "Mining News," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, CXXI (March 6, 1926), p. 415.

Quapaws hold land in the mineral area. The tribal population in 1954 was approximately 600, and of these, only 100 received lead and zinc royalty payments.[10] In the past, some members have built up royalty credits as high as $75,000, others ranging from $35,000 to $45,000.[11] In 1923, the Secretary of the Interior invested these royalty credits in United States Treasury Notes bearing four and one-half percent interest and ordered them held in trust. As the output of the region has gradually decreased through the years, due to exhaustion of richer deposits and the entry into marginal ore mining, so have royalty payments to Quapaws diminished. In more recent years, the local agency at Miami, Oklahoma, or the Area Office at Muskogee has collected royalties for the Indians from the mine operators and has paid out the money to the Indian landowners. In some cases, the agent has paid an allowance rather than the full amount. It should be noted that the Quapaws hold their allotted lands in fee simple, so royalty payments go to individual members rather than to the tribe as a whole.[12]

Additional safeguards to protect the Quapaws from exploitation include the appointment of a Bureau of Mines engineer to work in liaison with the agent. The mining engineer helps to supervise the leasing as well as the prospecting, mining, and milling of mineral from Indian lands.[13] Other protective features include the fabrication of an aerial mosaic map of the Quapaw mineral producing area. The Army Air Corps in 1927 aerially photographed the region to aid in administering Quapaw mineral lands. The photographs were assembled, reduced to scale, and annotated. Thereby, a complete identification could be made of all mineral leases, and the stage of development determined.[14]

In spite of all these safeguards, there is abundant evidence to show that in some instances the Quapaws were exploited. As early as 1907, mine operators, organized through the Baxter Springs Mining Exchange, sought a relaxation of the leasing restrictions and general governmental control over Quapaw lands.[15] A. L. Morford, veteran mining writer and newspaperman, revealed that "one of the men interested in the movement is former Governor Samuel Crawford, of Kansas, who now owns farm land near Baxter Springs. The former governor . . . has had much to do with Indian affairs and in shaping legislation for the small tribes of the territory."[16]

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[10] Interview with H. A. Andrews, Miami, Oklahoma, August 24, 1953.

[11] "Mining News," *Engineering and Mining Journal,* CXVI (November 3, 1923), p. 780.

[12] Interview with Andrews.

[13] Weidman, et. al., *Miami-Pitcher District,* p. 92.

[14] C. F. Williams, "The Tri-State District from the Air," *Mining Congress Journal,* XV (November, 1929), p. 846.

None of these pressure groups was successful immediately in getting the regulations removed. But the restricted period for the Quapaw lands was to expire in 1921, and several alternative plans for protecting the Indians were advanced. One of these provided for the appointment of a guardian for each Indian allottee. Since mine operators would have to deal with the guardian instead of the Indian agent, they were opposed to the proposed change. Undoubtedly, their opposition grew from the fear that a guardian would be more zealous in protecting the Indian's property rights than the Indian agent had been. In 1920, the *Engineering and Mining Journal* reported on this opposition:[17]

> It is probable that a bill to continue the restrictions so far as Quapaws are concerned, will be introduced in Congress with their (the operators) backing. The operators believe that it is much safer and satisfactory for them to continue to deal with Indian agents as at present than it would be for them to have to deal with the Indians themselves or their guardians appointed by the county commissioners of Ottawa County. Any special guardian would be imbued with making as good a showing as possible for their wards and might be unfair in the end to the operators.

Congress met the expiration deadline by simply extending the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior much as it had been before.[18] This seemed to usher in a new era of exploitation, for the facts show that the operators were aided in that leases negotiated during the early 1920's were more in the interests of the operators and less for the Quapaws. Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall, notorious for the Teapot Dome lease, also figured prominently. By the law of 1921, the Secretary of the Interior was given authority to remove restrictions and permit the outright sale of Quapaw lands if the owner were adjudged competent. The *Engineering and Minging Journal* reported that Paul Ewert, representing the mining operators, negotiated the sale of a mineral tract when the Department of the Interior adjudged the owner competent in 1922. Shortly, it was discovered that Ewert was an employee of the United States Department of Justice. Thereupon, the Quapaws sought, unsuccessfully, to have the transaction set aside claiming that Ewert was disqualified because of his official connection with the government.[19]

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[15] W. R. Crane, and G. I. Adams, "Lead and Zinc Mining in the Quapaw District," *Mines and Minerals* (May, 1907), p. 446.

[16] A. L. Morford Journal Entries for December, 1907, Galena, Kansas, p. 41.

[17] "Opposition to Removing Quapaw Restrictions Develops," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, CIX (June 19, 1920), p. 326.

[18] *United States Statutes at Large*, XLI (Washington, 1922), pp. 1225-1248.

During the same year, Indian attorneys attempted to gain a five percent royalty increase. The operators countered by seeking a reduction from ten to seven and one-half percent. A Department of the Interior hearing was conducted at Miami, after which the Secretary of the Interior approved the leases at ten percent over protests of the Quapaws.[20]

These actions raised a storm of protest among groups concerned with Indian welfare. In 1923, the Indian Rights Association attacked the way in which the Department of the Interior was handling Quapaw mineral lands, publishing an account entitled "Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians." [21] Two years later, ten Quapaws holding mineralized allotments filed suit in Federal District Court at Tulsa to recover $30,000,000 worth of lead and zinc concentrates taken from their lands since 1921. Their bill of complaints charged that "former Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall executed leases over the protests of the Indians, and on a lower basis than other offers at the time, and lower than estimates made by the Department of the Interior as to what a fair price would be."[22]

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[19] "News from Washington," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, CXIII (March 18, 1922), p. 463.

[20] "Mining News," *Ibid.*, CXIII (June 3, 1922), p. 980.

[21] Gertrude C. Bonnin, et al., *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians* (New York, 1924).

Defendants included the Eagle Picher Company as well as Hunt, Commonwealth, Kelton, and White Bird Mining Companies as sublessees of Eagle Picher. A decision was handed down in 1928 in favor of defendants, thereby upholding former Secretary Fall's action. [23]

While these legal setbacks brought financial discomfort to Quapaw landowners of a temporary sort, permanent reduction in royalty income was in the offing for tribal members, due less to administrative and judicial decrees and more to the limitations of nature. By 1930, the rich lead and zinc ores, concentrated in heavy and readily accessible deposits, had been fairly well exhausted. As mine operators moved into the more marginal deposits, mining costs increased, profits decreased, and Quapaw royalties diminished proportionately. In many cases, mining operations were actually suspended. This condition produced another significant development in Quapaw Indian land use - the commingling agreement, whereby the ore from several leased tracts could be hoisted and milled at a central place.

Even though an ore body occurred close to the tract lines of several lessees, before commingling the mineral had to be mined, hoisted, and milled on the tract of its origin. Therefore, each tract whether 200 feet square, five acres, or forty acres, had to have at least one mill.[24] As long as the ore was rich, the system worked fairly well. But as more marginal ores were tapped, individual hoisting and milling costs forced scores of mines to close. H. A. Andrews, Quapaw Indian Agent at this time and the author of commingling, reported that this new land use practice made possible a new mining era for the Tri-State District. In addition to prolonging the region's productive life, Andrews added that commingling assured consistent-if somewhat lower-royalty payments to Quapaw landowners. This practice also furnished more reliable employment, and enabled companies to carry on in periods of metal price depression.[25] Basically, commingling produced lower mining and milling costs, thereby enabling Tri-State operators to handle marginal ores and to compete favorably with newer, richer lead and zinc fields in the West.

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[22] "Mining News," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, CXXII October 9, 1926), p. 583.

[23] *Whitebird et al, v. Eagle Picher Lead Company, Federal Reporter. —Second Series*, XXVIII (St. Paul, 1929), 200-205. For editorial comment see "Mining News," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, CXXVI (September 22, 1928), 467. Also see *Blackwell Morning Tribune*, September 11, 1928.

[24] An essential phase of the mining process is milling. After the lead and zinc ores are extracted and hoisted to the ground level, they are transported to a building forming a part of the mine environs. This structure contains crushing and cleaning equipment which separates the ores, reduces them to uniform size, and prepares both lead and zinc for the smelting process. Until fairly recent times, each mine had its individual mill. Today, most mineral is transported to a central mill from peripheral mines for processing. See *Appendix* for explanation and diagram of *commingling.*

Quapaw landowners benefit from the presence of lead and zinc minerals on their properties only when their lessees actively exploit the ore deposits. Mine operators carry on when mining costs are low enough and domestic market prices high enough to insure a profit. Commingling helped produce a constancy of operation on Quapaw lands until after 1945. Since that date even the stabilizing effect of commingling has been reduced, and Quapaw landowner interests have suffered proportionately. This condition has grown out of the National Government's policy of encouraging backward countries to develop their resources, and assuring a market for products by permitting imports of raw materials into the United States free of tariff restrictions. In the case of lead and zinc, Peruvian and Mexican Mining interests have been guaranteed six cents a pound above the prevailing United States' market price for lead and zinc concentrates.[26] This policy has had far reaching repercussions in the domestic lead and zinc producing fields, and especially in the Tri-State District because of its low grade ore. Since Quapaw Indian lands comprise the most productive segment of the district, tribal royalty interests have suffered proportionately.

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[25] Interview with Andrews.

[26] "Preliminary Report on Zinc in Oklahoma," Prepared by Represensitive Ed. Edmondson, Second District, Oklahoma for the Congress of the United States, House of Representatives (Washington, 1953, 1-5. (Mimeographed). Also see U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Problems in the Metal Mining Industry (Lead, Zinc, and Other Metals)*, Hearings before the Select Committee on Small Business, House of Representatives, Eighty Third Congress, First Session (Washington, 1953).

During 1956, out of a total of 172 restricted Quapaw tracts involving 16,054 acres, thirty-one mineral leases were actively exploited. The Eagle Picher Mining Company, largest district operator, controlled sixteen of these and paid out to Quapaw landowners $252,508. The largest royalty received by an owner of restricted Quapaw lands was $56,000; the smallest royalty $2.69.[27] These funds are currently administered by the Area Director of the Muskogee Area Office for Indian Affairs, who, since 1949, also has had the authority to approve all leases. By the law of 1921 only the Secretary of the Interior could do this.[28]

An uncertain future has forced virtual abandonment of Quapaw Indian lands for mining purposes in 1957. Throughout this year, the Oklahoma delegation in Congress has worked consistently for a new metals procurement policy by the National Government whereby domestic producers will receive preferential treatment.

Appendix

Diagram A shows the system of land use in effect before commingling was applied to Quapaw mineral lands. Even though the same ore body might appear on several leased tracts, the earlier practice required that each tract must have an independent shaft and mill. As long as the deposits were rich, this system did not work too badly, but as more marginal ores were reached, and the richer ores exhausted, many mining companies suspended operations because they could not handle the leaner ores profitably. Around 1930, H. A. Andrews, Indian Agent at Miami introduced a new system of land use called commingling, illustrated by Diagram B. Thereby a single hoisting shaft could be used in common by several companies exploiting the same deposit on their respective leases. Also, a central mill handles all crude ore and produces concentrates, further cutting the cost. Landowners sign these commingling agreements permitting ore from their properties to be hoisted from a central shaft, as well as allowing the ore to be mixed and milled centrally.

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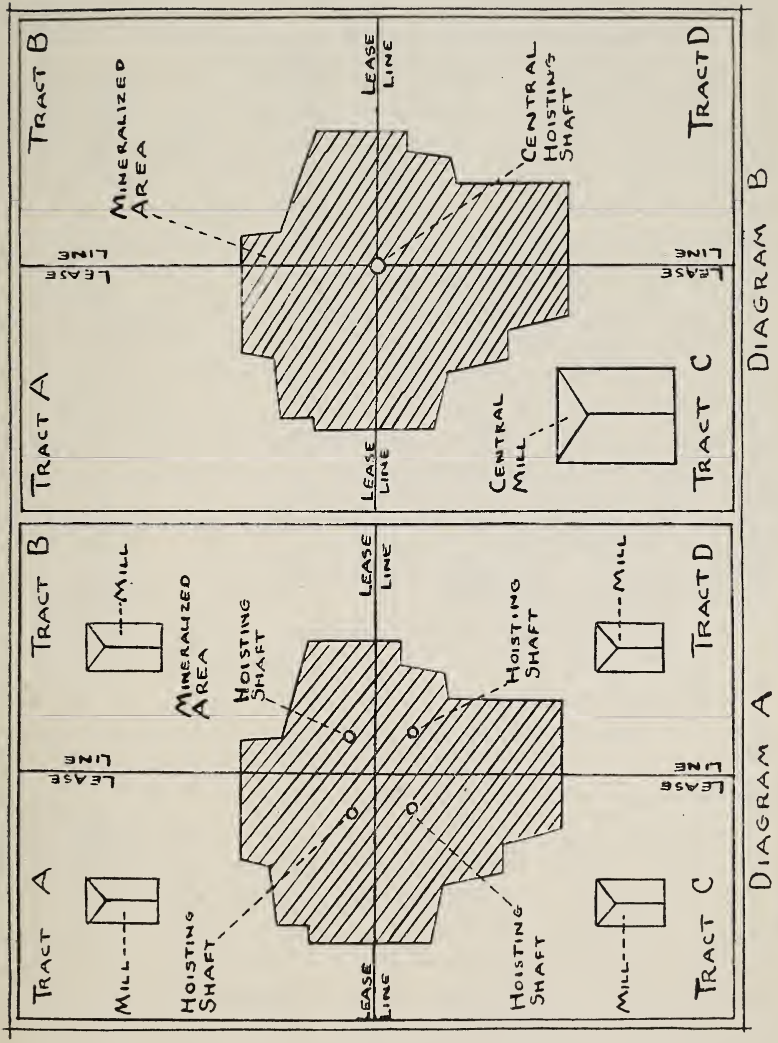
[27] Eagle Picher Company Mss., Restricted Indian Allotments, Special Report. June, 1956.

[28] Interview with Jack Daughtery, Muskogee, Oklahoma, September 4, 1956.



COMMINGLING

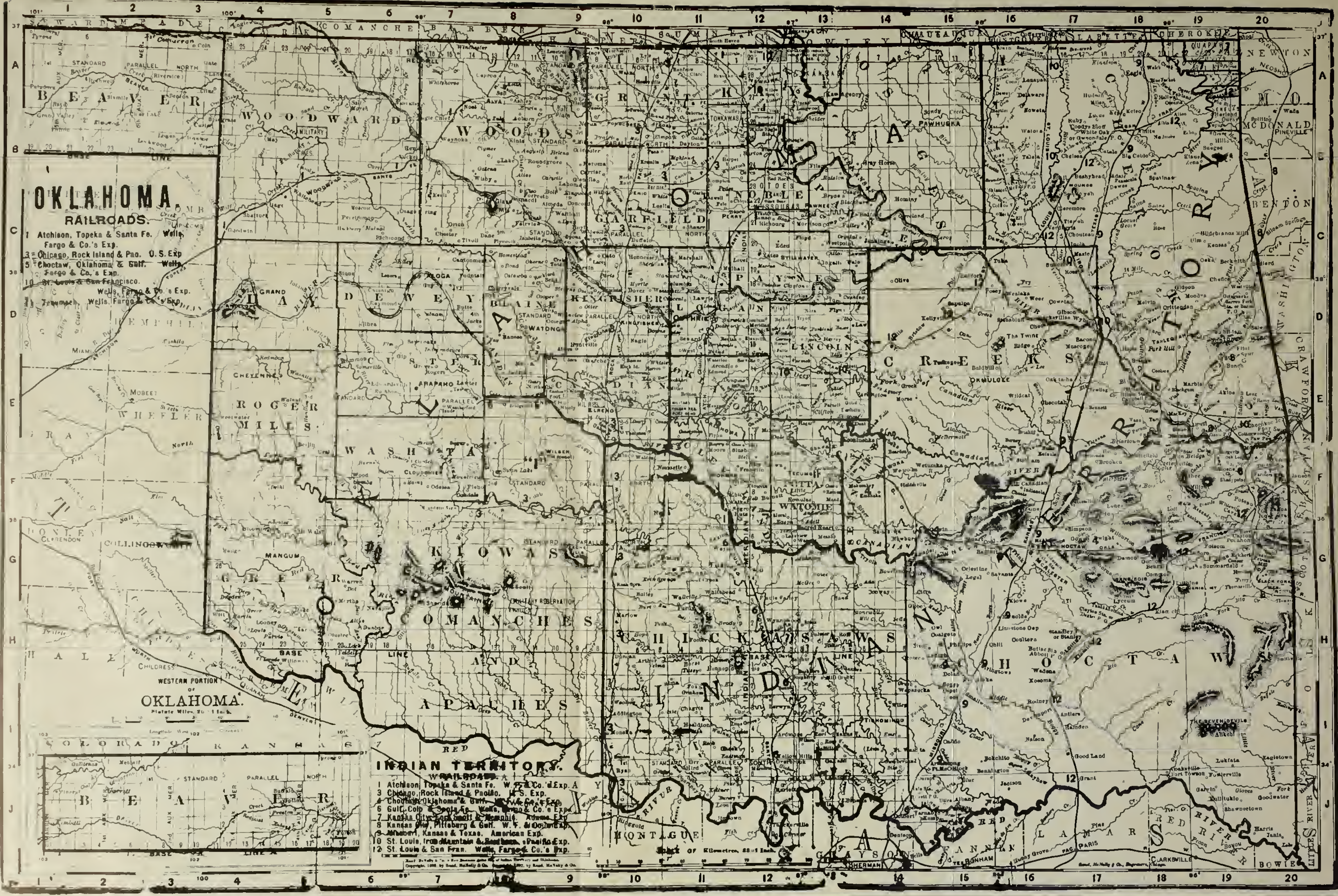
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE LIFE OF JUDGE ROBERT L. WILLIAMS, BOOK PUBLICATION

Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society will no doubt be interested in a book, *Frontier Judge*: The Life of Robert Lee Williams, written by Dr. Edward Everett Dale and Dr. James D. Morrison, both members of the Board of Directors of the Society. The book will be issued early next year by the Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, at $5.00. Since the edition is limited to less than 1,500 copies to be sold, those wanting to be sure of getting a copy should send in an order to the Torch Press at an early date. Those ordering copies in advance of publication will be given a discount of ten percent on the price of the book after publication. Judge Williams was for many years the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and very active in its affairs, after his term as Governor of the State. He was largely responsible for founding *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* as well as for the planning and construction of the Historical Building.

MAP OF OKLAHOMA TERRITORY IN 1898

A recent gift presented by Mr. Hubert Lively of Oklahoma to the collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society is an old out-of-print map of Oklahoma and Indian territories published by the Rand McNally Company in 1898. This map is here reproduced in *The Chronicles* since it is unusually accurate for that period in Oklahoma history and gives many features not found on published maps of the two territories. Counties in Oklahoma Territory are shown before the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation, the area marked "I" being the Wichita-Caddo Reservation, both reservations opened to settlement in 1901. The boundaries of the Indian nations and the Quapaw Agency tribes, northeast, are shown in the Indian Territory. All lands where U. S. surveys had been completed by 1898 are marked by township lines with the Indian Meridian and Base Line shown, the intersection of which is the Initial Point from which all surveys



(Print from Rand McNally Map, 1898, in Oklahoma Historical Society Collections)

Map showing counties in Oklahoma Territory and Indian nations in Indian Territory, with U. S. surveyed lands completed by 1898.

in the state are calculated. Geographic meridians of West Longitude and parallels of North Latitude are also indicated and numbered. Many towns, rivers, creeks and other important and little known features are given, besides a listing of railroads in operation in the two territories with the offices of the different express companies indicated by numbers at the towns named along the railroad routes.

HISTORY OF OKLAHOMA EMBLEMS

The Name Oklahoma

The name *Oklahoma* was suggested for the Indian Territory in 1886, by Allen Wright, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation for all the country within the boundaries of the present state. This name means "Red People," originating from two words in the Choctaw language, *okla* for "people," and *hom'ma or humma*) for "red," an expression synonymous with the English term "Indian" (or "Indians") there being no word for "Indian" in the Choctaw language.

The occasion for naming the Indian Territory the "Territory of Oklahoma" occured at the close of the War between the States. The Indian nations—so-called "Five Civilized Tribes"—that had recently sided with the Southern Confederacy during the War were ordered by officials in Washington to make new treaties ceding their western lands to the United States for the settlement of other Indian tribes. Further provision among other stipulations in each of these treaties was for the organization of the Indian Territory under federal law, the legislative body of which was to be made up of representatives elected by all the Indian nations and tribes within the Territory. This territorial organization was to pave the way for an Indian state in the Union, something that had been promised the Delaware tribe before the removal west, by treaty as early as 1778. While each of the Indian treaties made at Washington in 1866 provided for the organization of the Indian Territory, the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty—made jointly by these two cousin tribes—gave more details for the plan. One was that the U.S. Superintendent of

Indian Affairs was to be "the Executive of the said Territory, with the title of 'Governor of the Territory of Oklahoma.' "[1]

The name was suggested one day when the draft of the Choctaw-Chickasaw treaty was being written during a meeting of the delegates from all the Five Civilized Tribes and Government officials. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs asked, "What would you call your territory?" Allen Wright, one of the Choctaw delegates quickly replied, "Oklahomma." The name was written *Oklahoma* in the new treaty, and was thus for the first time applied to the Indian Territory.

The name became popular and appeared in many bills introduced in Congress seeking the organization of the Territory. Finally, an Act of Congress on May 2, 1890, provided the organization of the western part of the Indian Territory as the "Territory of Oklahoma." The domains of the Five Civilized Tribes and the small area northeast belonging to the Quapaw Agency tribes remained known as the Indian Territory until November 16, 1907, when the "Twin Territories" were joined together and admitted as the State of Oklahoma in the Union.

The State Flag

The Tenth State Legislature specified that the State Flag of Oklahoma should have the following design:[2]

"A sky blue field with a circular rawhide shield of the American Indian Warrior, decorated with six painted crosses on the face thereof, the lower half of the shield to be fringed with seven pendant eagle feathers and superimposed upon the face of the shield a calumet or peace pipe, crossed at right angles by an olive branch."

This design had been selected by the Oklahoma Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution from many submitted in a statewide contest carried on by this patriotic organization. The Committee in charge of the contest, appointed by Mrs. Andrew R. Hickam, the State Regent of the D.A.R., named the design by Mrs. George Fluke, Jr., as the best, the sketch of which is described above.

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[1] *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation*, with the Treaties of 1855, 1865 and 1866. Joseph P. Folsom, compiler, Chahta Tamaha, 1869 (Wm. P. Lyon & Son, Printers and Publishers, New York City), p. 44.

[2] *Oklahoma Session Laws*, 1925, "State Flag," p. 340.

Mrs. Fluke had consulted with Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn of the Oklahoma Historical Society, about a suitable State Flag, the need for one having been pointed out by him to Mrs. Hickam. A large framed, silk flag on exhibit in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society at that time had been carried, according to tradition, as the standard of Choctaw troops in the Confederate Army during the War between the States. This flag now in the Confederate Memorial Hall of the Historical Society has a blue field with a large, round shield-like device at the center shown in red bordered with white and superimposed by a white peace pipe, bow and two arrows all crossing at centers. This device had been taken originally from the design of the Great Seal of the Choctaw Nation adopted by the Choctaws in 1860. Mr. Thoburn suggested to Mrs. Fluke that the device on the old Choctaw flag could be worked up into a design for a State Flag having a blue field; since Oklahoma was the Red Man's state it would be appropriate to use a sketch of an Indian shield as a central theme of the device.

Near the Choctaw flag hung an old, Osage Indian shield which is still on exhibit in the Museum of the Historical Society. This circular shield is of thick buffalo hide with several small, painted crosses dimly seen on the face, and eagle feathers pendant at the edge of the shield. Mr. Thoburn suggested that using this Osage shield as a model in a sketch the peace emblem of the red and white races could be drawn at the center: the Indian calumet or peace pipe crossed by the white man's olive branch.

Mrs. Fluke's finished design met with enthusiasm everywhere, and was adopted by law for the State Flag. This new flag superseded the Oklahoma banner that had been adopted by the State Legislature in 1911. The State Flag first seen in that year consisted "of a red field with a five pointed star of white, edged with blue, in the center thereof, with figures '46' in blue, in the center of the star." This Oklahoma flag with a red field lacked individuality and reminded people in the early 1920's of the red, Russian flag carried by the Bolsheviki government in Russia. Very few citizens of Oklahoma at that time knew that a State Flag had ever been adopted by a State Legislature.

An original painting of the new Oklahoma Flag by Mrs. Fluke hangs on the walls of the Library Reading Room in the Historical Society, with a legend for the colors used in the Flag: the field is sky blue (if in water colors, cobalt with a little white); shield, buckskin (light tan); small crosses on shield (five are seen), darker tan; thongs lacing the edge of the shield, the same darker tan; pendant eagle feathers (seven on edge of shield), white tipped with dark brown; calumet stem, pale yellow, with pipe bowl pipestone red; pendant tassel decoration at end of stem, red; and olive branch, gray green.

The symbolism of the Oklahoma State Flag was given originally by Dr. Thoburn as follows:

"The blue field signifies loyalty and devotion; the shield implies defensive or protective warfare when justifiable; the small crosses on the shield are the Indians graphic sign for stars and may indicate lofty ideals or a purpose for high endeavor; the shield thus surmounted by, but always subservient to, the calumet and the olive branch, betoken a predominant love of peace by a united people."

The Eighteenth State Legislature in 1941 adopted a resolution providing that the word "Oklahoma" in white letters be placed underneath the shield or design on the official State Flag of the State of Oklahoma.

The State Flower

An act of the Oklahoma State Legislature in 1909 provided "That the Mistletoe is hereby designated and adopted as the Floral Emblem of the State of Oklahoma."

There was a lot of sentiment connected with the mistletoe in the memories of old timers in the Territory. It had been used to cover the graves of their loved ones who died during the hard winters after the Run of 1889, for the green leaves and white berries lasted a long time marking the new made graves. And at Christmas time bunches of mistletoe served as decoration suggesting the mystery and beauty of the season.

The mistletoe had been adopted as the "State flower" by an act of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma in 1893. By this act, Oklahoma was the first commonwealth in the Union to adopt an official "State Flower."

The State Tree

The Sixteenth Legislature adopted the redbud tree as the official tree of the State of Oklahoma by *Senate Joint Resolution No.* 5. The Act was approved by Governor Ernest W. Marland on March 30, 1937.

Oklahoma State Colors

Green and white were adopted as the State colors for Oklahoma, by the Fifth State Legislature, under a concurrent resolution of the House and the Senate in 1915. These colors had been recommended by the Ohoyohoma Club composed of wives of the members of the Legislature in that year.

The State Bird

The beautiful Scissor-tailed Flycatcher is the State bird, the most recent Oklahoma emblem adopted by an act of the Twenty-second Legislature in May, 1951. Garden Clubs, Audubon Society and school children in Oklahoma contributed their approval to the selection of this quiet bird with its beautiful gray and shades of pink plumage and long, sleek tail. A fine description of the Flycatcher says that "its tail twice as long as its body gives the bird an eye-catching gracefulness, a fitting beauty for the Oklahoma skies."

(M.H.W.)

SANTA FE DEPOT AT GUTHRIE IN 1889, A CORRECTION

The Chronicles of Oklahoma for Summer, 1957 (Vol. XXXV, No. 2) carries a print of the railway station at Guthrie in 1889, the caption of which should read "Santa Fe Railway Station, Guthrie, at the Opening in 1889." An error occurred in the printing which identified the depot as the "Frisco Railway Station." This view of the Santa Fe Railway Station at Guthrie in 1889 is from an original photograph presented by L. Hayes Buxton, M.D., LL.D. to the Historical Society collections.

The Santa Fe—the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company—projected the building of the line southward from Arkansas City, Kansas, across the Indian Territory in 1884. The surveys were made, and the actual grading of the roadbed was begun in the summer of 1886. Track was completed to the Canadian River in April, 1887. When the road was opened for business in the summer, stations between the Kansas line and the Canadian River were: Willow Springs, Ponca (Indian Agency), Red Rock, Mendota, Alfred (Mulhall), Guthrie, Edmond, Oklahoma Station (Oklahoma City), Norbeck (Moore), Norman, Walker and Purcell.

A subsidiary of the Santa Fe, known as the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe Railway Company, had built northward from Red River to met the Kansas Division of the Santa Fe at Purcell, thus completing a through-line across the Indian Territory, in 1887. Some towns along the railroad betwen Red River and the Canadian were namesakes of towns in the suburbs west of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where some of the railroad stockholders lived. These names are included in the Oklahoma towns of Ardmore, Berwyn, Marietta, Overbrook, Wayne and Wynnewood. In Oklahoma, Wynnewood is pronounced "Winnie-wood."

A HISTORY OF KEYSTONE IN PAWNEE COUNTY RECORDED

The Oklahoma Historical Society now has a fine high-fidelity tape recorder with radio-tape recorder combinations that makes possible the preservation of historical data which might otherwise be lost.

The successful recording on an hour-length tape was made, giving much of the history of Keystone, in Pawnee County, during a meeting of old settlers in the region, on March 9, 1957. The Editor carrying on special historical research and Miss Katherine Ringland, Assistant Curator in charge of the Union Army Memorial Hall in the Historical Society, made the trip to Keystone especially for this interesting meeting. It was held in the home of Mr. and Mrs.

Adrian Swift, long time residents of Keystone. Mr. Swift, well known in the educational field in Oklahoma as the President of the State Association of School Board Members and in the oil industry of Pawnee and Tulsa counties, called the meeting at his home to record some of the history of Keystone, the site of which will be inundated with the completion of the Keystone Dam now building on the Arkansas River below the town.

Mr. Swift served as the director of the recording made at this informal meeting of old settlers who had lived around and in Keystone since 1903, some having made their homes in the region as early as the 1880's. Those present who gave notes and stories on the history of the town were Mr. Reed Ackley, Mr. Arch Stoneman, Mr. Cal Hubbard, Mr. and Mrs. Ira Stevens, Mr. T. W. Duck and his sister, Mrs. Lorena Duck O'Keefe, Mrs. Merle Zickafoos and Mr. Grant Jones who was ninety-four years old in August, 1957.

Mr. Swift outlined briefly the "firsts" in the history of Keystone that should be discussed, and each person present contributed in turn any note of interest that he or she had in mind. Reed Ackley's father, Truman Ackley, operated the first ferry —the "U. S. Ferry"— across the Arkansas in the vicinity of Keystone, south of the mouth of the Cimarron, in the 1880's. Truman Ackley staked a homestead claim the day after "the Run into the Cherokee Strip," in 1893, the Keystone region lying in the old Outlet lands. Arch Stoneman's father made the "Run" on the day of the opening, and staked a homestead. The first stage line and "Star Route" that carried the mail to Tulsa was put into operation soon after the Run of 1893, from Perry via Pawnee, Cleveland, Leroy, crossing the Arkansas at the Meyer Ferry. The first post office at Keystone was established in 1890, and Leroy and Sennett were early-day neighboring towns. Apalachia was established as a post office when the first railroad—"the Katy" —was built in the vicinity, about 1901-3, this being the point to which whiskey and other liquors were shipped and then hauled by wagon or carried on skiffs up the river to Keystone that boasted several saloons since it was located just inside the line of Oklahoma Territory.

Mr. Duck and Mrs. O'Keefe told about the early school, and gave interesting stories as the history telling progressed. Mrs. Merle Zickafoos was the daughter of Dr. James Besser who came as the first doctor in this part of the country, in 1882. Dr. Besser practiced at Red Fork and Tulsa, and his son, Bob Besser, was the first white child born in Tulsa.

Mrs. Ira Stevens was a Zickafoos, an early day German family in the Keystone region. She told about the first church there, a "Union Church" built by members of several denominations, Joe Weirman, the saloon keeper, being the largest contributor of money for the good cause. A Dr. Glenn was a doctor in the community, and also served as a preacher though he was known for his love of liquor. Sometimes when he was "deep in his cups," he would preach to the people "telling them not to do as he did but to do as they were told."

Mr. Swift told about the drilling of the first oil well on the Sherman Ackley farm near Keystone thirty-five years ago, and how Ackley exclaimed expressing his long-hoped-for dream, "Well, I guess that means I'm going to get that acreage in the Rio Grande Valley!" when he first saw the oil and gas spouting from the new well. One has to hear the tape recording of all this history on Keystone to get the interesting events and amusing stories told that day at Mr. Swift's home.

(M. H. W.)

RECENT ACCESSIONS IN THE LIBRARY

The following list compiled by Mrs. Edith Mitchell, Cataloger, gives the titles of books accessioned and catalogued in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society from July 1, 1956 to July 1, 1957.

A and A Scottish Rite of Freemasonry. *New Age Magazine*. Washington, D. C., 1955. v. 63. 768 pp.

Adams, Andy. *Why the Chisholm Trail forks* . . . Austin, Tex.: University Press, 1956. 296 pp.

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Bushnell, David Ives. *Tribal migrations east of the Mississippi.* Washington, D. C., 1934. 99 pp.

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Cathey, Cornelius O. *Agricultural development in North Carolina,* 1783 1860. Chapel Hill, N. C., 1956. 229 pp.

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BOOK REVIEW

Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State. Compiled by Kent Ruth and the Staff of the University of Oklahoma Press. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma. 1957. Illustrations, maps, chronology, selected reading list, index. $5.95.)

The publication of this *Oklahoma Guide* is an outstanding event this semi-centennial year of statehood for here fifty years after November 16, 1907, a portrait of Oklahoma has been attained. An attractive, useful volume, it is particularly valuable for fourteen separate articles that interpret and analyze the spirit of Oklahoma, its folklore, history, culture, industry and labor.

The first of these fourteen articles presented under the caption "General Background" in Part I is "The Spirit of Oklahoma," by Savoie Lottinville, Director of the University of Oklahoma Press. Others are by specialists in their fields, including well known professors in the University of Oklahoma: "Natural Setting" by John W. Morris, Department of Geography; "Early Oklahomans," by William E. Bittle, Department of Anthropology; "History," by Edwin C. McReynolds, Department of History; "Industry and Labor," by Arthur H. Doerr, Department of Geography; "Transportation in Oklahoma," by James A. Constantin, Marketing and Transportation; "Education," by Frank A. Balyeat, College of Education; "Architecture and Art," by John O'Neil, School of Art; "Music, Drama and Dance," by Spencer Norton, School of Music. Other subjects in this series, written by well known authorities in the state, are "Agriculture in Oklahoma," by A. E. Darlow, Vice-President of Oklahoma State University at Stillwater and Dean of its School of Agriculture; "Sports and Recreation," by Jeff Griffin, Director of Publicity for the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board; "Newspapers," by Roy P. Stewart, staff member of the *Daily Oklahoman* and Washington correspondent; "Literature," by Edith Copeland, editor of the Literary page of the Sunday *Oklahoman;* "Oklahoma Folkways," by J. Stanley Clark, author and professor in Oklahoma City University.

Brief, factual information is given in the opening, "General Information," by Ralph Hudson, Librarian and archivist in the State Library at the Capitol in Oklahoma City. J. Eldon Peek, owner and president of the Oklahoma Theatre Supply Company, has provided fine photographs used as illustrations in the *Oklahoma Guide*.

Two-thirds of the text in this book offers a mine of information provided by Kent Ruth, author and the travel editor of the *Daily Oklahoman*. Here twelve Oklahoma cities are reviewed, their history and present day development briefly presented. Mr. Kent's outstanding contribution to the volume covers sixteen tours mapped within the borders of the state, giving interesting historical facts and present day data on nearly every town and historical place in Oklahoma. There are remarkably few errors in Mr. Kent's material.

Anyone who owns this new *Oklahoma Guide* has in his hands data which will stimulate his appreciation and interest in the old—in history—yet new—in progress—south western commonwealth of Oklahoma that has a significant place in the modern American scene.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma City

NELL A. SNIDER
1873-1955

Nellie Achsah (Smith) Snider was born January 30, 1873, in a dugout on a farm near Lamar, Ottawa County, Kansas, the fifth child of Myron D. Smith and Sarah Adelaide Caryl Smith. She died March 17, 1955, in a Norman, Oklahoma, hospital. Interment was in the I.O.O.F. cemetery, Norman, March 21, 1955. Survivors included a daughter, Lucile Snider Parks, Reno, Nevada, and two sons, Dr. Ivan Snider, New York City, and L. B. Snider, San Antonio, Texas.

Nell Snider was teaching school in Lamar when she married a fellow teacher, Lafayette Benjamin Snider, son of Alfred G. and Mary Elizabeth Nail Snider, Fort Wayne, Indiana, on December 15, 1891. In the fall of 1892, the couple moved to Oak Hill, Clay County, Kansas, where their first child, Ivan, was born on October 12, 1892. Benjamin was born November 25, 1893, and Lucile on January 24, 1895, both at Tescott, Kansas.

Giving up her teaching career to meet the needs of her family, Nell Snider aided the career of her husband. After holding teaching positions in Tescott, Kansas, the couple moved to Hennessey, Oklahoma Territory, home of Mrs. Snider's maternal grandparents. In the summer of 1897, Mr. Snider conducted the Teachers Institute in Kingfisher, Oklahoma. He served as City Superintendent of Schools in Pawnee (Oklahoma), 1897-1903, also serving as President of the Territorial Teachers Association, 1899-1900.

When Lucile was old enough to enter school, Nell Snider resumed teaching. It was also about this time that she began to write, and to gain renown as a guest speaker on club and educational programs, for which she wrote her own material. On February 12, 1903, her anonymous lines, "Wanted, a Husband," appeared in the *Pawnee County Courier*, and was reprinted in *Sturms Magazine*, issue of June, 1909. The latter publication also printed her "Man and The Rooster," December, 1908; "Our Kate" (honoring Kate Barnard), June, 1909; "The Roasting Ear," August, 1909. On July 3, 1903, her lines, "Tomorrow" a patriotic expression, had been printed in the *Oklahoma Times Democrat*, (Pawnee, Oklahoma). She was also published in the *Wichita Eagle*, (Kansas), and other publications.

In the fall of 1903, the Sniders moved to Clinton, Oklahoma, where both taught in the first school held there, 1903-04. In 1906-07, they taught all grades in the Consolidated School at Port, Washita County. In 1908, Mr. Snider was elected to the office of County Superintendent of Schools, Custer County, Oklahoma, a position he held until his death of a heart ailment on June 6, 1910.

Nell Snider was appointed to fill the unexpired term of her late husband. During that time she served as a Member of the County Excise Board, also as Chairman of the Executive Committee of Southwestern Teachers Association (fifteen counties), and later as secretary of that same organization. At the close of her appointive term, Mrs. Snider became a candidate for election to the office of County Superintendent, and served two successive terms, 1911-14.

(Photo by Courtesy of Oklahoma City Libraries)

MRS. NELL A. SNIDER

In the fall of 1910, Nell Snider wrote what was probably her best known lines, "The Sculptor from Tennessee." These lines, raw as was the young state in its cultural development, commemorated a happening in the Art Department of the Institution then known as the Southwestern State Normal School, Weatherford, Oklahoma. According to Lucile Snider Parks, the lines were first printed in the *Clinton Chronicle* (Clinton, Oklahoma). Their sarcastic humor attracted national attention, and the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, (St. Louis, Missouri), in its issue of August 20, 1911, printed the first three stanzas of the work, and followed them by much comment on the incident. Stanley Vestal (Walter S. Campbell), refers to the lines on page 294 of his book *Short Grass Country*, and comments, "The union of Oklahoma Territory with Indian Territory to form the new State of Oklahoma brought politics into the state schools, and somewhat blurred that bright enthusiasm, though producing an amusing—if unprintable—classic entitled, "The Sculptor from Tennessee."

In the years that followed, Nell Snider was to see her three children distinguish themselves in their chosen fields: Lucile in the arts of voice and music, as well as in the business world, graduate of the University of Oklahoma (1915); Ivan in the field of medicine, a graduate of Harvard; and Benjamin in the science of geology, graduate of the University of Oklahoma (1914).

Nell Snider will be long remembered as a regular attendant at meetings of the Oklahoma Writers, Inc., the Poetry Society of Oklahoma, and other organizations in which she had a deep interest. Yet because of her independent spirit, and strong, somewhat unconventional opinions, she set herself somewhat apart, and may not have been fully understood by many people; but the few who knew the great heart and brilliant mind, were privileged.[1] Certainly, all who came in contact with her sensed something of the "earthiness" of one who had been a true prairie child; a quality that lent her strength and the ability to look straight through the "outward drapings," to the real form underneath.

Lawton, Oklahoma —*Lillian Delly*

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[1] A more intimate study of her mother has been made by Lucile Snider Parks, under the titles, "*Prairie Prelude*," and "*Biography of Nell A. Snider*," manuscripts both of which are on file in the Oklahoma City Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING JULY 25, 1957

Members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society assembled in regular quarterly meeting, at 10 a.m. July 25, 1957, in the Board of Directors room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. In the absence of the President of the Society, Gen. Wm. S. Key, the presiding officer was First Vice President, Judge Redmond S. Cole.

When the roll was called, the following members answered present: Mr. Kelly Brown, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. Exall English, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. R. M. Montcastle, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Mrs. Willis C. Reed, Miss Genevieve Seger, Col. George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

It was announced by the Administrative Secretary that the following members of the Board had asked to be excused: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Judge G. L. Bowman, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge N. B. Johnson, Dr. James D. Morrison, and Gen. Wm. S. Key.

It was moved by Mr. Montcastle and seconded by Judge Taylor that the absent members be excused. The motion was put and adopted.

The Secretary having reported that Judge Bowman was absent, due to illness, Mr. Phillips moved that a letter be written to Judge Bowman expressing the regret of the Board that he was ill and expressing the further hope for his early recovery. This motion was seconded by Mr. Montcastle and unanimously passed.

Judge Hefner moved and Dr. Harbour seconded a motion to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting. The motion carried.

It was called to the attention of the Board by Mrs. Anna B. Korn that representatives of the State Federation of Music Clubs were present to present a breakfront bookcase to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Judge Cole asked the Board members for an expression of oninion as to whether the presentation should be made at the beginning or the close of the meeting. It was agreed that the ceremonies should be held following the regular session.

In his report, the Administrative Secretary outlined actions that had been taken by the Executive Committee in two recent meetings. He stated that in the first of these meetings, the resignation of Mrs. Olin Stephens as account clerk had been discussed, and that upon the recommendation of the Administrative Secretary, Mrs. Helen Kirkpatrick had been appointed to the temporary position of account clerk in addition to her other duties.

He also announced that Gen. Key had nominated the Historic Sites Committee of the Board of Directors. Those nominated were: George H. Shirk, Chairman, R. G. Miller, T. J. Harrison, and Miss Genevieve Seger.

He further stated that Gen. Key had requested the following be named as an Advisory Committee on Historic Sites: Rep. James Bullard, Duncan; T. L. Ballenger, Tahlequah; Rep. Tom Stephens, Shawnee; Sen. Don Baldwin, Anadarko; and Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee. The Secretary stated that the Executive Committee had approved the nominations.

It was reported that the Executive Committee authorized the raising of travel rates paid from the Special Fund to seven cents per mile so as to conform with that paid by the State of Oklahoma. The Executive Committee also authorized the Administrative Secretary to proceed with the hiring of a night watchman, a position provided for in recent legislation.

Another action reported by the Executive Committee was that of designating the Microfilming Committee to set up items in the microfilming portion of the State budget. It was further reported that the personal and operational budgets, as submitted by the Administrative Secretary, had received the approval of the Executive Committee.

Mr. Fraker stated that the Executive Committee met again on July 1st. and accepted the resignation of Mrs. Olin Stephens as account clerk and that Mrs. LaJearne McIntyre, upon the recommendation of the Administrative Secretary, had been appointed to that position. At this meeting, the Committee also provided that an annual audit be made of the Society's Special Fund.

Approval by the Executive Committee was made for making the small room in the northeast portion of the Museum into an office for the Chief Curator, when such staff member might be secured. It was decided that the collection now in that room be kept together and properly displayed in another portion of the Museum.

A motion was made by Mr. Montcastle that actions by the Executive Committee be approved by the Board of Directors. The motion was seconded by Mr. Phillips and unanimously adopted.

The first committee report made was that on microfilming. Mr. Phillips, as Chairman, made the report. He stated that equipment bids had been called for in the microfilming set-up of the newspaper department. He further stated that bids had been accepted for making the necessary air ducts to properly ventilate the space to be used for microfilming. This contract had gone to the R. M. Nelson Sheet Metal and Roofing Works of Oklahoma City. Mr. Phillips observed that many state newspapers would probably want to purchase microfilmed copies of their papers.

Judge Hefner made a motion that the Microfilming Committee be authorized to arrange distribution of microfilms and to sell prints with money received therefrom going into revolving fund. Judge Taylor seconded the motion which passed.

Dr. Harbour moved that the Board approve, in advance, the purchasing of equipment by the Microfilming Committee and to further approve the entire report of the Committee. This was seconded by Mr. Montcastle and adopted.

In making the Treasurer's report, Col. George Shirk said that the audit of Special Funds had been completed by an outside auditing agency. A copy of a page from the audit, showing receipts and disbursements during the past two years was distributed to the members of the Board. The Treasurer expressed confidence in the new account clerk and stated that she had many years of experience working in the office of certified public accountants.

He reported that the Oklahoma Historical Society now owns United States Savings Bonds in the amount of $24,500.00, which at this time have a market value of $23,600.00. Mr. Shirk stated that he had completed bond as Treasurer of the Society.

Upon motion of Judge Vaught seconded by Judge Taylor, the Treasurer's report was approved.

The Director's attention was called by Col. Shirk to the fact that $47.50 still remained in the Joseph B. Thoburn Memorial Fund. He moved that this balance be continued and the fund used for purchasing flowers to place on Dr. Thoburn's grave each Memorial Day. This motion was seconded by Judge Talyor and approved by vote of the Board.

Plans for work of the Historic Sites Committee were discussed by Mr. Shirk, who had been named Chairman of that Committee by the Society's President, Gen. Wm. S. Key. He said that only $5,000.00 had been appropriated for this work, which largely limited the activities of the Committee to making a survey of the historical places to be preserved, with the results of such survey to be placed before the next legislature. It was moved by Judge Taylor, seconded by Judge Vaught and approved by the Board that the Historic Sites Committee be authorized to proceed along the lines outlined by Col. Shirk.

Mrs. Anna B. Korn pointed out that she was late in arriving at the meeting and had not been present when the minutes of the preceding meeting had been approved. She objected to those minutes quoting her as speaking in favor of Mrs. Olin Stephens being made Treasurer of the Society. She stated that she wished to have the minutes corrected on that point. Mr. Phillips moved that Mrs. Korn's request be complied with by the minutes of the present meeting showing that she didn't intend to nominate Mrs. Stephens for the office of Treasurer. This motion was seconded by Mr. Montcastle and approved by the Board.

It was suggested by Dr. Wayne Johnson that the Administrative Secretary include in his quarterly report a brief summary of the actions that had been taken by the Executive Committee during the quarter. Dr. Johnson further suggested that the Society publish a brochure giving the legends of the various historical markers that had been erected throughout the State by the Society. Information was given by Col. Shirk that copy for such a brochure had been prepared by Miss Muriel Wright and himself, but had not been published.

Dr. Harbour moved that the matter of getting out the marker brochure be expedited. The motion was seconded by Mr. Kelly Brown and passed.

Judge Cole called attention to the Administrative Secretary's report that four new life members and fifty nine new annual members had sent in their fees during the quarter, and that a considerable number of gifts had been made to the Society during that time. Judge Taylor moved that the new members and gifts be accepted. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger and passed.

Judge Cole presented five books to the Society dealing with Indian matters, and Mrs. Korn gave a volume entitled "Remembered Yesterdays." Miss Seger moved that the gifts of Judge Cole and Mrs. Korn be accepted by the Society. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried.

Dr. Harbour moved that letters of thanks be sent to all donors of gifts to the Society. The motion was seconded by Dr. Dale and passed.

Mr. Montcastle said he had before him a duplicate original contract entered into by and between the Corps of Army Engineers for and in behalf of the Government of the United States, with Al Johnston Construction Company, Wiston Brothers Company, and Peter Kiewit Sons Company, joint contractors and co-adventurers for the construction of Ft. Gibson Reservoir. He said as general counsel for the contractors, he wishes to present the duplicate original contract to the Oklahoma Historical Society. He further requested permission to withdraw the document temporarily so that the Army engineers might attach to it a statement as to the acreage, shoreline, etc. His request was concurred in by Dr. Harbour and when the matter was presented by the Chair, it was unanimously adopted.

A brief report on the 1957 annual Oklahoma Historical Tour was made by Mr. R. G. Miller, Chairman. He stated there were 135 persons on the Tour and observed that each Tour seems to attract more people. He said that his Committee had conducted a survey among the people who had been taking the Tours to determine their likes and dislikes relative to the trips. Many excellent suggestions had been received by the Committee through the survey, he said. Although the Tour Committee had not as yet definitely set the itinerary for 1958, Mr. Miller expressed his belief that the Tour would be in Southwestern Oklahoma.

When called upon for a report of the Committee on the revisions of the Society's constitution, Col. George Shirk, Chairman, said that his committee was working on a number of amendments and revisions that would be presented at a future meeting of the Board.

The group from the Oklahoma Federation of Music Clubs then appeared before the Board for the purpose of making a presentation to the Oklahoma Historical Society of a mahogany breakfront bookcase, in which to house some historical records of the Federation. Mrs. V. Verne Grant, life historian of the Oklahoma Federation of Music Clubs, read a paper relative to the work of the Federation. Mrs. Grant then introduced Mrs. Frederick Libke, who served as President of the Oklahoma Federation of Music Clubs during 1954-56.

Judge Vaught moved that the Board express its sincere thanks and appreciation to Mrs. Grant for the beautiful breakfront bookcase and that the bookcase be accepted as a gift to the Oklahoma Historical Society. The motion was seconded by Mr. Phillips and adopted by the Board.

It being determined there was no further business to come before the Board, the meeting adjourned.

Following adjournment, members of the Board went to the Library to view the new breakfront bookcase that had been presented to the Society by Mrs. V. Verne Grant.

Judge Redmond S. Cole, First Vice-Pres.

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED

LIBRARY:

"*History of Atoka County*," Graduate thesis, M. A. Wm. HenryUnderwood, 1931.
Donor: Dr. James D. Morrison, Durant, Oklahoma.

"*Study on Leadership*," Brig. Gen. Wm. B. McKean U.S.M.C. (Ret.). *Naval Research Log.* Quarterly, vol. 3 No. 1-2 1956: War College items 22 pieces.
Donor: Col. George H. Shirk.

"*Proceedings of the Conference on the Writing of Regional History in the South.*"
Donor: American Jewish Historical Society, New York.

Afterglow, poems by Florence Anne Fugate; Ms. copy Genealogy of the family of Florence Morris Fugate.
Donors: Genoa Morris & Benjamen Fugate.

Hang on to the Willows, Ernestine Gravely.
Donor: Mrs. O. C. Newman, Shattuck, Oklahoma.

Ray Frank Litman A Memoir by Simon Litman, Dr. Jur.
Donor: American Jewish Historical Society, New York City.

"*Press Reports of the Urschel Kidnapping Case*," scrapbook.
Donor: Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

Oklahoma Geologic Map, original ms. by Hugh D. Miser.

Atlas of Illinois, illustrated, 1876.
Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Okla.

"*The Border Queen*," Historical Edition of *The Caldwell Messenger* of Caldwell, Kansas, 1956.
Donor: Elsie D. Hand.

Map, "*Military Timber Reservation Fort Reno-Indian Territory*," April 20, 1889; Map, "*Virginia City, Nevada, Storey County*"; Package glass (stained) from Rheims Cathedral in bombing of cathedral World War I; "*Oklahoma Iron Works*," glass Paper Weight-picture inside 1908-09; Item No. 1 Photofolio—161 pictures of Anadarko, Oklahoma and vicinity, and some views Arkansas 1937; Item No. 2 Photofolio 1936-37—139 pictures, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Fort Arbuckle, Old Fort Coffee, Spiro Mound, Fort of Tipple, Taxco, Mexico, Monterrey, Mexico, Mexico City; Pictures (7) Run in 1889, Guthrie, O. T.; Historical items (357); Pictures, historic sites (40).
Donors: Mr. and Mrs. John B. Fink, Oklahoma City.

"*Alumni Directory*" Morris High School, 1912-1955, 1912-1957, Morris Okla.
Donor: Morris Alumni Association, Mrs. Ona Siegenthaler, Sec'y.-Treas., Morris, Okla.

Personality Doll of Mrs. Anna B. Korn, by Mrs. J. R. Phelan, and picture of all personality dolls made in the Broadway Sewing Club, Girls Center, Oklahoma City.
Donor: Mrs. Anna B. Korn.

"A *Portfolio of Historical Documents*," published by Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, April 2, 1957.
Donor: Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce.

"*The Birth of Oklahoma, Carter Oil Company*," *by* Fred Conway, "*The Link*," March-April 1957, and six copies *Sooner State*, Oklahoma Runs.

"*Oklahoma Children's Home Society*," final report by Board of Directors, Judge John Embry, President; Home chartered at Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, May 4, 1900. Copy 5th Report, May 2, 1905, Noah B. Wickham, Supt.
Donor: Judge John Embry, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Items of historical interest (134), including magazines, brochures, newspaper clippings, etc.
Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Okla.

MUSEUM:

Sod planter.
Donor: E. B. Smith, Tecumseh, Okla., Rt. 2.

1913 Car tag.
Donor: Bert Strough, 116 N.E. 7th St., Oklahoma City.

Rifle.
Donor: J. L. Shade, 2008 N.E. 16th Terrace, Oklahoma City.

Dental instruments.
Donor: Dr. Hugh D. Thomason, 308 Ritz Bldg., Tulsa, Okla.

Souvenir medal.
Donor: Stephen H. Bunch, Perry, Okla.

Seal of the President of the U. S.
Donor: Olga Baker, 6500 E. 11th St., Tulsa, Okla.

Letter from Woodrow Wilson.
Donor: Mrs. Anna B. Korn, 2607 N.W. 12th St., Oklahoma City.
Coin silver knife, owned by Sarah Harlan; Binoculars used by Major Aaron Harlan in the War Between the States; Magic Lantern.
Donor: Mrs. E. L. McLaughlin, 1429 N. Beard, Shawnee, Okla.

Land patent issued to August Koehler.
Donor: A. H. Lippoldt, Rt. 9, Box 271, Oklahoma City.

Picture of H. L. Stough.
Donor: Bert Stough, 116 N.E. 7th St., Oklahoma City.

Picture of Capitol Building in 1917.
Donor: Mrs. John Cleator, 4032 N.W. 33rd St., Oklahoma City.

Picture of Guymon, Okla., 1909.
Donor: C. M. Capps, 2717 N.W. 21st St., Oklahoma City.

Picture of Mr. and Mrs. Beaver, Quapaws.
Donor: Velma Nieberling, Miami, Okla.

Picture of Billy and Molly McGinty, copied by the Historical Society.

Hand painted miniature of Mrs. Raymond Gary.
Donor: Mrs. Raymond Gary.

Picture of first brick yard in Oklahoma City.
Donor: Mrs. W. W. Williams, 2532 N.W 12th St., Oklahoma City.

Picture of Ainsworth home at Old Skullyville, Editorial Department.
Pictures of Print Shop of Waukomis Hornet; group, Kansas Historical Society; Gov. Cruce and others.
Donor: Wayne Campbell, Oklahoma City.

Two panorama pictures of Riverside Park in Oklahoma City, July 5, 1908.
Donor: Joe H. Patterson, 420 N.W. 22nd St., Oklahoma City.

Oil photograph of Brenda Adams, 4-H Club Girl for 1956; oil photograph of Melvin Semrad, 4-H Club Boy for 1956.
Donor: Ira J. Hollar, A&M College, Stillwater.

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL ROOM:

"The Returned Battle Flags," 1905 Buxton and Skinner, St. Louis.
Donor: Mrs. Lutie Hailey Walcott, Ardmore, Okla.

An original Special Order, issued on March 4, 1865 at Headquarters of Paroled Prisoners, Richmond, Va.
Donor: Miss Ella White, Oklahoma City.

A reproduction of the original General Order No. 9—Lee's Farewell to the Army of Northern Virginia.
Donor: Mrs. S. H. Stephens, Oklahoma City.

UNION ROOM:

Framed photograph of Crest of President Eisenhower, engraved on his person stationery, and also appears on the flag which stands by his office desk.
Donor: Mrs. Olga Baker, Tulsa, Okla.

"A History of the flags used during the American Revolution."
Donor: Mr. J. B. Fink, Oklahoma City.

Union Soldiers Medal of Honor.
Donor: Mr. Stephen H. Bunch.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS:

Sharpe, Mrs. Louis K., Jr.	Checotah, Okla.
Griffin, Faye Marie	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Owens, O. O.	Tulsa, Okla.
Pierce, A. E.	” ”

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS:

Gladwill, R. H.	Ada, Okla.
Sachs, Sidney	” ”
Binkley, F. O., Jr.	Alva, Okla.
Cox, Ruth M.	Anadarko, Okla.
McGinty, Mrs. D. G.	Billings, Okla.
Winters, Mamie A.	Blair, Okla.
Frenny, Homer	Caddo, Okla.
Matheny, Willa	Chandler, Okla.
Cain, Byron Bernard	Charlottesville, Va.
Erickson, Gladys	Chicago, Ill.
Link, Mrs. A. C., Jr.	Chickasha, Okla.
Bost, Jessie Thatcher	Cleveland, Okla.
Easterling, Marvin Leon	Columbia, Mo.
Norman, Mrs. Oma W.	Davis, Okla.
Staley, Virginia M.	Drumright, Okla.
Enos, Earl P.	Duncan, Okla.
Morton, L. A.	” ”
McKinney, Elizabeth	Durant, Okla.
Denslow, Mrs. F. B.	Enid, Okla.
Key, Jack	” ”
Matthews, H. C.	Hiram, Ohio
Lohah, Charles H.	Hominy, Okla.
Heiderstadt, Dorothy	Independence, Mo.
Bell, Mrs. Fannie	Lindsay, Okla.
Donahue, James H.	Livonia, Michigan
Brown, Homer O., Jr.	Los Angeles, Calif.
Ballinger, Bryce	Miami, Okla.
Blackwood, W. E.	Norman, Okla.
Vernon, Mrs. C. B.	” ”
Botkin, Samuel Lee	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Frontierhouse, Richard D.	” ” ”
Gibbens, Dr. W. N.	” ” ”
Gunning, Mrs. Don	” ” ”
Heard, Dr. Elmer, Jr.	” ” ”
Jelley, Robert H.	” ” ”
Mahaffey, Juanita	” ” ”
Nicholson, Dr. Ben Hamilton	” ” ”
Unger, Mrs. Marion D.	” ” ”
Woodyard, Dr. Ella	” ” ”
Ellis, Thomas J., Jr.	Ochelata, Okla.
Wammack, Theda V.	Okmulgee, Okla.
Gulihur, Larry G.	Pauls Valley, Okla.
Newbern, J. D.	” ” ”
Paul, Sam	Portland, Oregon
Brown, Lawrence J.	Ryan, Okla.

Harrison, Mrs. George W.	Sand Springs, Okla.
Skeen, Mrs. Kathleen M.	Spiro, Okla.
Allen, Font L.	Tulsa, Okla.
Cusenbery, Mrs. J. L.	” ”
Finney, Thomas M.	” ”
Gilbert, Fred	” ”
Hoffman, E. J.	” ”
Laws, Mrs. Bess	” ”
Neff, Rev. Wm. F., Jr.	” ”
Puckett, Charles H.	” ”
Thomas, Dr. Wm. F., Jr.	” ”
Frantz, Mercedes Guffy	White Oak, Okla.
Cook, Mrs. Jim	Wilburton, Okla.
McMullen, Eulialee	Ventura, Calif.

PERSONAL DATA FOR PRESERVATION
In The
RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY

THE APPLICANT WILL PLEASE FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING

Full name (including middle name or names, spelled out)

Scholastic degrees, if any: ------------------------------------

Religious, Fraternal and Club affiliations: --------------------

----

Military service: --

Present business, occupation, profession or official position:—

Native state: --

Date of settlement and place of location in Oklahoma: ----------

----

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Date ------------------ 19--

To the Oklahoma Historical Society:

In accordance with an invitation received, hereby request that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society elect me to Annual, Life, membership in the Society. In order to expedite the transaction, I herewith send the required fee

$-----------------.

(Signed) ------------------------------

P. O. Address --------------------------

The historical quarterly magazine is sent free to all members.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP due (no entrance fee), three dollars in advance.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP fee (free from all dues thereafter), $50.00. Annual members may become life members at any time upon the payment of the fee of fifty dollars. This form of membership is recommended to those who are about to join the Society. It is more economical in the long run and it obviates all trouble incident to the paying of annual dues.

All checks or drafts for membership fees or dues should be made payable to the order of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Nominated by

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The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

Winter, 1957-1958

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The Oklahoma Run in 1889

Volume XXXV Number 4

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Kelly Brown, Muskogee

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Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher
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Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office located in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City.

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Muriel H. Wright, *Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

William S. Key
Edward Everett Dale
R. G. Miller
H. Milt Phillips
George H. Shirk
Elmer L. Fraker

Winter, 1957-58

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Cover: This scene of the Run of April 22, 1889, is from a rare old print in the Museum of the Historical Society, made from the original drawing by artist Albert Richter. This is the only known view actually made on the ground, showing the start of the great Oklahoma Run of 1889. The print is from the original Richter drawing, published in *Ueber Land und Meer*, 1889.

THE LEGAL SOONERS OF 1889 IN OKLAHOMA

By B. B. Chapman[*]

RULES FOR "HARRISON'S HOSS RACE"

The annual report of the General Land Office in 1889 stated that the opening of Oklahoma District was "the most important event for several years in the administration of the affairs" of the office. The district comprised nearly 3,000 square miles in present Oklahoma between Stillwater and Norman, including Oklahoma City and Guthrie. It was within the Creek and Seminole cessions of 1866. Prior to the opening of Oklahoma District the lands were available for almost unrestricted pasturage by ranchmen.[1]

Oklahoma District was bounded on the south by the South Canadian River, on the east by the Indian Meridian and the Pawnee Reservation, on the north by the Cherokee Outlet, and on the west by the Cimarron River and the 98th Meridian. Between 1871 and 1874 the lands were surveyed and subdivided into sections and quarter sections. In 1886-87 the Southern Kansas Railway Company and the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway Company constructed a railroad from Kansas via Guthrie and Oklahoma Station to Texas.[2]

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[*] This article is a revision by Dr. B. B. Chapan, of his paper read at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Houston, Texas, Nov. 7-9, 1957. The study was made under the auspices of the Research Foundation of Oklahoma State University.—Ed.

[1] Asst. Com. William M. Stone to register and receiver, Guthrie land office, Jan. 13, 1891, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 5, p. 48; *S. Ex. Docs.*, 48 Cong., 2 sess., ii (2263), no. 50, p. 19.

Oklahoma District was also called the "Oklahoma lands," "Oklahoma Country," and in later years the "Unassigned Lands." Stone in 1890 said that Oklahoma District was "generally known as 'Oklahoma,' a name given to that section of the country by pioneers and others, and more particularly by certain people who have from time to time proposed to settle there before that country had been opened for settlement."

[2] Oklahoma Station bcame known as Oklahoma City, but at no certain time. In the Oklahoma Historical Society is vol. 1, no. 1, of the *Oklahoma City Times*, Dec. 29, 1888, "devoted to the settlement of Oklahoma." The paper was located at "Oklahoma City, I. T." (However, the mail cancellation out of this post office was simply "Oklahoma" from 1888 to 1924 when the name was given for the first time "Oklahoma City" in the Post Office Department. —Ed.)

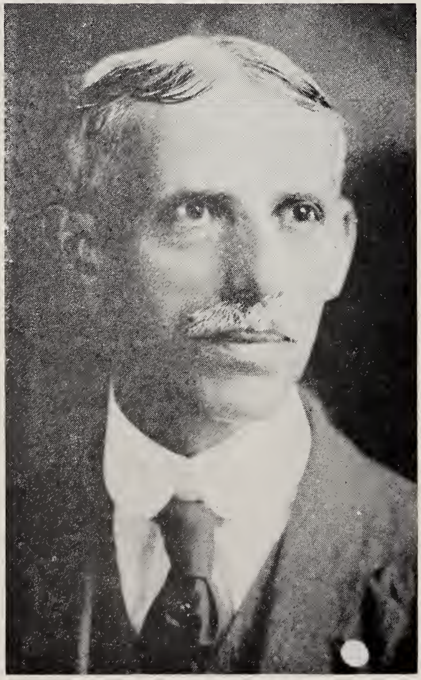
The *Chicago Daily Tribune* on March 23, 1889, carried an artist's sketch of Oklahoma City. A picture giving a bird's-eye view of the "city" about 10 a. m. on April 22, 1889, is in *The Independent*, Vol. LVII, No. 2910 (Sept. 8, 1904), p. 551. There was a depot, freight house, section house, hotel, post office, and other buildings. See also E. H. Kelley, "When Oklahoma City was Seymour and Verbeck," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 347-353.

Above to left: John W. Noble. Secretary of the Interior, 1889.

(Photo through courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri.)

Below to right: Orion Eli Mohler, Deputy Marshal, who opened the doors of Guthrie Land Office, April 22, 1889.

(Photo through courtesy of Mrs. Troy Brown, daughter of O. E. Mohler, of Tampa 4, Florida.)



Congress by an act of March 1, 1889, ratified and confirmed an agreement with the Creek Indians for the complete cession to the United States of the lands conditionally ceded in 1866.[3] The lands became a part of the public domain, but should only be disposed of in accordance with the laws regulating homestead entries, and to persons qualified to make such homestead entries, not exceeding 160 acres to one qualified claimant. The act stated that no person who might ''enter upon any part of said lands'' prior to the time that the same were opened to settlement by act of Congress should be permitted to occupy or to make entry of such lands or lay any claim thereto.

Section 12 of the Indian Appropriation Act of March 2 authorized the purchase of lands from the Seminoles, conditionally ceded by them to the United States in 1866.[4] This included the portion of Oklahoma District south of the North Canadian River. These lands, like those acquired from the Creeks, became a part of the public domain, to be disposed of mainly to homesteaders. Section 13 of the Act provided that until lands secured from the Seminoles were opened for settlement by proclamation of the President, no person should be permitted to ''enter upon and occupy'' the same; and no person violating this provision should ever be permitted to enter any of said lands or acquire any right thereto.[5] This came to be known as ''the sooner clause.''

Congress could have provided that all persons within Oklahoma District during the prohibitory period, or any part thereof, should be disqualified to acquire lands under the homestead or townsite laws. But Congress chose to use the more loose and indefinite expression, ''enter upon and occupy.'' To what extent could a person be within Oklahoma District during the prohibitory period and yet not enter upon and occupy lands there? The provision regarding entrance and occupation was not a penal statute, but simply prescribed the qualifications of settlers on public lands mentioned in the act. From settlers' camps to the highest court the expression, "enter upon and occupy," was debated and construed in various ways. Judge James Layman Brown, a shrewd observer close to the scene, said: "This was the one clause in the law that made more contention, I honestly believe, than any other statute that was ever written on earth."[6]

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[3] 25 *Statutes*, p. 759.

[4] Act of March 2, 1889, 25 *Statutes*, p. 1005.

[5] A decade earlier Ezra A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, made a similar suggestion concerning the Otoe and Missouria Reservation on the Big Blue River in Nebraska and Kansas. On December 4, 1879, Senator Algernon Sidney Paddock introduced Senate Bill 753 providing for the sale of the Otoe and Missouria lands. Hayt recommended that the bill be amended so that any person entering or settling upon any of the lands embraced in the reservation, prior to the issuance of a proclamation by the President giving notice that the same was open to settlement, should forfeit all right to enter any land on the reservation; Hayt to Paddock, Jan. 26, 1880, NA, OIA, L. *Letter Book*, vol. 64, p. 53½.

A similar provision forbidding homesteaders to "enter upon and occupy" lands prior to a certain opening day was inserted in an act of June 20, 1890, concerning reservoir lands in Minnesota and Wisconsin; 26 *Statutes*, p. 169.

The provisions for the opening of lands ceded by the Creeks and Seminoles were tied together by a sentence in Section 13 of the Act of March 2 stating that all the above provisions with reference to lands to be acquired from the Seminole Indians, including the provisions pertaining to forfeiture should apply to and regulate the disposal of the lands acquired from the Creek Indians by the agreement of January 19, 1889. This sentence so conjoined the two acts that the Creek and Seminole lands within Oklahoma District were regarded as one tract. The acts of March 1 and 2, as they relate to lands ceded by the Creeks and Seminoles, may well be considered as parts of the same act and should be read and construed together. Thus the provisions of Articles 12 and 13 of the Act of March 2 relate to lands in the Creek cession as well as to lands in the Seminole cession.

The acts of Congress did not forbid the communication of information relative to the character, the location and the best means of going from the boundaries of Oklahoma District to any tract therein; nor did the acts forbid anyone from receiving such information; nor was one disqualified by receiving after March 2 information from one who had acquired it before that date. The acts did not disqualify one as a homesteader, regardless of how much examination he had made of lands in Oklahoma district prior to March 2, with the intention of selecting a future homestead there.

The words, "any part of said lands," were written into the Act of March 1 in reference to the Creek cession. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company was the successor in interest to the right of way across lands in Indian Territory granted by Congress in 1884 to the Southern Kansas Railway Company. The company had simply an easement, not a fee, in the lands of the right of way on which its trains were operated. Some officers and employees of the company legally resided on the right of way across lands ceded by the Creeks and Seminoles. Internal revenue officials, Indian agents and traders, deputy marshals, army teamsters, mail carriers and many other white persons were properly and rightfully on lands ceded by these Indians, just prior to the time the same were opened to settlement by act of Congress. In reference to the Seminole cession, the Act of March 2 applied to the lands collectively when it stated that until the lands were legally opened to settlement, no person should be permitted to enter upon and occupy the same without subjecting himself to the disqualification clause.

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[6] James L. Brown, "Early and Important Litigation," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (April, 1909) pp. 26-30.

President Benjamin Harrison on March 23 issued a proclamation opening the lands of Oklahoma District to settlement on April 22.[7] Warning expressly was given that no person entering upon and occupying lands in Oklahoma District before "twelve o'clock, noon" on April 22 would ever be permitted to enter any of said lands or acquire any rights thereto, and that the officers of the United States would be required to enforce strictly the provisions of the act of Congress of March 2 to the above effect. The General Land Office had no power to modify the terms of exclusion of all persons, whether they proposed to enter lands or not. The words "twelve o'clock, noon" in their true acception mean the middle of the day when the sun is in the Meridian. At Guthrie standard time or railroad time was a half hour earlier than Meridian time. The prohibitory clause covered Oklahoma District, and no exception was made for the right of way of the railroad running through Guthrie and Oklahoma Station.

John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, on April 12 requested the Attorney General to have appointed such number of deputy marshals as he might deem proper to act with the military in making of arrests that might be found necessary to preserve the peace.[8] Some people suspected that deputy marshals would not be prevented from taking homesteads because of their presence in Oklahoma District during the prohibitory period, just prior to April 22. Certainly Congress did not intend to put any obstacle in the way of securing the services of the best men as public officers in Oklahoma. It was no easy time for a deputy marshal to keep peace, quell disorder, and overawe the reckless and lawless gangs of gamblers, sharpers, and ruffians generally that flocked into Oklahoma District.

Strother M. Stockslager, Commissioner of the General Land Office, on April 12 wrote Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas a letter in regard to a question submitted to Ingalls on March 29 by C. T. [F.] Sommers of Oklahoma Station. The letter concerned the prohibitory period and later drew critical attention. Stockslager wrote:[9]

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[7] 26 *Statutes*, p. 1544.

[8] Noble to Att. Gen., April 12, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Record Letters Sent*, vol. 79, pp. 79-80.

> The statute makes no exceptions to this provision. I am inclined to think, however, that when a person was already within these lands at the date of the approval of the act by proper authority his presence there should not be regarded as a violation of this provision of the act. The primary jurisdiction to act upon applications to enter rests with the district land officers, and Mr. Sommers may present his application for entry to them with proper proof of his allegations. Should they refuse to permit an entry he may appeal from their action, which would bring his application and proofs before this office for its adjudication of the case.

Stockslager made no comment about a prospective claimant going outside of Oklahoma District to become a qualified entryman.

Noble instructed John Alfred Pickler and Cornelius MacBride, inspectors of the public land service, to have the land office buildings erected and to supervise and direct everything that would tend to the effectual establishment and peaceful preservation of general law and order. Pickler arrived at Arkansas City on April 13, and sent Noble the following telegram: "Will have to build for both land offices. There is nothing at all at either point. Can contract here. Can build two buildings, each eighteen by thirty feet, suitable. Total $1,075. Shall I do so? Answer early."[10] On the same day Noble replied: "If buildings can be put up for occupancy by twenty-second contract for them. Push things. Land officers, clerks and inspectors will be at Arkansas City on seventeenth."

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[9] Stockslager to Ingalls, April 12, 1889, *Ann. Rpt., Gen. Land Office, 1889,* p. 101; also in NA, GLO, "A" *Letter Book*, C. and D. Div., vol. 23, pp. 283-284. A United States commissioner referred to in contemporary records as C. F. Sommers, was alleged to have been at Oklahoma Station at noon on April 22, 1889, and to have laid claim to two city lots there; Alfred J. Pickler to Noble, May 8, 1889, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., v (2682) no. 33, pp. 14-15; extract copy from the records of Oklahoma City, May 2, 1889, *ibid.*, ix (2686), no. 72. p. 30; Capt. D. F. Stiles to Maj. J. P. Sanger, Nov. 6, 1889, *ibid.*, pp. 30-35. C. F. Sommers administered the oath of office to the elected officials of the provisional government, including William L. Couch, mayor.

A search in the National Archives revealed no proof that Secretary Noble approved Stockslager's letter of April 12, although in the case of Ransom Payne *v.* William S. Robertson attorneys for appellant claimed that Noble did so. Attorneys also claimed that the substance of Stockslager's letter was embodied in a circular and widely distributed prior to April 22, 1889.

It was reported that a preson who was offered the position of United States deputy marshal in Oklahoma District inquired if acceptance of the office would deprive him of the right to take and hold a homestead. On this matter Noble is said to have advised Congressman William M. Springer of Illinois to tell him to take the office and he would see that he was protected in his rights to acquire a homestead. Springer's verification of the incident is in *Cong. Record*, Jan 17, 1890, p. 670; see also Ransom Payne *v.* William S. Robertson, U. S. Supreme Court, *File Copies of Briefs*, no. 20; Oklahoma City Townsite *v.* George E. Thornton et al., 13 Land Decisions 409 (1891).

[10] Tel. from Pickler to Noble, April 13, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., box 680, Okla. Misc. Papers; tel. from Noble to Pickler, April 13, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Appt. Div., *Letter Book*, vol. 10, p. 359.

Robert S. Baird secured the contract to build the land offices at Guthrie and Kingfisher. Pursuant to an arrangement, the employees entered the territory by means of a pass about April 17. Moses M. Standley who successfully contested one of them in litigation wrote: "There were two gangs of sooners who settled on the Cottonwood in O. T. The 'Cowboy or S. H. Foss gang,' and the 'Lumber haulers,' or the men who entered O. T. April 17, 1889, and hauled the lumber for the U. S. Land Offices at Guthrie and Kingfisher. The names of the Lumber haulers were George W. Jones, Benj. Frank Hostettler, Wm. F. Huff, Sam Smith, and Charles Combs."[11]

Archival sources show that several persons received permission to enter the Oklahoma District prior to April 22. For instance, on April 13 Noble requested that U. S. Commissioner John M. Galloway be privileged to enter "the territory for the purpose of establishing a building on the one acre reserved in the President's proclamation for Government use."[12]

Noble said that it was "highly desirable that such an officer should be present." The War Department approved the request on April 15. On April 19 Noble requested that a permit be telegraphed to Arkansas City for "four men and three teams to enter Oklahoma to transport office outfit and personal effects of officers and clerk[s] from Guthrie to Kingfisher." The War Department promptly complied with the request.

The term "legal sooners" was applied to persons who entered Oklahoma District as employees of the government, or under special permit, or because of their occupation such as employees of the railroad company, and initiated a claim to land by using an advantage not available to persons who entered the district after the lawful hour of opening. Claimants without the shelter of permit or employment, who remained within Oklahoma District, or who entered upon and occupied lands there during the prohibitory period, or after March 2, 1889, and before the hour of noon on April 22, were called "moonshiners" presumably because they came in by the light of the moon. According to a contemporary observer the word "sooner" was not applied to them for five or six months after the opening.[13] A "sooner" was a land claimant who was in Oklahoma

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[11] Standley to D. M. Kirkbride, Nov. 29, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., Box 673.

[12] Noble to Sec. War, April 3, 1889, NA, AGO, Consolidation file 2653, 1885-1889; same to same, April 19, 1889, *ibid.*

[13] Dan W. Peery, "The First Two Years," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (Sept., 1929), p. 284; Andrew Wood to Editor, *Visitor*, April 22, 1889, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1956), pp. 305-306.

District during the prohibitory period and who acquired an advantage in initiating settlement by such occupancy.[14]

MacBride said that the atmospheric condition of things on and before April 22 seemed to impel men, previously honorable and honest, to grab, catch, and hold everything in sight. John Ichabod Dille, register of the Guthrie land office, noted that ''hundreds of people'' were at Guthrie on April 20. MacBride and Pickler reported that there were 300 persons in and about Guthrie before noon on April 22. They said: ''This body of men was composed of deputy marshals, land officials, railroad employees, railroad stowaways brought here in freight trains, deputy internal-revenue collectors, and a host which cannot be classified.'' Pickler saw men finish ''a survey of the town'' before 11 a. m. The first non-sooner affidavit in Oklahoma history was filed by a sooner, Mark S. Cohn, in the Guthire land office on April 22, with the reported connivance of Dille and a deputy marshal.[15]

At Kingfisher on April 21 a newspaper reporter found 500 people. Dille observed that men under contract to haul lumber from Council Grove to Fort Reno ''were killing time in every way'' in an effort to be within Oklahoma District at noon on April 22 at which time they would rush to the claims they desired.[16]

During the first month there was popular clamor against the legal sooners. An example is the petition transmitted by James L. Brown to the Secretary of the Interior on May 23, inquiring among other things if entrance upon lands from the right of way of the Santa Fe Railroad on April 22 would bar a prospective entryman from acquiring title to lands.[17] The same question was raised as to railroad employees, army teamsters, cooks, etc. Among those who signed the petition were

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[14] *Ann. Rpt. Gov. of Okla., 1891, H. Ex. Docs.*, 52 Cong., 1 sess., xvi (2935), p. 450. Judge Walter H. Sanborn defined the word "sooner" as one who "to the injury of other intending settlers, enters upon and claims land as his homestead before such entry and claim are effective to initiate a valid homestead under the acts of Congress"; Howe *v.* Parker, 190 Fed. 738 (1911).

The name "boomer" was applied to any prospective settler in the Run of 1889. The term "old boomer" usually meant a follower of David L. Payne or William L. Couch who in years prior to 1885 had boomed or advertised the fact that Oklahoma district was unsettled, and attempted by direct action to settle there.

[15] B. B. Chapman, "Guthrie, From Public Land to Private Property," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1955) pp. 63-86. Included is an account of the case of Ransom Payne, an important one in the study of legal sooners. Payne was a deputy marshal.

[16] Dille to Noble, May 9, 1889, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., v (2682), no. 33, pp. 16-18.

[17] Brown to Sec. Int., May 23, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., box 681, Okla. Misc. Papers. The petition is with the letter.

G. W. [''Public Domain''] Adams, W. B. Barger, J. F. Bellamy, George W. Farmer, J. C. Gatewood, Ledru Guthrie, A. B. Harmon, William H. Hart, Witten Haycraft, John O. Johnson, Charles Lane, R. B. Linthicum, J. M. McCornack, Angelo C. Scott, W. W. Scott, Oscar H. Violet.

Secretary Noble opposed any legislation ratifying acts which sooners had done in disregard of justice and fair treatment and to the injury of law-abiding citizens. ''Care will be taken,'' said President Harrison, ''that those who entered in violation of the law do not secure the advantage they unfairly sought.''[18] Archival sources do not reveal the whole story of the legal sooners, but the light is sufficiently clear to see some of their activities that were condemned by the courts.

MARSHALS NEEDLES AND JONES

A study of ''legal sooners'' leads quickly to deputy marshals, due in part to a public tendency to refer to various federal officers by that term. Thomas B. Needles was Marshal of Indian Territory with headquarters at Muskogee. He had authority in all the said territory, but William Clark Jones, Marshal of Kansas, had concurrent authority in so much of the territory as was in the Kansas district. Thus Needles and Jones had concurrent authority in Oklahoma district.

An Act of Congress on March 1, 1889, provided for the organization of a court in the Indian Territory, subsequently located at Muskogee.[19] The marshal of the court was empowered to appoint deputies, the number being limited only by the necessity of the case. It was competent to the President to direct the military forces to render the marshal such aid as might be necessary to enable him to maintain peace and enforce the laws of the United States in the Indian Territory.

On March 16 Senators Shelby M. Cullom and Charles B. Farwell of Illinois accordingly recommended that Needles of that state be appointed as marshal. In a letter to the President they said: ''Mr. Needles was our former state auditor, is a man of experience, integrity, sobriety and ability and we believe would be such a man as you desire. It is due from us to say that he was not a soldier, but we believe him to be otherwise the kind of man you want.''[20] Needles was commissioned marshal on March 26. His annual salary was $200 and fees.

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[18] Message of Dec. 3, 1889, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. ix, p. 47.

[19] 25 *Statutes*, 783; "Marshal of Indian Territory," *Official Opinions of the Attorney General*, vol. 19, p. 293.

[20] Cullom and Farwell to the President, March 16, 1889, NA, Justice Dept., appointment file of Needles, Dist. of Indian Territory; *Reg. of Dept. of Justice, 1891*, pp. 60-61.

Since he was a Republican appointee his prospects of office tenure were superior to those of Jones. By direction of the President the responsibility of keeping the peace in the territory rested largely upon him.

On April 10 Attorney General W. H. H. Miller authorized Needles to appoint such number of deputies as might seem necessary.[21] Needles arrived at Guthrie on April 16. On April 20 at Arkansas City he met Dille and Cassius McDonald [''Cash''] Barnes, register and receiver of the Guthrie land office. On the ''very earnest solicitation'' and the ''earnest and persistent request'' of Dille and Barnes, Needles appointed Benton J. Turner, James H. Huckleberry, and Orion Eli Mohler as special deputies, exclusively for the protection of the Guthrie land office, records and monies.[22] Needles said they were assigned for duty under the orders of Dille and Barnes, and that he delivered the commissions to Dille and Barnes, ordering them to have their men sworn before a United States Commissioner before delivering the commissions to them. According to Needles, on the morning of April 22 he had four other deputies at Guthrie and only a total of fourteen in the entire Indian Territory.

Turner entered Oklahoma District on the night of April 21. At noon on April 22 Mohler opened the double doors of the land office, which swung inward. The first applicant to enter was Mark S. Cohn who among other things filed for Turner and Huckleberry soldier's declaratory statements for the west half of section nine which became East Guthrie.

Dille said that Mohler was the only deputy marshal appointed on his recommendation. He added: ''Mr. Needles offered me the commissions for three deputies, believing that we should have some officials present at this office with whom we were acquainted. I accepted one and refused to take the other two because I did not know of but one person who desired to go into the Territory as a looker-on with whom I was personally acquainted.''[23] In reprimanding Dille for conditions at Guthrie, Noble said: ''By the first acts of your office a townsite had been fixed and almost surrounded by the filings made by your brother and Mr. Cohn, before the law-abiding people could arrive.''[24]

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[21] Miller to Needles, April 10, 1889, NA, Justice Dept., *Instruction*, vol. 126, pp. 116-117; affidavit of Needles, Sept. 14, 1890, NA, GLO, townsite box 140.

[22] Needles to Miller, April 30, 1889, NA, Justice Dept., no. 3982 in file 3485-1889; Miller to Needles, May 4, 1889, *ibid.*, *Instruction Book*, vol. 3, p. 349; Needles to Miller, May 24, 1889, *ibid.*, no. 4716 in file 3485-1889. There is a sketch of Mohler's life in the *Guthrie Daily Leader*, April 16, 1957.

[23] Dille to Noble, May 9, 1889, *S. Ex. Doc.*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 16-18.

[24] Noble to Dille, May 28, 1889, NA, Int., Dept., Appt. Div., *Letter Book*, vol. 12, pp. 16-27.

Since Jones subsequently was subjected to greater condemnation than Needles, his record should be set forth more fully. In 1861 at the age of 21, Jones was mustered in as 1st. lieutenant, Company F, 3 Regiment, Kansas Infantry.[25] He was promoted to captain, June 23, 1862, in the Tenth Kansas Infantry, and was mustered out August 19, 1864. On October 26, 1868, be became a major in the Kansas Cavalry, Company 19, and five months later he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel.

Jones was warden of the Kansas State Penitentiary from April 9, 1883, to April 1, 1885. He then sought appointment as United States marshal for the district of Kansas. In the National Archives is a half-pound bundle of papers requesting his appointment.[26] Samuel J. Crawford, former governor of Kansas, gives the flavor of these recommendations when he wrote to President Grover Cleveland on July 6, 1885:

> I think I speak the truth when I say that no better or truer soldier ever wore spurs or drew a sword. He has filled other important, responsible positions within the state, and in each and all he discharged his duties with credit and profit to the state. He was a delegate from Kansas at Chicago, and your friend from beginning to end, as true as the needle to the pole. I tell you the truth when I say that if it had not been for Col. Jones the Kansas delegation would have been carried away from your support by the friends of another at the critical moment. In him you have a friend, a true soldier and a worthy man. About eighty percent of the voters of Kansas served in the Army during the war, and so far, of all the appointments made in that state under the present administration, I believe in no instance has an ex-soldier been chosen. The appointment would be received with gratitude by that element as well as by the people of Kansas generally.

Jones was commissioned as marshal on March 12, 1886.[27] His difficulties began soon after the Republican administration came to Washington in 1889. Needles was expressly authorized to appoint such number of deputies as might seem necessary, and the same right was certainly not withheld from Jones. Among deputies Jones appointed were A. S. Claw, Asa Jones, A. G. Jones, H. S. Keys, J. B. Koonce, Ed. F. Madden, Capt. Rarrick (O. S. Rauck), J. O. Severns, George E. Thornton, J. S. Weaver, Ewers White, D. F. Wyatt.

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[25] The pension file of Jones is no. C-2678565, Fed. Records Center, Alexandria, Va. There is a sketch of his life in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 10. (1907-1908), p. 448.

[26] Appointment file of Jones, NA, Justice Dept. In the file is a personal letter of June 15, 1885, to Daniel Manning, Secretary of the Treasury, in which Jones said: "In our state convention for delegate to Chicago, I was an outspoken Cleveland man, and upon that issue I went before the convention, and received an overwhelming vote and was elected."

[27] *Reg. of Dept. of Justice, 1886*, p. 72. It seems impossible to secure a complete list of deputy marshals appointed by Jones and Needles or to get the correct spelling of names. See however lists in *S. Ex. Docs., loc. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

Jones was in Guthrie a few days before the land opening. He appreciated the influx of population that would follow on and after April 22, 1889.[28] He knew there had been several hundred federal troops stationed in Oklahoma District for the preservation of order, and he was informed by the commanding officer at Oklahoma Station that on and after high noon on April 22 his functions would cease. Jones attempted to organize a force of deputy marshals at different points where it was supposed that people would concentrate. Special requests were made of him. The commanding officer of the United States troops at Alfred (now Mulhall) requested him to send a deputy marshal there to capture horse thieves. At the request of an officer of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company eight of their employees were appointed temporary deputy marshals. Most of them were conductors constantly passing through the territory and could perform a useful service if lawless men attempted to commit a violent act on the trains. In addition to the eight employees, Jones appointed not less than nineteen deputy marshals. Jones thought he successfully organized a force of deputy marshals as evidenced by the good order maintained. He said:

> I believe that a few of my deputies have attempted to file on as many tracts of land in the territory but I know many of them have not ;and while I instructed them not to do so, when they saw themselves surrounded by about 500 to 700 persons at Guthrie and at least one half that number at Oklahoma Station waiting for the hour of twelve to come, I do not wonder that some of the deputies, who were serving without pay and only there in the interest of good order, took the fever and attempted to get them a home. As to myself, I never attempted to homestead a foot of land either in Oklahoma or any other territory or state.[29]

On April 24 the *Kansas City Daily Journal* carried a stinging account in which a reporter told of seeing Jones, Needles, Dille and others make an "unauthorized and unwarranted settlement" of Guthrie before Oklahoma District was legally opened to settlement. The next day the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* said: "Oklahoma City, like Guthrie was built in a day, or, properly speaking, was claimed in an hour, excepting that portion which was captured before time by those appointed to go down and execute the law. The Deputy United States

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[28] The position of Jones is set forth in his letter to the Att. Gen., May 9, 1889, NA, Justice Dept., no. 4190 in file 3485-1889.

[29] Jones appointed A (S?) Payne as a deputy marshal. W. H. Jenkins of Emporia, Kansas, said that at Guthrie Payne encroached on his lot in a block near the land office. Jenkins appealed to Jones who said he "didn't want to hear another word out of my damned head." Jenkins said he then bought Payne's asserted interest in the lot for $15.00; Jenkins to Att. Gen. Miller, May 15, 1889, NA, Justice Dept., no. 4405 in file 3485-1889.

Marshals laid out the town Sunday night, and Monday morning they covered the supposed choice sites with tents.''

A wail that legal sooners had captured choice lands caused Secretary Noble and Commissioner Stockslager on April 24 to make it clear that a deputy marshal or other government officer who entered Oklahoma District with a view to locate a claim or town lot had acquired no right there.[30] Stockslager said such locations appeared to be in violation of the spirit of the law opening the territory.

As for legal sooners, Noble gave assurance that ''not the least shadow of an injustice to settlers in Oklahoma would be tolerated for a moment.'' He directed Pickler and MacBride to ''pursue a systematic and thorough inquiry into this wrong, preserving evidence with names, circumstances and conclusions, and make a written report. Be uncompromising and determined to correct this injustice, as it will not be tolerated to the least degree.''[31]

From Guthrie on April 24 Needles sent this telegram to the Secretary of the Interior: ''Everything remarkably orderly and peaceful. Ten thousand people here. Not a single arrest yet. Hope to preserve order without any trouble.'' MacBride and Pickler may have given vent to optimism and exaggeration when on May 3 they wrote that ''a more successful opening of a new Territory could not be conjured up by the imagination of man.'' In this era of good feeling Mayor Daniel B. Dyer sent Noble the following telegram:[32]

> At a meeting of the City Council of Guthrie, presided over by myself, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote and directed to be forwarded to you: "Resolved that the thanks of this body and the citizens of Guthrie are hereby tendered to the Hon. Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, for the very prompt and efficient action taken in repressing fraud in attempting to acquire title to property and prevent the unjust use of official power by persons seeking to profit thereby.

Pickler and MacBride gave the following report on April 30: ''Deputy marshals getting rid of their town lots as rapidly as they can. In three days not more than four or five lots will be ostensibly held by the deputies, who openly held lots a few days ago. Now deny that they have a foot of ground in the Territory.'' With this encouragement the settlers demanded that ''the government declare a forfeiture of the claims of all persons, irrespective of employment, who were in the Oklahoma tract before Monday noon.''

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[30] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 25, 1889; *New York Herald*, April 26, 1889; April 28, 1889. An account is given of a hundred deputy marshals "who resigned office Monday at noon and squatted on town lots."

On April 24 Noble requested Pickler and MacBride to secure "absolutely correct list of all deputy U. S. Marshals, serving in the Territory." Noble asked if it were true that the deputy marshals had endeavored to make entries of any kind prior to the advent of the settlers; tel. of April 24, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Rec. Letters Sent*, vol. 79, p. 118.

[31] Tel. from Noble to Pickler and MacBride, April 25, 1889, *ibid.*, box 680; tel. from Pickler and MacBride to Noble, April 30, 1889, *ibid.*

[32] Tel. from Dyer to Noble, April 29, 1889, box 680.

MacBride said it was ''a melancholy truth'' that deputy marshals and deputy collectors caused more trouble, more friction, and perpetrated more wrongs calculated to disturb the public peace than all the other citizens of Oklahoma District put together.[33] He and Pickler were more definite when they wrote:

> Collector Acers [Nelson F. Acers], of Kansas, is responsible for more deputies who have acquired lands and town lots in this Territory than both of the marshals put together. He was instructed by the Internal Revenue Commissioner to designate certain men from whom Special Agent [George R.] Clark could select, when occasion required, internal revenue deputies. He designated an unknown number. Not one of these men reported to Clark; and they were only deputies to the extent of having authority to enter the Territory before 12 m. . . .; and they thereby acquired town lots and other advantages.

It was rumored that a member of Congress was ''badly involved in the wholesale grab by the 200 and more deputies''; and that Attorney General Miller was convinced that ''some crooked business had been perpetrated in Oklahoma.''[34]

Pickler found that the first board of arbitration in Guthrie awarded lots to the first occupant and did not consider soonerism in passing upon the right to lots.[35] M. M. Thompson of Guthrie put it more bluntly: ''An honest settler in this town has no show at all as the U. S. marshals and U. S. commissioners and others here have banded themselves together and are robbing the settlers of their possession by setting themselves up as a Board of Arbitration.''[36]

There was no better spokesman for the Board of Arbitration than one of its members, Henry B. Kelly, who had served in the Kansas State Senate, and was proprietor of the *McPherson Freeman,* a weekly newspaper. Kelly said:[37]

> The provisional council was but municipal, its authority (assumed) ended with the city limits. The Board, a creation of the coun-

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[33] MacBride to Noble, May 8, 1889, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., v (2682), no. 33, p. 12; MacBride and Pickler to Noble, May 3, 1889, *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

[34] "After the Marshals," *The Oklahoma Pioneer*, May 11, 1889.

[35] *Cong. Record*, Jan. 17, 1890, p. 670.

[36] Thompson to President Benjamin Harrison, May 17, 1889, NA, Justice Dept., Kan. Appt. Papers, U. S. Marshals et al., 1889-1893, Complaints against W. C. Jones.

[37] Kelly to Senator Preston B. Plumb, May 28, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., box 681. The letter is in the *Guthrie Daily Leader*, April 16, 1957.

> cil, a temporary tribunal to judge as to prior occupancy between occupants, could do no more than to determine who was first in possession on the townsite, afternoon of April 22nd, while the question of being within the Territory was for government to settle at the proper time. The city authorities were done when they enquired "when entrance was made upon the townsite," it being the business of government to enquire "when the entrance was made into the Territory."

On April 30 Needles declared that charges in the newspapers about him were "absolutely false and without foundation." Two weeks later he said he would like to meet his accusers face to face before Miller, and added: "I have not entered any land or lands, town lot or lots, in the Oklahoma District and have no interest whatever, directly or indirectly, near or remote, of any kind or nature, in any land or lots in the Territory."[38] Needles had been content to let Inspectors Pickler and MacBride do the investigating.

Writing from Guthrie on May 24 Needles clarified the matter considerably. He said of Turner, Huckleberry, and Mohler:

> These special deputies I never saw. I had not then nor have I now any acquaintance with them whatever. Mr. Dille and Mr. Barnes insisted that for the safety and protection of the interests of the government they considered it necessary to have men assigned to them whom they personally knew and had confidence in. Upon reflection I deemed the request not an unreasonable one and complied therewith. Mr. Barnes today informs me that these men were never sworn and were not here.

Turner and Huckleberry never made homestead entry for Guthrie lands. Mohler paid a survey tax on a town lot in Guthrie. On May 24 Needles could not ascertain if Mohler claimed the lot and was informed "he is not here." Five of Needles' deputies made application to file a homestead entry or a soldier's declaratory statement for a homestead, but their applications were rejected. They were John G. Varnum, William J. Wilkins, Temp Elliott, Thomas Taylor, and John C. Bell. On June 5 Miller suggested to Needles that any deputies who had anything to do with attempting to take an unfair advantage of their position in order to get lands or lots should be discharged promptly. He added: "We must administer the affairs of the Department in all good faith."[39]

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[38] Needles to Miller, May 13, 1889, NA, Justice Dept., no. 4298 in file 3485-1889.

[39] Miller to Needles, June 5, 1889, *ibid., Instruction Book*, vol. 3 p. 507. In a telegram to Noble on June 24, 1889, Pickler recommended that action be taken to protect the timber on school lands. Noble directed the General Land Office to "send a timber agent under special instructions, without delay. Select the best man, who will not spend his time grabbing town lots"; tel. from Pickler to Noble, June 24, 1889, NA, GLO, 78, 591-1889.

The Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company was a private corporation formed under the laws of Colorado early in 1889. The first year Jones and C. S. Rogers were on the board of directors. Inspector MacBride said on May 8: "Marshal Jones has been active in dealing with all the real estate brokers of Guthrie. He and his deputy, C. S. Rogers, had about three dozen tents consigned to them."[40]

Jones was a Democrat confronted with an incoming Republican administration. For more than two months before the opening of Oklahoma district there was political clamor from Kansas to replace him with Richard L. Walker. About 2:30 p. m. on April 22, 1889, Jones entered upon and occupied a lot in Guthrie just across Second Street from the government acre.[41] The first improvement on the lot was a tent he erected. His agents kept intruders away. He subsequently erected there a frame business house 25 x 35 feet, and rented the lot. In a report on May 8 Pickler, a Republican, said:[42]

> The people feel that Marshal Jones, a resident of Kansas and not a bona-fide settler, with his deputies and with influential parties in the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, and other speculators, unfairly gained entrance to the forbidden territory and fraudulently gained great advantages over the honest settler, and thus secured the most valuable property, while those who obeyed the law are beaten by the law-breakers in the race. And to this conclusion all fair-minded, honest men are forced.

On May 11 Thomas D. Hance, a hotel keeper at Guthrie, sent a telegram to Secretary Noble stating that he was in a contest with Jones and that the arbitrators were delaying the case on account of the official position Jones held.[43] Noble asked Commissioner Stockslager if anything could be done in the matter. William O. Conway, law examiner, advised that the question of the right of occupants to particular lots was not in the existing condition of things within the jurisdiction of the department, which was without authority to enforce any conclusion it might arrive at by any civil process. Appended is this note signed by Stockslager: "The only way I know to get rid of the delay caused by the influence of Jones' position is to remove Jones. May 11, '89."

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[40] Reports by Pickler and MacBride to Noble, May 8, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., boxes 680-681; and in *S. Ex. Docs., loc. cit.*, pp. 7-14.

[41] This was lot no. 6 in block 55, west of the government acre. See Asst. Com. Edward A. Bowers to Trustees, Townsite Board no. 6, April 17, 1894, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 13, pp. 491-499; Asst. Com. Emory F. Best to Townsite Trustees, Board no. 6, Nov. 7, 1895, *ibid.*, vol. 29, pp. 356-368; same to same Jan. 24, 1896,*ibid.*, vol. 31, pp. 313-316; Thomas D. Hance et. al. *v.* City of Guthrie, 23 L. D. 196 (1896).

[42] Pickler to Noble, May 8, 1889, *Cong. Record*, Jan. 17, 1890, pp. 666-667. Pickler said that Jones claimed as his own a lot in Oklahoma City at the "corner of Main and Broadway."

[43] Tel. from Hance to Noble, May 11, 1889, box 680, *loc. cit.*

On May 15 Senator Preston B. Plumb of Kansas sent the following message to President Benjamin Harrison: "I recommend the appointment of Richard L. Walker of Topeka, Kansas, as U. S. Marshal for the District of Kansas. This in pursuant to an agreement between Mr. Ingalls and myself. Mr. Walker is an ex-Union soldier and an upright capable man."[44] Townsite authorities of Guthrie awarded Jones a warranty certificate for the lot on May 17. He was removed from office on May 23, and on May 27 Walker took the oath as Marshal of Kansas.

Jones on September 22, 1890, filed with Townsite Board No. 1 an application for a deed to the lot he claimed. He said he had held the lot continuously in good faith since April 22, 1889, and that he had not entered upon it nor into Indian Territory in violation of the act of Congress or the proclamation of the President. He appeared before the board at a hearing, but the Board on March 10, 1891, decided that he was not entitled to the lot. It seems that Jones did not appeal from the decision, but at the time of his death, September 24, 1895, controversy over the ownership of the lot was in the Interior Department for determination. The lot was awarded to the City of Guthrie.[45]

What portion of the charges against Jones emanated from politics, and what portion should be attributed to his human frailty, is left to the reader to decide. It is enough here to present the record as preserved in the National Archives, and explain the conditions under which Jones lived. No history of the Run of '89 can overlook the role he played. Needles held the office of marshal until a Democratic administration came to Washington. He was succeeded by James J. McAlester who was commissioned on April 6, 1893.

TEAMSTERS

Among numerous cases before the Secretary of the Interior concerning the Run of '89, no decision was more basic and none was subsequently referred to so much as that in Townsite of Kingfisher *v.* John H. Wood and William D. Fossett, decided by Secretary John W. Noble on October 1, 1890.[46] Kingfisher Stage Station was at the junction of Uncle John

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[44] Plumb to Harrison, May 15, 1889, NA, Justice Dept., Kan. Appt. Papers U. S. Marshals et al., 1889-1893, file of Richard L. Walker; affidavit of Jones, Sept. 11, 1890, and affidavit of Walker, Sept. 15, 1890, NA, GLO, townsite box 140.

[45] Bureau of Land Management, *Okla. Tract Books, Guthrie*, vol. 38 p. 94.

[46] 11 L. D. 330.

Creek and Kingfisher Creek, and with a land office located there a town was certain to grow. For more than five years prior to 1889, Wood had been "a legal, bona fide resident of Oklahoma," and his home was near the military reservation at present Oklahoma City. He left his home on April 16, in charge of military transportation, and went to Kingfisher. On the morning of April 22, he was hauling wood and working a mile east and somewhat north of the land office there. Within eight minutes after the opening of Oklahoma District he was upon and claimed the Northeast Quarter of Section 15 as his homestead. He was the first settler on the tract, and he began digging at once.

Prospective settlers, estimated from three to ten thousand, had assembled on the border of Oklahoma District, one and a quarter miles west of Kingfisher. They were known as the "West Liners." On Sunday evening, April 21, a large number of people held a meeting at Buffalo Springs (now Bison) outside of and upon the north border of Oklahoma District. George E. Hubbard, chairman of the meeting, was selected as mayor of the town, and a proper person to present the townsite application for the residents upon the land. The North Half of Section 15 was agreed upon as a townsite. The land office was in the southeast corner of the Northwest Quarter of the section.

Fossett was a master of frontier life, and eventually became a United States marshal. At noon on April 22, 1889, he was with other prospective settlers on the border west of Kingfisher, and according to a reliable witness he "rode the best horse on the west side."[47] He was a qualified homesteader and was the first settler on the Northwest Quarter of Section 15, which he claimed for his homestead. Jacob V. Admire, receiver of the Kingfisher land office, said : "I saw Bill Fossett jump off his horse about 200 yards west of the land office and on the same quarter section, jerk his saddle off, throw it down, and wave his blanket as notice of his claim to be the first settler upon this tract of land . . . . . If I had not been one of the judges in the case, I would have made a good witness for him in the contests which followed."[48] As soon as Fossett reached the quarter section, he began a dugout, then notified all trespassers of his prior right as a homesteader. He plowed some that day.

The main body of people who dashed for Kingfisher had previously and publicly agreed to settle upon the South Half of Section 15 as a townsite. It was called Lisbon. About an

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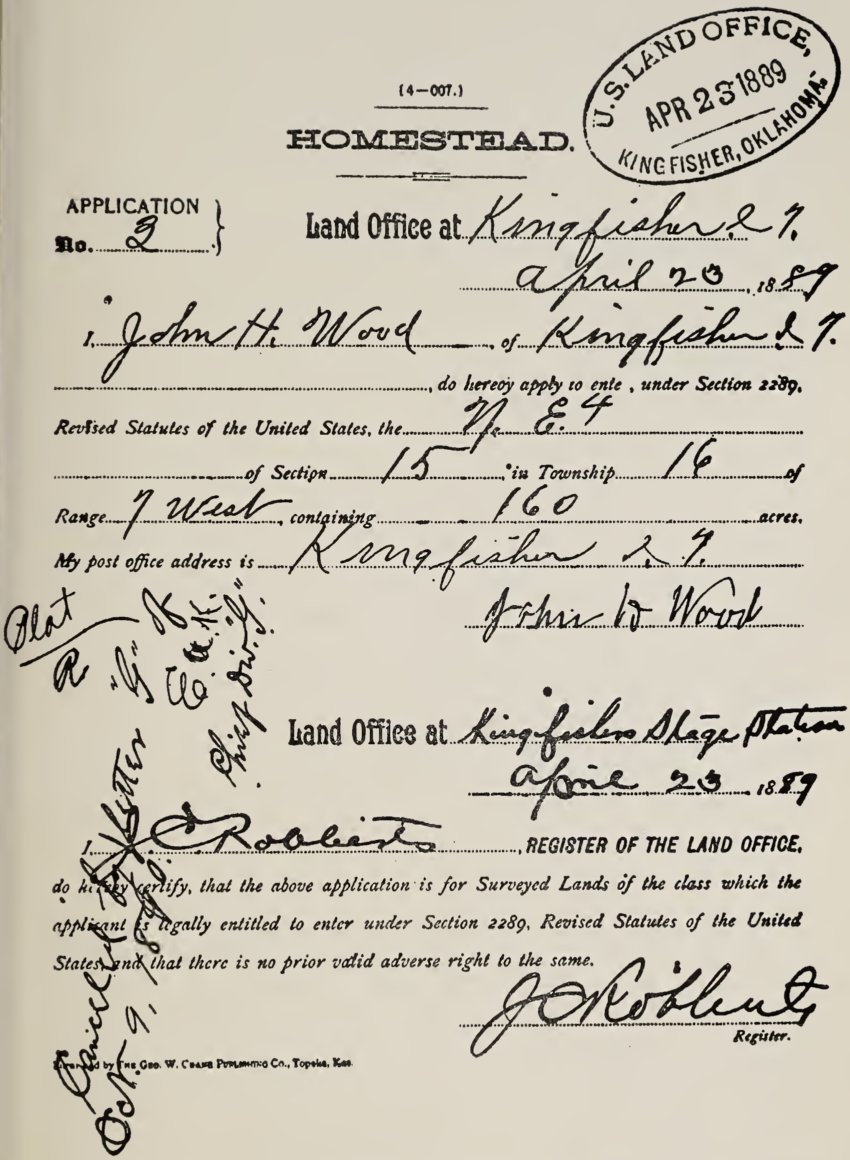
[48] J. V. Admire, in *Echoes of Eighty-Nine*, pp. 19-25.

[47] Cash Cade, in *Echoes of Eighty-Nine*, pp. 7-11; see also *ibid.*, pp. 58-60. For a portrait of Fossett and a sketch of his frontier life, see *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, pp. 513-514.



U.S. LAND OFFICE, APR 23 1889 KINGFISHER, OKLAHOMA.

(4—007.)

HOMESTEAD.

APPLICATION No. 2

Land Office at Kingfisher I. T.

April 23 1889

I, John H. Wood of Kingfisher I. T.

do hereby apply to enter, under Section 2289, Revised Statutes of the United States, the N. E. 4 of Section 15 in Township 16 of Range 7 West, containing 160 acres.

My post office address is Kingfisher I. T.

John H. Wood

Plat

Cancelled by letter "G" Oct. 9, 1889

Chief Div.

Land Office at Kingfisher Stage Station

April 23 1889

I, J. C. Roberts, REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE, do hereby certify, that the above application is for Surveyed Lands of the class which the applicant is legally entitled to enter under Section 2289, Revised Statutes of the United States, and that there is no prior valid adverse right to the same.

J. C. Roberts
Register.

Engraved by The Geo. W. Crane Publishing Co., Topeka, Kas.

Certificate for application to homestead, entered at Kingfisher Land Office, 1889.

hour after Wood and Fossett settled upon their claims, a few parties who had been disappointed in securing desirable town lots on the south half of the section, crossed over upon the north half thereof and staked off lots and encamped thereon. Between two and three o'clock people from the north line of Oklahoma arrived and thereafter a large number of them staked off lots and encamped upon the north half of the section. They were called "North Liners" because they made the run from the southern border of the Cherokee Outlet. The lands were surveyed into lots, blocks, streets, and alleys for townsite purposes. Since the evening of April 22, there was sufficient population upon the north half of the section to warrant the entry of the entire tract as a townsite, were that the only question in the case. The half section became known as Kingfisher City.

In the land office on April 23, four filings were made for land in the North Half of Section 15. Wood made homestead entry No. 3 for the Northeast Quarter, and Fossett made homestead entry No. 5 for the Northwest Quarter. Samuel R. Cowick filed an application stating the he had settled upon and improved the South half of the North Half of the Section and declared his intention to claim the land as a preemption right for a townsite as trustee in trust for the use and benefit of the settlers and occupants thereof.[49] S. P. Leitner filed a declaratory statement for the North Half of the Section as a townsite.

When Wood and Fossett made homestead entry, more than 500 actual residents and settlers in good faith were on the land. Tents, temporary structures, and other improvements on the half section (excluding the land office on the government acre) were valued at not less than $5,000. There was the stage station and stable and at least twenty other places of business, so that it could be said that when Wood and Fossett made their entries the half section was actually settled upon and occupied for purposes of trade and business.

On April 29, Jacob C. Robberts and Admire, register and receiver of the land office, reported the situation to Commissioner Stockslager. Hubbard on May 4, filed in the land office a declaratory statement for the North Half of Section 15 as a townsite, alleging that he was the duly elected mayor of Kingfisher. The statement was accompanied by a petition signed by over 250 alleged residents of the land in question. In view of the fact that Cowick and Leitner were not the proper parties to make townsite applications, that the land had been entered by Wood and Fossett, and that there was no statement in or accompanying the applications asserting that the land was settled upon and occupied for purposes of business and trade, Stockslager on May 29 rejected their applications. In order to ascertain the facts in the case and determine the status of the land, he directed the register and receiver to order a hearing. He said that the burden of proof was on the townsite claimants to show the facts reserving the land from disposal under the homestead law.

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[49] Com. Stockslager to register and receiver, Kingfisher land office, May 29, 1889, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 2, pp. 134-137. The letter includes Cowick's application.

The hearing extended from July 25 to August 17 during which 550 pages of testimony were taken. On the North Half of the Section were buildings valued at $10,000, including places of business which had been in continual operation since Wood and Fossett made homestead entry for the land on April 23. The character and improvements of the land were such as was generally seen in new towns of a population of 300 to 500. In a report of September 21, Robberts and Admire gave the facts as determined about the settlement of the half section. They referred to Stockslager's letter of April 12 to Senator Ingalls, and concluded that Wood was a legally qualified entryman. They held that the North Half of Section 15 had been "legally selected for a townsite," prior to noon on April 22 and that the homestead entries should be canceled.

Assistant Commissioner William M. Stone on March 6 reversed the decision of the Kingfisher land office and held that Wood and Fossett legally initiated the prior rights to the land in controversy. He said that when a body of people made a townsite selection and came in conflict with prior filings or entries, it was their interests that were at stake and their case to defend, and not that of the government which had no greater interest in the matter than to decide who was legally and equitably entitled to the land so selected. Stone also said:

> In all cases of this character, where either settlement or selection antedate the entry or filing, the question to be inquired into and passed upon is the date of such settlement or selection. The rights of a homesteader attach at the date of his settlement. This right lawfully acquired, gives the settler the right of entry, and a right to enter, if followed by a due compliance with the law under which entry is made, is equivalent to a right to patent, as against everybody but the United States, upon a proper presentation of the facts to this office, and the patent when issued relates back to the initial act so as to cut off all intervening claims. A body of people coming together with the common purpose of locating a town upon public land, have no greater rights under the law than a homestead settler; they are upon the same footing, and, as in this case, their rights must be determined according to the priority of their initial acts.

The case came before Stone for review and he expressed his views more emphatically than ever. He considered Wood a qualified entryman. He quoted from Stockslager's letter of

April 12, 1889, and endorsed it as a "proper construction" of the acts of Congress opening Oklahoma District to settlement.[50] Stone said:

> In the case of Kingfisher there was no inspection of the land, no examination as to its suitability for the purpose, no survey into lots, blocks and streets, no marking of exterior boundaries in any way, except in the minds of prospective speculators, twenty or more miles away. None of these several steps were attempted before the settlement of Fossett and Wood; nor could they have been legally done, in view of the act of March 2, 1889, and the President's proclamation. If, as is maintained by counsel in his argument, the people of Buffalo Springs could make a legal selection of a townsite in Oklahoma, with equal force might it be argued that meetings held in every village from Maine to California might with equal right select such townsites, and so plaster over the entire surface of Oklahoma with prospective towns, to the exclusion of the homesteaders for whose benefit the territory was thrown open. In the heat of speculation these parties seem to have overlooked the fact that towns are but the incidents in opening up a new country, and not the main object thereof.
>
> I must adhere to my decision that the attempted selection of this land, by the meeting at Buffalo Springs, was not such a selection as conferred any rights on the people who subsequently sought to make a town thereon. While the settlement as effected might, in the absence of the prior legal adverse claim of Wood and Fossett, have been such an act as to initiate a valid townsite claim, these homesteaders having initiated their rights in accordance with law, some time before the influx of town settlers, I find the homesteads, as made of record a bar to any acts done in the interests of the town.

Such was the situation when on October 1, 1890, Secretary Noble gave the famous decision, setting forth the "doctrine of advantage," and a construction of the acts of Congress about entering upon and occupying lands in Oklahoma District before the hour of noon on April 22, 1889. Contestants were somewhat at sea as to what "the sooner clause" meant until this decision was given. Noble noted the great stress laid by counsel upon the fact that Wood was lawfully in the territory, in the government service, at and prior to the land opening. He described the competition and excitement of the great race for homes, and observed that among these citizens there was complete confidence in and reliance upon the strength of the government to protect them from imposition and fraud, if they themselves would do right. Noble said:

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[50] Stone to register and receiver, Kingfisher land office, March 6, 1890, *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 147-158; May 5, 1890, *ibid.*, pp. 411-417; May 13, 1890, *ibid.*, pp. 444-445.

In the case of Blanchard *v.* White this language was used by Stone in limiting the act of March 2, 1889: "All persons who, from and after the approval of the act aforesaid and prior to 12 o'clock noon of April 22, 1889, should enter upon and occupy any portion of the territory, with the intent to make selections, settle upon or enter any of the lands therein. All others are not within the prohibitory clause;" Stone to register and receiver, Guthrie land office, March 7, 1890, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 119, pp. 174-228.

> But there were others not so disposed. There were men there who, upon one pretense and another—one necessity or another—had been admitted within the border. The railroads required men to preserve the track and to run the trains; the military wagons were handled by civilians engaged for the purpose; there were the registers and receivers of the land offices, with their clerks, there were the United States marshals and their deputies; and there were many others that had evaded the troops and crept into the domain without pretense of right. Many, in each of these classes, that were in the territory *sooner* than the law allowed for such designs of settlement, nevertheless intended to take advantage of their situation and anticipate and defeat the multitude on the borders. Their chief purpose was to get a quarter section or a town lot, and if they had an apparently special occupation there, the real cause of their presence was to get land . . . . .
>
> The evident intention of Congress was to give to all persons desiring homes in Oklahoma an equal chance to obtain them. The territory was opened for homestead settlement to any qualified homesteader, but under the same conditions. No partiality was intended to be shown to any individual or class of individuals. . . . .
>
> The language of the law was broad as it could be made, prohibiting any one from entering upon the lands for the purpose of settling the same. The end sought by the people was *settlement*. This it was that would produce title; convert the public domain into private property. The statute's chief purpose was to regulate settlement. Each act of the individual was induced by his desire to make settlement of a particular piece of land, and the statute declared that for this purpose no one should enter upon or occupy these lands—this territory—until they are opened for such "*settlement*" by proclamation of the President..... The evident purpose of the law was to prohibit one or another entering the territory before the proclaimed hour, *with a view and purpose of settlement of any part thereof*. No one could be there, legally with such purpose, in whole or in part. Whether there before the time by some permit or without it, the one who then entertained the intention of making a settlement and to use the advantage which his presence gave, to the exclusion of others, was violating the spirit of the law, and it destroyed his claim when attempted. If he had declared it before, he should have been expelled; if he exhibited such preconceived purpose by his subsequent acts, he not only could not lawfully claim any particular tract, but forfeited all right to future acquisition.
>
> Any special license to be present must have been for another and entirely different purpose. No license could be granted against the statute, and no one could successfully pervert his license or special employment to defeat the equal and just operation of the statute upon all alike. The permit was exhausted in protecting its possessor; it could not be used as a weapon against others. The moment the possessor of such special privilege formed his purpose to take advantage of his position for the selection and seizure of a tract of land, his license was valueless, and he became a trespasser from that moment. To hold that the few with permits, or especially engaged within the limits of these lands any more than those there without license, could pick out their claims in advance of the hour of opening, and pounce upon them at the very moment the signal was given to the others to start on their long race, would be to support pretension and

> favoritism and punish honorable obedience to authority. It is neither the law nor the equity of the case, and will not be allowed. He, who, being within these lands by special authority as deputy, train-hand, wagon-master, or other, had the purpose to jump upon a particular tract, and who gave the evidence of his prior intent by his conduct immediately thereafter, violated the statute. Such persons had entered upon and occupied this territory for the purpose of settlement—before the hour fixed in the proclamation—whatever license they may hold up or self-indulgent and self-deceiving pretext they may now present. They were not licensed or employed thus to defeat the law and injure their neighbors.
>
> Both classes were prohibited from acquiring rights to these lands; those who were in the territory at and before the hour designated in the proclamation without pretense or special license; and those who were there by special authority, or for a special purpose, but attempted to pervert their presence to secure claims before others held on the borders could arrive, even from the most distant parts thereof.
>
> On the other hand, I do not think it was the intention of Congress that a man who happened to be legally in the territory, but did not use his position to his own advantage, or to the disadvantage of his fellow citizens, should be forever prohibited from acquiring any rights in the territory. Each case must be determined upon its own merits and evidence; but it may be said generally, that the presence in the territory before the opening, under the proclamation, and the actual settlement and entry at the land office must be so widely and obviously separated in every detail and circumstance as to render it impossible to reasonably conclude that the one was the result of the other, or in any wise dependent upon it.
>
> I think it clearly appears that Mr. Wood, though permissibly in the territory, in charge of the military transportation train, took advantage of his position to seize upon the land in controversy, in anticipation of the advent of those who had been held back . . . . . His engagement as a waggoner, and his train, had become mere instruments and means by which he intended to secure, in an unjust way, a most valuable quarter section of land, before the others arrived. This he was disqualified to do, and his entry must be canceled.

Noble was of the opinion that the government acre and land office in the southeast corner of the quarter section Fossett claimed was not in itself sufficient to impeach the good faith of the homestead entry. Fossett wanted to commute his homestead entry to cash and the only impediment was a charge of collusion for speculation purposes made by certain protestants including J. P. Barnard. The south half of section fifteen had been entered as a townsite on August 5, 1890. The quarter section Wood claimed was added to it on December 19. On January 4, 1892, Noble concluded that charges against Fossett were without foundation.[51] On February 10 Fossett received a final certificate for 120 acres on the payment of $1.25 an acre. The southeast quarter of his tract which bordered the government acre he commuted to cash on April 22 on the payment of $10.00 an acre. Noble's decision which disqualified Wood left in its wake a trail of tears for legal sooners.[52]

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[51] Kingfisher Townsite *v.* Fossett, 14 L. D. 13; Stone to register and receiver, Kingfisher land office, June 3, 1891, NA, *Townsites*, vol. 6, pp. 16-23; Bureau of Land Management, *Okla. Tract Book*, vol. 4, p. 197; NA, GLO, Kingfisher, Canceled Homestead Entries, no. 3. A microfilm copy of the *Oklahoma Tract Books*, 72 volumes, is in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES

Alexander F. Smith had been for a long time prior to January 30, 1889, in the employ of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company as a trackman or section hand, and on that day he came to Edmond in that capacity, bringing his family with him. He did not enter Oklahoma District with the expectation or intention of taking land there. It appears that from March 2 to April 22 he remained continuously on the right of way of the railroad company, lived at Edmond with his family in his tent, and in the meantime and for many months thereafter remained in the employ of the railroad company. Prior to April 22 he indicated to his fellow-workmen a desire to take a homestead, but did no act toward carrying out the intention. His attention was called to a notice posted at the station at Edmond by the railroad company, warning all employees that, if they expected to take land, they must leave Oklahoma District.

When the lands were opened to settlement, Smith was at Edmond on the right of way. Soon after the hour of noon on April 22 he removed his tent about one hundred and fifty yards from the right of way and put it up on the Northeast Quarter of Section Thirty-five, in Township 14 North, Range 3 West. He improved his premises, made this quarter section his home and on April 23, duly made an entry at the proper land office at Guthrie. For several weeks he continued to reside on the land he had chosen. He valued the land at $6,000, or at the rate of $37.50 an acre.

Eddie B. Townsend came upon the same tract on April 22 at 1:20 p.m., nearly four hours in advance of the townsite claimants. On June 22 he filed in the land office at Guthrie a contest asking that Smith's homestead entry be canceled for the reason that Smith had, after March 2 and before April 22, entered upon and occupied lands in Oklahoma District. In all other respects Smith was a legally qualified homesteader; and the local land officers decided that he was entitled to the land on which he had settled.[53] The General Land Office reversed the decision of the local land officers.[54] The Secretary of the Interior sustained the General Land Office and on February 28, 1891, ordered that Smith's homestead entry be canceled.[55] The entry was canceled March 9. Townsend, who had resided on the quarter section since the day of the land opening, made homestead entry for the land on March 12, 1891. On April 30, Smith filed a complaint in the District Court of Oklahoma County against Townsend, for the purpose of having him declared a trustee for Smith, and for a conveyance of the legal title to the land accordingly. Annually for three years Smith made an unsuccessful attempt to have his claim sustained in the courts.

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[52] Martin C. Lawrence was employed as a government teamster for the military authorities of the United States and resided on the Military Reservation at Oklahoma City. Within five minutes after the hour of the opening on April 22, 1889, he located on a quarter section and claimed it for his homestead. John H. Burford and John C. Delaney, register and receiver of the Oklahoma City land office, followed Noble's doctrine as set forth in the Wood case. Their decision is in the *Oklahoma Daily Journal*, July 1, 1891.

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[53] The decision of Register Dille and Receiver Barnes was made about July 28, 1890, and is in NA, GLO, Edmond townsite file, box 134. The file is a valuable source not only on the case of Smith *v.* Townsend, but also on the founding of Edmond.

[54] Asst. Com. William M. Stone to register and receiver, Guthrie land office, Oct. 30, 1890, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 4, pp. 357-361; "Claim Jumpers at Edmond," *New York Herald*, April 26, 1889, p. 11. Smith's homestead application, including his non-sooner affidavit, is in NA, GLO, Guthrie, Canceled Homestead Entries, no. 30.

[55] Noble to Com. Gen. Land Office, Feb. 28, 1891, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Rec. Letters Sent*, vol. 121, pp. 36-38.

[56] The records of the General Land Office show that on June 27, 1892, Townsend filed an application to perfect claim to the northeast quarter of the land. The application is filed with cash entry No. 949. Townsend made cash entry no. 926 at the Guthrie land office on September 20; the $375 was paid to the Secretary of the Interior; the said entry was approved on October 20, and on the same day patent was issued thereon, except a reservation for park, school and other public purposes, containing two and one half acres (as shown on the plat of the townsite of Edmond), leaving 37½ acres at ten dollars an acre, amounting to $375. The purchase was made in accordance with Section 22 of the act of May 2, 1890 (26 *Statutes*, 81), relative to the establishment of townsites. See also Com. T. H. Carter to register and receiver, Guthrie land office, Dec. 23, 1891, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 7, pp. 34-35.

On July 9, 1914, Andrieus A. Jones, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, directed that the $375 be paid to L. W. Marks, Mayor of Edmond. See papers in GLO, filed with cash entry no. 926.

"Townsend's final proof, or rather his testimony at the time he made his final proof was to the effect that he had never sold or bargained said tract or any portion thereof at the time or before he made his proof. Afterwards a large number of contracts were produced showing that he had sold quite a number of lots . . . . . When these contracts were shown Townsend was forced to confess that he had sold portions of the tract he was seeking to prove up as a homestead. The Grand Jury of Oklahoma County wanted to investigate this case. A considerable number of the good citizens of Edmond knew of Townsend's perjury and were insisting on his indictment but [Horace] Speed or [John F.] Stone, I do not know which one, defeated the efforts of the Edmond people." The quotation is from a copy of a letter by William D. Lindsey, Register of Guthrie land office, to Alfred P. Swineford, Dec. 4, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., 13748 Lands and R. R. Div. 1893.

There remained in the quarter section 120 acres which Townsend paid for on October 28, 1892, at the rate of $1.25 an acre, in acordance with Section 21 of the Act of May 2, 1890. See BLM, *Okla. Tract Book*, vol. 2, p. 168. Patent for the 120 acres was issued on January 12, 1893, and is recorded in BLM, *Okla. Patent Records*, vol. 5, p. 245.

In 1892, Townsend paid $375 to have his claim to the Northeast Quarter of the land in question changed or transmuted into a cash entry.[56] The Northeast Quarter was included in the Edmond townsite. Townsend's homestead entry embracing the remainder of the land, or 120 acres, was commuted to cash in 1892 on the payment of $150.

Counsel contended that Smith had not entered upon and occupied any part of the lands of Oklahoma district during the prohibitory period, within the meaning of the acts of March 1 and 2, 1889.[57] The Supreme Court of the Territory of Oklahoma held that the words "enter upon and occupy" in reference to Seminole lands were equivalent to the words "enter upon" as used in reference to Creek lands.[58] And the interpretation was given that Congress intended that all persons who expected to avail themselves of the privileges and benefits of the acts of Congress opening these lands to settlement should remain without the limits of the lands until, by proclamation of the President, they should be permitted to go in and make homestead and townsite settlement upon them. It was observed that thousands of homestead settlers had remained outside the limits of the lands until it was lawful for them to enter. The court said of Smith: "He had been warned by the railroad company to go out, but refused to do so, and his duties were not such as to require him to remain in up to the time of the opening; and he took advantage of his being at the land, and secured a settlement on it before others, who obeyed the law, and remained outside, had an opportunity to reach it, even by railroad transit." Although Smith was lawfully on the right of way of the railroad company, his presence there disqualified him as a homesteader on adjoining lands. He did not have the qualifications prescribed in the Act of March 2, 1889.

In 1892, the register and receiver of the Oklahoma land office estimated the number of contest cases on the office docket as 1,600. Governor Abram J. Seay said that a construction of the acts of March 1 and 2, 1889, by the United States Supreme Court in the Smith case would "be the direct means of effecting a settlement of 90 percent of all contest litigation over homestead claims in Oklahoma Territory."[59] Warren G. Sayre, member of the Cherokee Commission, said: "The ownership and use of property of the value of millions of dollars will be determined when this suit is ended." He estimated that of the 10,000 quarter sections in Oklahoma District, half of them were claimed, and in some manner occupied by two or more persons who were at much expense contesting the rights of each other. Attorney General Miller urged an early decision of the Smith case. He said the proper growth and development of the country was retarded "for a man hestitates to sow unless he has some assurance that he can also reap." Miller observed that the moral tone of the entire people of Oklahoma Territory was affected in that the conflicting claims and the efforts to maintain them were most conducive to quarrels, perjury, estrangements, violence, and murder.

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[57] A brief of 45 pages by A. H. Garland and H. J. May is in the U. S. Supreme Court, *File Copies of Briefs*, vol. 16, no. 1173.

[58] Smith *v.* Townsend, 29 Pac. 80 (1892); 148 U. S. 490 (1893).

[59] Seay et. al. to Att. Gen. W. H. H. Miller, Sept. 8, 1892, ***File Copies of Briefs, loc. cit.***

In a brief prepared for the United States Supreme Court under date of March 3, 1893, John F. Stone and A. X. Parker estimated that sooners and legal sooners totaled about 5,000. They explained that on the opening of Oklahoma District the word "sooner" came into existence and immediately by common consent was applied and accepted. They said it was used by public speakers, "became familiar in the columns of local newspapers, in the testimony of witnesses and in the arguments of advocates, and was heard from the bench and found its way into bound volumes." The attorneys said that the terms "sooners" and "legal sooners," although "newly coined and rough from the mint" were as old as Oklahoma Territory. Attorneys Charles A. Maxwell and George S. Chase said in a brief:

> The lands contiguous to the railroad, where towns were to spring up, were the coveted prizes, and it is a little singular that all these persons who *happened* to be in the country on other lawful missions, and only concluded to make settlements as *afterthoughts*, and without interference with official duty, *happened* to get upon lands contiguous to large towns or in other favored places where their value exceeds many fold, and in numerous instances many hundred fold, the value of ordinary agricultural lands, suitable for homes and as contemplated by the homestead laws.

There were two technical points in the case. (1) When Smith was residing on the right of way he was on the identical tract for which he later made homestead entry. He simply shifted his position from the part covered by the railroad's easement to another spot. In securing title to the lands Townsend paid for the portion including the right of way. (2) On April 22, 1889, Smith acted upon Santa Fe Railroad time, an arbitrary standard adopted by the railroad for its use and convenience, and nearly thirty minutes faster than sun time.

The United States Supreme Court ruled on the cardinal point when it held that Congress did not intend that persons on the right of way in the employ of the railroad company should have a special advantage of selecting tracts, just outside the right of way, and which would doubtless soon become the sites of towns and cities. The court said that the intent of Congress was to put a wall around Oklahoma District, and disqualify from the right to acquire, under the homestead laws, any tract within its limits, every one who was not outside the wall on April 22. "When the hour came," said the court, "the wall was thrown down, and it was a race between all outside for the various tracts they might desire to take to themselves as homesteads."

The Smith case determined conclusively that a person who was within the boundaries of Oklahoma District, subsequent to March 2, 1889, and prior to noon on April 22, and who by reason of having been therein gained an advantage over those who remained outside, was thereby disqualified from acquiring any land therein by homestead or townsite entry. If a prospective homesteader chanced to step within the limits of Oklahoma District between the dates mentioned, he might, under the letter of the law, have been disqualified from taking a homestead therein. But the court gave strong implication that if at the hour of noon on April 22, he was in fact outside of the limits of the district, his case would be different from the Smith case, and it might perhaps be said that he was not disqualified from taking a homestead, since he had acted within the spirit of the law.

It was necessary for the railroad to provide proper and safe facilities for travel, and for the handling of such business as might be offered to it as a common carrier. It was necessary to employ persons to keep its track, rolling stock, and yards in a safe and proper condition. There was no compulsion or obligation on anyone to work for the railroad. The individual had the choice of accepting the remuneration offered him by the railroad for entering its employment, or of preserving the right to acquire a homestead or town lots at a future date.

Events in the vicinity of Oklahoma City caused this theory of capitalism to be echoed in the courts. Rachael Anna Haines was the common-law wife of David L. Payne, who died in 1884. About April 15, 1889, she came to Oklahoma City where she was employed by William L. Couch as a cook for his railroad graders. Mrs. Haines, Couch, and his father, Meshack H. Couch, remained in Oklahoma District until April 22, and were held to be disqualified as homesteaders.

About April 15 Meshack Q. Couch came to Oklahoma City where he worked on the railroad in the employment of his brother, William L. Couch. Apparently he did not visit the tract he desired to homestead. On April 21 he went to the Pottawatomie country on the east border of Oklahoma District from which he entered the race on horseback at noon on April 22. He reached a tract bordering South Oklahoma City about 1:30 p.m. and did acts of settlement. He worked for the railroad company after the land opening. In 1892, Acting Commissioner Stone said of him: "If Couch was in fact a sooner, and took advantage of his entrance into the territory, the arms of the law, after a thorough investigation, have failed to develop the fact."[60] On May 25, 1893, H. George Kuhlman filed in the local land office a relinquishment by Couch and an application to make homestead entry for the land. Couch doubtless received a consideration for the relinquishment.

How Sooners Could Sell Out

If Smith had maneuvered more efficiently in litigation he might well have reaped a profitable reward for his soonerism, and at the expense of Townsend. Ewers White, legal sooner and deputy of Marshal William C. Jones, demonstrated such maneuvering as will now be explained.

Section 2 of the Act of May 14, 1880, provided that in all cases where any person had contested, paid the land office fees, and procured the cancellation of any preemption, homestead or timber culture entry, he should be notified by the register of the land office of the district in which the land was situated of such cancellation, and should be allowed thirty days from date of such notice to enter said lands.[61] One purpose of the act was to secure to the successful contestant a reward for his services in aiding the government to expose fraud, by giving him a preferred right of entry. A second purpose of the act was to permit an inceptive right to be obtained, other than by filing an entry for the land. When a homestead entry of a disqualified entryman was canceled, he who attempted to enter the land on the ground that the original entry was void, acquired no rights against one who had initiated the contest in the land office and obtained a relinquishment in his favor from the original entryman.

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[60] Stone to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, July 23, 1892, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 277, pp. 264-287.

[61] 21 *Statutes*, 140. Illustrative cases involving lands in Oklahoma district are Sproat *v.* Durland, 35 Pac. 682; 886 (1894); and James L. Hodges *v.* William C. Colcord, 70 Pac. 383 (1902); 193 U. S. 192 (1904).

In reference to the act of May 14, 1880, it should be said that if the government gave a patent to a sooner, it alone could bring suit to cancel the same. One who had no interest in the land could not complain, because he could not be injured by the action of the government in issuing a patent for the land to another. If the Department of the Interior entertained a contest, and permitted it to filed, the party filing the same, had a right to have it heard, but he had no right or interest in the land itself. He did not acquire any interest in the land until after the homestead entry against which his contest was directed had been canceled, as a result of his contest; Parker *v.* Lynch et al., 56 Pac. 1082 (1898).

A homestead entry, valid upon its face, constituted such an appropriation and withdrawal of land as to segregate it from the public domain, and precluded it from subsequent homestead entry or settlement until the original entry was canceled or declared forfeited, in which case the land reverted to the government as a part of the public domain, and became subject to entry under the land laws of the United States. The Ewers White case illustrates the principle.

White was appointed deputy marshal by Jones in Kansas in 1887, and held the office until May or June, 1889. White said he was ordered into Oklahoma District to assist in preserving order, and that he arrived at Oklahoma City about April 15. Assistant Commissioner Stone wrote:

> He seems to have done nothing officially, except to warn the people not to step from the railroad limits. It is very evident that the people who were there, and afterwards made selections of land, knew that it was unlawful for them to be in the territory for such purpose, even upon the R. R. right-of-way, because they all except the officials, pretended in one way or another to be employees of the Company . . . . . How many people were here the testimony does not reveal, but the description of the scene that was presented at precisely 12 o'clock noon, on the 22nd of April, shows that there was quite a number, and one second past that hour the Railway Company was short a large number of employees, who, as if by magic had at once become tillers of the soil and honest *bona fide* settlers upon the public domain.

On April 22, White rode a horse along the right of way until noon. He carried a board about three feet long with a crosspiece nailed on, to which was attached a card with his name written thereon. At noon he promptly entered upon a quarter section just southwest of the present capitol in Oklahoma City, drove the board into the ground and claimed the land. About 7:30 a. m. on April 23 at the Guthrie land office Jones succeeded in getting eight of his deputies in line ahead of all others. Stone wrote:[62]

> The first one at the door was a deputy Marshal, and immediately behind him in the line were seven other deputies ostensibly preserving order, but at the same time ready, willing and anxious to make entries of a portion of the public domain. Marshal Jones in his testimony denies that he did anything to assist his deputies in obtaining any advantage of position in the line, yet the deputies were there in the line as stated, and Jones was there in command of the forces.

White made homestead entry No. 6 about 10 a. m.

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[62] Stone to register and receiver, Guthrie land office, March 7, 1890, NA, GLO "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 119. p. 174-228. White's homestead application, including his non-sooner affidavit, is in *ibid.*, Canceled Homestead Entries, Guthrie, no. 6. This was "the first claim contest to be tried in Oklahoma"; "All Three Shut Out," *Kansas City Times*, July 22, 1889.

A few days later Charley J. Blanchard and Vestal S. Cook, who had taken undue advantage in the Run, each filed in the local land office an affidavit of contest, charging that White was disqualified as a homesteader. On July 16, the register and receiver of the land office recommended the cancellation of White's entry, and dismissed the contests of Blanchard and Cook. All parties appealed their cases. On June 3, William T. McMichael had entered upon the land with a view of establishing his residence thereon, and initiating a homestead right to the land. He was ejected from the land on August 2 by the military at the instance of White. On August 31, he filed a contest, alleging that his rights were superior to those of White and of other claimants, and that he was the only qualified settler on the tract entitled to make entry therefor.

While the case involving White, Blanchard, and Cook was pending before the Secretary of the Interior, White on November 29, 1890, at 3:25 p.m. relinquished his homestead entry, and Samuel Murphy entered the tract of land.[63] The two events of that day arouse suspicion, that White, realizing the weakness of his case, sold his "rights" to the highest bidder at the expense of McMichael. The case henceforth was one between McMichael and Murphy. The Secretary of the Interior held that White's entry could not be regarded as void, but voidable only.[64] He said that its invalidity had to be established by extraneous evidence, and a judgment as to its illegality pronounced by a competent tribunal. If that had never been done the tract covered by the entry would have remained forever segregated from the public domain. Murphy received a final certificate for the land on June 16, 1897.

The Supreme Court of the Territory of Oklahoma held that White's entry, being prima facie valid, segregated the tract of land from the mass of the public domain, and precluded McMichael from acquiring an inceptive right thereto by virtue of his alleged settlement. The court also said that McMichael acquired "no right whatever by his unwarranted intrusion or trespass upon the possessory rights of White"; that McMichael was "a mere intruder, a naked, unlawful trespasser," and that no right, either in law or equity could be founded thereon. The Supreme Court of the United States also agreed that when White, from the first disqualified as an entryman, relinquished the entry he had made, the tract again became public lands, subject to the entry made by Murphy.

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[63] NA, GLO, *Okla. Tract Book*, vol. 1 (serial 35), p. 141. Murphy's homestead papers are in NA, GLO, Okla. City, F. C. 2764.

[64] McMichael *v.* Murphy, 20 L. D. 147; on review, p. 535 (1895); 70 Pac. 189 (1902); 197 U. S. 304 (1905). One contesting for a preference right had no right to the possession of land pending the litigation as against the homestead entryman; Reaves et al., *v.* Oliver, 41 Pac. 353 (1895).

Congress conferred upon the Department of the Interior the express power to hear and determine all questions pertaining to the sale or transfer of the public domain to private individuals.[65] To avoid confusion and conflict the courts were content to let the department perform its duty in regard to obtaining facts, and with a reasonable application of law. Thus the Secretary of the Interior was virtually a czar in land cases that arose in Oklahoma district.

Most legal sooners who entered land used good judgment in selling relinquishments to their homesteads. A few of them had a favorable hearing before the Secretary of the Interior as illustrated by the following cases.

In 1888, John B. Taylor and his family moved from Missouri to the stage station in the vicinity of present Yukon. Taylor contracted with the Northwestern Stage and Mail Company to take charge of the station. The company carried the United States mail and transported passengers between Ft. Reno and present Oklahoma City, a distance of about thirty-five miles. This was the only station on the route, and Taylor furnished meals for the employees of the company, and also to the passengers, for which he was paid by the company. He resided at the station until April 22, 1889, and on the afternoon of that day selected a near-by tract of 152 acres for his homestead and made entry for it.[66]

On November 11, Solomon S. Riddle instituted contest proceedings against the entry, alleging that Taylor had selected and settled upon the land prior to the hour of lawful opening. Assistant Secretary George Chandler held that Taylor was legally within Oklahoma District at the opening thereof for entry, and had selected the land after the period prescribed. Since there was no adverse interest when the entry was made, and since Riddle instituted the contest several months later, Chandler sustained Taylor's entry. Taylor relinquished the land on March 19, 1894, and on the same day John Fritz made homestead entry for it.

Francis M. Jordan, a physician, went into Oklahoma District in 1888 with a view to making settlement and selected a tract near present Oklahoma City. He properly obeyed the order of the military to vacate Oklahoma district, an order given before the passage of the prohibitory act. He was an employee of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, as physician and surgeon, with headquarters at Purcell. During the prohibitory period he was three times within Oklahoma District, but each time on a professional visit to a sick patient and was at no time more than a few steps from the railroad right of way. On April 22, 1889, he went to Oklahoma City on the train, walked to a tract adjacent to the place he had selected in 1888, and made settlement. The question as to whether he was a qualified entryman came before Secretary Hoke Smith.[67] He found that during the three visits Jordan had not sought or obtained any advantage of anyone, and awarded him the land. Smith observed that no knowledge of this particular land or of adjacent lands obtained prior to the passage of the Act of March 2, 1889, however advantageous such information might be, could have the effect of disqualifying Jordan for subsequent homestead entry. Jordan proved up on the land in 1896.

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[65] In regard to jurisdiction see John C. Adams *v.* William L. Couch, 26 Pac. 1009 (1891); Commanger *v.* Dicks, 28 Pac. 864 (1892); Gourley *v.* Countryman, 90 Pac. 427 (1907); Shepley et al. *v.* Cowan et al., 91 U. S. 330 (1875).

[66] Riddle *v.* Taylor, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., vol 262, pp. 457-458 (1893). An artist's sketch by R. F. Zegbaum of the "Relay House on the Mail Route Between Fort Reno and Oklahoma," is in *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1686 (April 13, 1889), p. 280.

Conclusion

The words, "any part of said lands," used by Congress in 1889 applied to the lands of Oklahoma District collectively, and disqualified all prospective settlers, whether rightfully or wrongfully there, if such entrance proved advantageous in the race on April 22. The language regarding entrance upon the lands is general and comprehensive. Its purpose was to secure equality among all who desired to establish settlement in Oklahoma district.

Sooner or later many a sooner sold out to a willing purchaser. Before boards established under act of Congress allotted townsites, some lots had been transferred a half dozen or more times, most of them with the acquiescence of the city authorities. This situation presented no easy question for Congress in phrasing a townsite law, or for officials in administering it. It was not right to discriminate against men who bought property in good faith from others who went there first. What opportunity had they to investigate and determine whether a man was there five minutes or five hours before "twelve o'clock, noon" on April 22? When a purchaser in good faith came to a man in possession of a lot or a quarter section and wanted to buy the rights of the man in order to erect a house, the purchaser should be protected and his home not taken from him simply because he purchased from one who went there before the hour of the opening. It would be unjust to take the property from the purchaser after he gave his money and time in building up the new country. There was no law that gave the innocent purchaser any power to determine whether the vendor was a violator of the law or whether he was there lawfully. A person who entered Oklahoma District in violation of the prohibitory clause could not acquire title to a town lot through a board of townsite trustees. A qualified person who first established the fact that a lot or a quarter section was being held by a sooner, and laid claim to it, should have his rights protected as against an innocent purchaser of the sooner's claim. The question also arose as to how ''innocent'' the purchaser was.

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[67] Monroe et al. *v.* Taylor, 21 L. D. 284 (1895). The decision of John H. Burford and John C. Delaney, register and receiver of the Oklahoma City land office, is in *Oklahoma Daily Journal*, June 24, 1891.

Legal sooners who took a lot or homestead were in a position to profit thereby in selling relinquishments. Those who made homestead entry, by taking an appeal of their cases to the Commissioner of the General Land Office or to the Secretary of the Interior, might prolong the period during which they could exploit the resources of the land, and find a desirable purchaser for its relinquishment. The Commissioner of the General Land Office began by being quite lenient toward legal sooners. The Secretary of the Interior exercised the power of a czar in deciding land contests, the courts sustained him, and he generally dealt severely with legal sooners.

THE KAW INDIANS AND THEIR INDIAN TERRITORY AGENCY

By Frank F. Finney

As far back as the records go, the Kaw or Kansa Indians were native to the region which forms the state of Kansas of today, and laid claim to the most of it. The name of the state and its largest river and city came naturally from the tribe. A large portion of the area claimed by the Kansa Indians was yielded to the United States by treaty in 1825.[1] Also in the same year, the tribe granted the Government the right to mark a roadway through the tribal lands; this road extending from the western frontier of Missouri to the confines of New Mexico, became the famous Santa Fe trail.[2] Subsequent treaties left the Kaw a relatively small reserve in the upper valley of the Neosho River in the region of Council Grove.

The headlong advent of civilization brought only adversity to the tribe. Buffalo which provided them their livelihood were exterminated before the white man's advance westward. Without the wholesome pursuit of the hunt, the Kaws became indolent and easy victims of the whiskey pedlars infesting their country. Smallpox and other epidemics from which they had virtually no immunity, together with the excessive use of "firewater," took a terrific toll, and their numbers were reduced from about 1,700 in 1850 to 533 in 1873, the year in which they were removed to the Indian Territory.[3]

Congress in an Act approved June 5, 1872, provided for the removal of the Kaws from the unfavorable environment resulting from the encroaching white people.[4] Permission had been obtained from the Osages for the Kansa tribe to settle within the limits of the Osage Reservation in the Indian Territory, and legislation provided that lands obtained from the Osages were to be paid out of funds the Kansa received from the sale of their Kansas lands at a price not to exceed that paid by the Osage to the Cherokee Nation for the land.[5]

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[1] Treaty with the Kansa, June 3, 1825, Charles Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 11, p. 222. 7 *Stat.*, p. 224, Proclamation Dec. 30, 1825.

[2] Roadway through Kansa lands Treaty with the Kansa, Aug. 16, 1825, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 248. 7 *Stat.*, p. 270—Proclamation May 3, 1826.

[3] Grant Foreman, *Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946), p. 278; Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), p. 163.

[4] Removal of Kansa tribe to Indian Territory (Act of Congress, June 5, 1872), Kappler, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 138. 17 *Stat.*, p. 228.

[5] *Annual Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872.

Early in 1873, a delegation of the Kaw Indians with Commissioners Uriah Spray and Thomas H. Stanley visited the Osage Reservation, and a tract of about 100,000 acres in the northwestern part of the reservation bordering on the Arkansas River was selected and agreed upon. When the Kaw arrived from Kansas on their new reservation, they found only a few temporary cabins for the use of the Government employees on the agency site among the great oak trees in the valley where Beaver Creek flowed into the Arkansas River. Before the Indians were ready to settle down, all of the able men, women and children went out on their last general buffalo hunt.[6] The hunt was successful, and they returned to the reservation with their pack ponies laden with buffalo hides and good amounts of meat and tallow.

In due course, a steam grist and saw mill was set up, and substantial stone buildings for a school, manual-labor boarding house, barn for the school farm and dwelling for the superintendent were erected. Buildings of frame were constructed for the office and commissary, and log cabins for the residences for the physician and blacksmith. The agency was commensurate to the small size of the tribe and never grew much larger than this group of buildings which it originally comprised.

The Kaw selected claims and lived in lodges and small cabins. They were not inclined to farm or raise cattle but were fond of ponies, and preferred to hold dances and visit among themselves and neighboring tribes than to work. They were a generous people and on occasions held ''give away'' dances and ''pony smokes,'' parting not only with their ponies but with food and articles necessary to their own livelihood, of which they had only a limited supply.[7]

The Kaw had especial reasons for friendship with the Ponca, Otoe, Omaha, Quapaw and Osage. These tribes were kinsmen belonging to their own Siouan linguistic family, and probably one tribe with the Kaw sometime in the misty past.

Since the history of the Indian tribes has been recorded, no other tribe has had so many different spellings and interpretations of its name as the indigenous tribe of the State Kansas: Kaw, Kansa, Kan, Kauzou, Kanzas, Konzas, are only a few of the different forms. Lewis and Clark in 1804 referred to them as *Kausus*, and much earlier the Spanish explorer Oñaté called them the *Escansaques*.[8] Kansa has since been adopted by the

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[6] *Ibid.* (from New Agency), 1873, 1874 and 1875.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1892.

[8] Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161; and George P. Moorehouse, "Names for Kansas Indigenous tribe" *Transactions of Kansas Historical Society*, Vol. 10 (1907-08), p. 327.

Bureau of American Ethnology as the name for the tribe, but Kaw is the name by which the tribe was and still is commonly and best known. The word Kaw is said to have originated from *ak'a* of the Siouan dialect, written by the French traders Kaw or Kau and signifying "south wind." The story is related that these "wind people" flapped their blankets to start a breeze, and that a blizzard could be abated if a young boy, chosen for the rite and painted in red, rolled his naked body over and over in the snow until it became red about him.

For some unknown reason in the unrecorded past the Kaw and Osage tribes became separated and engaged in warfare against each other. Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike in his expedition in 1806, whose purpose was to bring peace among the warring Indian nations, induced a group of Osage and Kansa Indians to smoke the peace pipe and bury the hatchet in accordance with the wishes of the "Great Father" at Washington. Thereafter there was peace between the two tribes, and their lasting friendship was demonstrated by the Osage consenting to share with the Kaw a part of their reservation and accepting them as neighbors in Indian Territory.

Unfortunately the population of the Kaw tribe continued to decrease in their new home. Major Laban J. Miles, Agent for the Osage and Kaw, reported in 1879 that the Kaw tribe had lost in seven years about one-half its number, mainly by contagious diseases. After deploring the condition of these Indians, he made a strangely prophetic statement. He wrote: "While their outlook is not very promising I believe there yet may be a goodly number of intelligent persons raised among them to perpetuate their name."[9]

Charles Curtis, a member of the Kaw tribe and destined to become Vice President of the United States, was then a young man nineteen years of age. He became an orphan as an infant and was left in care of his grandmother, Jullie Pappan, best known at the Agency as Aunt Jullie. The boy lived with his grandmother at Kaw Agency until she persuaded him to go to Topeka to live with his white relatives where he could be educated. As a mixed blood he was a ward of Agent Miles, and oddly enough Charles Curtis became Vice President in the same Administration that Major Miles' nephew, Herbert Hoover served as President.[10] Curtis was a descendent on the maternal side of the Kaw Chief "White Plume."[11] The Chief was a friendly, hospitable person and could speak some English.

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[9] *Annual Report,* 1879.

[10] Compiled notes in the Frank Finney collection. A biography of "Charles Curtis" appeared in *The Daily Oklahoman,* Feb. 9, 1936.

[11] Moorehouse, *op. cit.*

(Photo, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Charles Curtis, Vice President of the United States, 1929-1933,

The Government built a house for him, but he refused to abandon his native lodge to live in the house. The best excuse he seems to have thought of for remaining in his lodge appears to be a little flimsy: "Too much fleas."

The portion of the Cherokee Outlet commonly known as the "Cherokee Strip," adjoining the Kaw reservation to the west, was fast becoming a great cow country after the Civil War. Cattlemen driving their herds from Texas through the region to the railroad shipping points in Kansas, found there some of the finest grass in the Southwest, and lingered with their herds. Each year an increasing number of cattle grazed on the range.

With the influx of cattle in the Strip, the great resources of the grass lands of the Osage and the Kaw reservations became apparent to some of the enterprising pioneers who proceeded to obtain grazing leases from the Indians. The first grazing lease in the Osage reservation was granted by the council to J. N. Florer and William J. Pollock, September 29, 1883, on 75,000 acres at three cents per acre.[12] During November of the same year, five other large leases were granted by the Osage council, the total six leases amounting to 380,000 acres. The cattle business, however, got off to a poor start. T. M. Finney, trader at the Kaw Agency at the time, wrote:[13]

> In 1883, John Florer, my brother-in-law, and William J. Pollock secured a lease of seventy-five thousand acres of grazing land from the Osages below Kaw in a bend of the Arkansas River opposite the Ponca reservation and brought seventeen hundred cattle in from Texas. A room was added to our house, and our two families were living together again as we did at the Osage Agency. The severe winter of 1884 proved disastrous to all of the cattlemen, and their losses were tremendous. The warehouse adjoining our store was filled with dried hides of the dead cattle. The Kaws feasted throughout the winter on carcasses of the cattle which were unable to forage or get water and starved and froze to death by hundreds in the deep snows.

In 1883, the Kaw Indians formed a government patterned on the Osage system, to serve the tribe in leasing their lands and in other matters. In a meeting, the Kaw, consisting of the Picayune, Koholo, Rock Creek and Half-breed bands, elected a National Council comprised of the Chief Councilor or Principle Chief and four councilors. Kebothliku was elected the first Chief Councilor and was succeeded at the following election held March 19, 1885 by Wahshungah.[14] The grazing leases which the council granted brought in a revenue which the tribe badly needed. At the time of allotment, there were thirteen pastures with a total of 69,383 acres under lease for an annual rental of $26,413.67.[15]

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[12] Letter from Commissioner of Indian Affairs C. S. Rhode to Francis Revard—March 30, 1932, in Frank F. Finney collection.

[13] T. M. Finney Diary.

[14] Oklahoma Historical Society Indian Archives, Kaw Miscellaneous Volume 1882-1894, p. 240.

As a vanguard of the inevitable advance of the white people the Santa Fe Railroad was running trains on its line in 1887 south through the Cherokee Strip within ten miles west of Kaw Agency.[16] The railroad would provide one means for the settlers to enter the Strip at the opening a few years later. If the channel of the Arkansas River had been deeper, the railroad would have had competition in hauling freight and passengers into the new country. The attempt to establish navigation on the Arkansas River between Arkansas City and Fort Smith by steamboat was made while T. M. Finney resided at Kaw Agency, and concerning which he wrote:[17]

> On July 8, 1885, the steamer, "The Kansas Millers" passed by Kaw Agency on her trial trip up the Arkansas River from Ft. Smith to Arkansas City. The writer, together with a group of Kaw Indians viewed with wonder and amazement the unusual scene of the first steamboat to ascend the river this far, and the Indians mounted on ponies, followed it on shore for miles.
>
> On her return down the river, the steamer unloaded a shipment of 2,000 lbs of flour consigned to me from Searing and Mead, millers of Arkansas City. It was unloaded some distance from the agency, below the mouth of Beaver Creek, and was freighted to the store."

According to one of the promoters, ''The bottom of the river was too near the top,'' and the maiden trip of the *Kansas Millers* was its first and only attempt to navigate so far up the Arkansas River.

The Cherokee Strip, which had been cleared of cattle by President Harrisons' order, was opened to the homesteaders in the run of September 16, 1893.[18] The Pawnee and Tonkawa reservations within the Strip were also opened for settlement at the same time. Prior to this run, some six and one half million acres of Indian land which was to become a part of Oklahoma Territory had been opened for settlement. This comprised the ''Unassigned Lands,'' the Iowa, Sac and Fox, Potawatomi, Shawnee and the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservations. Other reservations were looked upon with covetous eyes, the Kaw reservation being no exception.[19]

The opening of Indian reservations to public settlement was in accordance with the settled policy of the Government to break up and destroy tribal relations, settle the Indians upon their own homesteads, and incorporate them into the national life.[20] To carry out this policy, Congress enacted in 1887, the so-called "Dawes Act," authorizing the allotment of Indian land among the members of the respective tribes.[21] The President under the act, created a commission which became known as the Cherokee or "Jerome" Commission of three members to negotiate with the different tribes.[22]

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[15] *Annual Report*, 1902.

[16] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and its People*, (New York 1929), Vol. II, p. 485.

[17] T. M. Finney Diary.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 967. 28 *Stat.*, 1222, Proclamation Aug. 19, 1893.

[19] Grant Foreman, *Oklahoma History* (Norman, 1942).

The Commission met with the Kaw Indians in June, 1893, and although the mixed-bloods were in favor of allotment, the full bloods opposed. Almost ten years passed before the majority of the Kaw became convinced that the old tribal days were over, and consented to allotment.[23]

Charles Curtis had become a Representative in Congress from Kansas, and as a member of the Indian Affairs Committee, he had a powerful influence in legislation affecting the Indians. The Curtis Bill which he promoted was enacted into law June 28, 1898, and was highly important in paving the way for Oklahoma Statehood. It marked the eventual end of the governments of the Five Civilized Tribes, and gave more power to the Dawes Commission (Commission to the five Civilized Tribes) which was created by Congress, March 3, 1893 to treat with the Indians.[24] This Act provided for settlement of tribal affairs and property under law and order rather than by rulings of the Indian Bureau, and is one of the most important laws in the history of the Oklahoma Indian tribes.

Throughout his public career, Curtis never forgot his kinship with the Kaw Indians, and freely gave his advice and counsel in the conducting of their affairs. He favored the allotment of their lands and with his sanction, a delegation of seven members of the Kaw tribe left the agency for Washington in February, 1902, bearing with them an agreement which he had drafted relative to the allotment of their lands and the division of tribal funds, and on which the Indians had agreed among themselves.[25] Chief Washungah and Wahmoekah who wore blankets, were the only full bloods in the delegation; the others were mixed bloods. This was not the first trip for Washungah to Washington. About two years before as a member of a delegation from his tribe, he had visited the Capital, and his friend Charles Curtis had taken him garbed in full Indian costume to meet President McKinley.[26]

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[20] *Annual* Report, 1890.

[21] "Dawes Act," (Congressional Act—Feb. 8, 1887), Kappler, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 33. 24 *Stat.*, p. 388.

[22] Edwin C. McReynolds, *History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1954), p. 297.

[23] *Annual Report*, 1890.

[24] "Curtis Act," (Congressional Act June 28, 1898), Kappler, *op cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 646; 30 *Stat.*, p. 495; and McReynolds *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[25] Berlin B. Chapman, "Charles Curtis and the Kaw Reservation" *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV (Nov. 1947), p. 337; and *Blackwell Times Record*, Feb. 6, 1902, p. 2.

The agreement was presented to Congress and was passed by Act of July 1, 1902, with no substantial changes.[27] Tribal lands and funds were to be equally divided among the members of the tribe. Each individual received about 405 acres, 160 acres of which was homestead; 260 acres were reserved for cemetery, townsite and school.[27] Charles Curtis, and his son and two daughters received under the bill, their individual allotments as members of the tribe, totaling about 1,600 acres for this family.

Certificates of competency and fee patents for their land were issued to adult Indians at the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, who could qualify to handle their own affairs. Curtis did not have the restrictions removed from his land, which would have permitted him to dispose of it, and advised his fellow tribesmen to follow his example and retain their land. Few took his advice and many of them dissipated their holdings.[28]

While the Kaw were winding up their affairs as a tribal entity, the Santa Fe Railroad built a line from New Kirk to Pauls Valley, and trains passed over the Arkansas River near the Agency. A site was plotted just across the river from the Agency for a town, and was opened up with a public sale in May, 1902.[29] Kaw City was thus born, and Kaw Agency became known as Washungah. The post office at the agency was discontinued under order effective October 15, 1902, to be displaced by the new one at Kaw City. Tom Gilbert had been commissioned as the first postmaster at the Agency in June 1880, and was succeeded by T. M. Finney, February 21, 1883.[30]

After Chief Washungah died in 1908, the affairs of the tribe drifted for years without a principle chief or council until the Government requiring some member empowered to act and sign papers to validate transactions with the tribe, requested that the Indians elect a new chief. To comply with the Government's request, a meeting of all the Kaws was held

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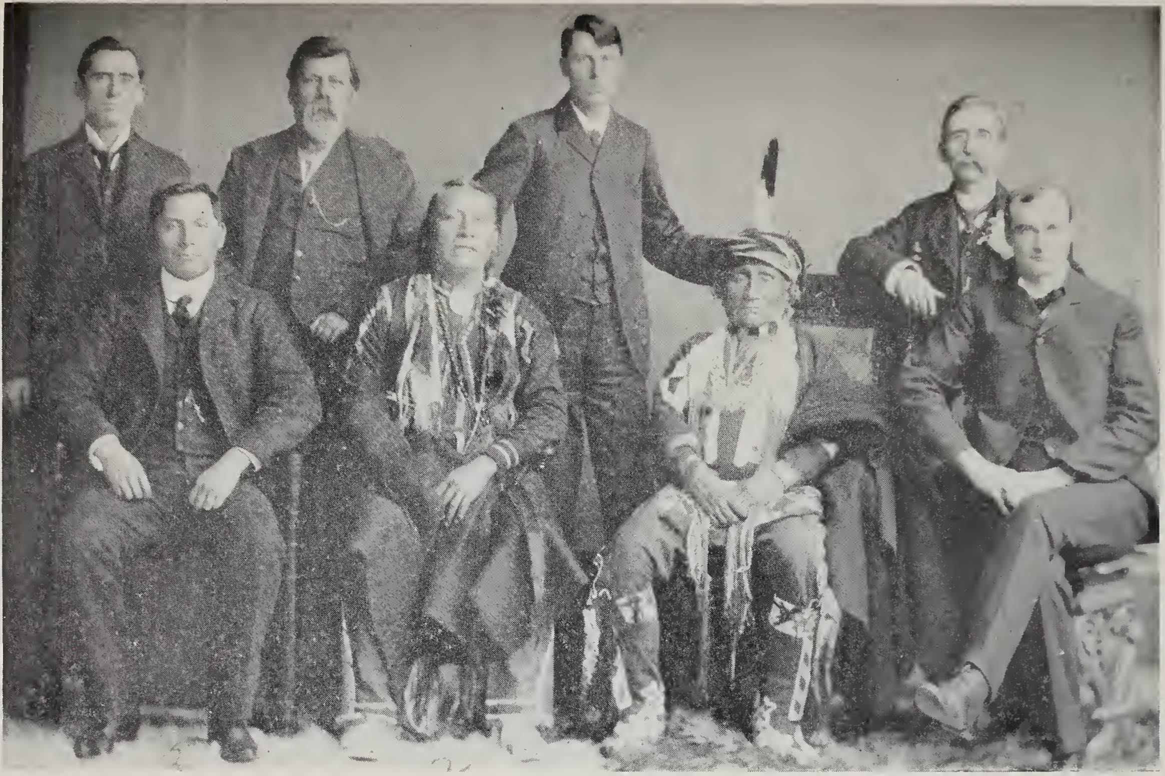
[26] *Osage Journal*, Jan. 3, 1901, p. 4.

[27] Act of Congress, July 1, 1902, Kappler, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 766; 32 *Stat.*, p. 636; Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[28] Chapman, *op. cit.*,

[29] *The Alva Review*, May, 1902, p. 2.

[30] George H. Shirk, "First Post Office within Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1, (Spring, 1952) p. 71; and Certificate commissioning T. M. Finney Postmaster, Feb. 21, 1883. Finney Collection.



(Original photo, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Kaw Indian Commission to treat for allotment of tribal lands in severalty, 1902. Standing left to right, with numbers as given on original photo: Willis Hardy (4), Achan Pappan (5), unknown (6), Gen. W. E. Hardy (7). Seated left to right: Forest Choteau (3), Mo-e-bah-moie (2), Washungah (1), O. A. Mitscher (8), U. S. Agent to the Kaws.

at the Agency in November, 1922, in which Mrs. Lucy Tayiah Eads was elected Principle Chief, and a council of eight members was formed.[31]

Washungah who had no blood relatives, had adopted two orphan children, Lucy and Emmett Tayiah. Lucy, who was a full blood Kaw and Potawatomi Indian, attended the Haskell School at Lawrence, Kansas, and graduated as a trained nurse. After spending several years in New York where she followed her profession she returned to the reservation and married John R. Eads. Under her leadership a claim was pressed against the Government for the payment of a balance alleged to be due the tribe for lands vacated in Kansas as well as the acknowledgement of the premise that the oil and gas rights on the reservation were owned communally by the tribe.

The decisive end of the old agency came in 1928 when it was abolished on an order from the Indian Bureau and the records were transferred to the Central Agency at Pawnee.[32]

The number of members of the Kaw tribe who now live in the area which was once the reservation do not exceed twenty families, and only a few of these retain their original allotments. Several families still live in Washungah. A sale of all of the Agency buildings excepting the old school has been made to W. J. Liles of Washungah, but misunderstandings have arisen between the Kaw and the Government concerning the buildings, and the Indian Committee has not yet signed the papers necessary to complete the transaction.

In a letter, Mrs. Adele Dennison of Ponca City and a member of the Kaw tribe writes feelingly concerning the old school:[33]

> The Community building which the tribe is retaining was our first building and was used for the school when our Indians were moved from Kansas to Oklahoma in 1873. At present the building is used only for tribal meetings and Sundays is used for church services. In the future the present committee intends to do considerable amount of repairs on the building as it holds a place in the heart of each of our older Indians and will be the last tribal remembrance we have standing of our last years.

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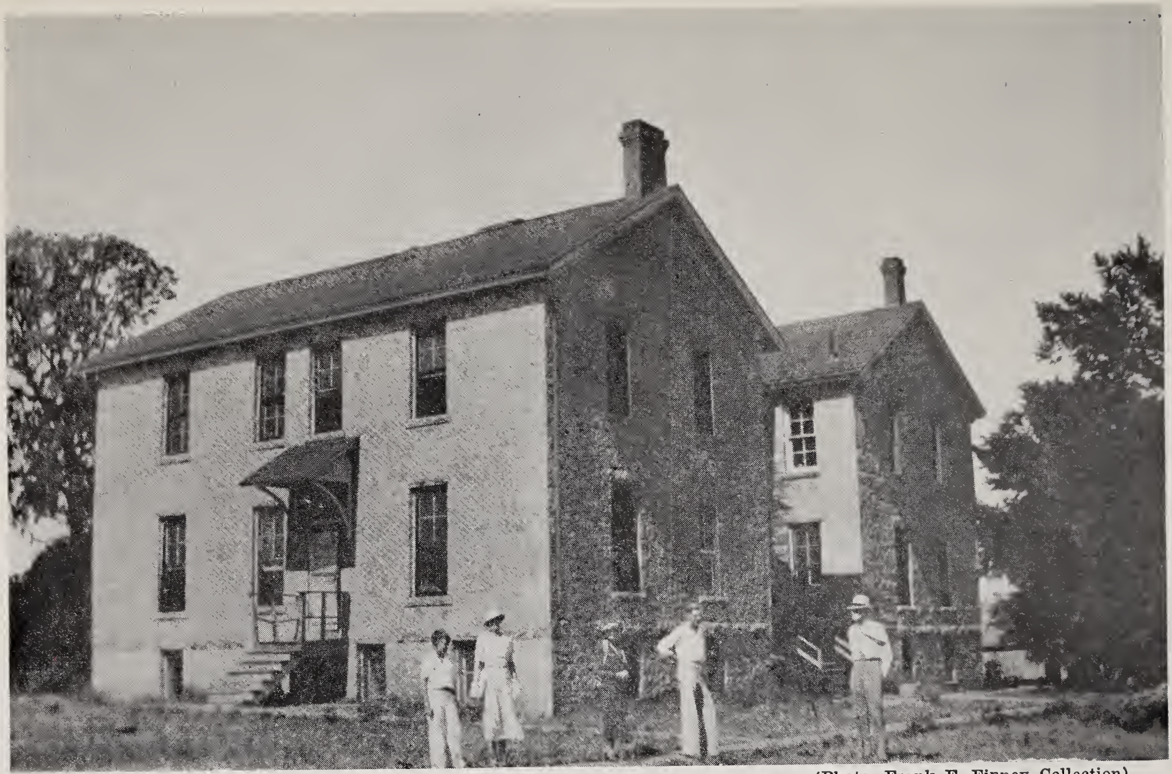
[31] "Lucy Tayiah Eads," *The Daily Oklahoman*, November 19, 1922. Sec. A, p. 8.

[32] "Abolishment of Kaw Agency," *The Daily Oklahoman*, June 27, 1928, p. 22.

[33] Letter to the author from Mrs. Adele Dennison, Dec. 16, 1957. Mrs. Dennison died shortly after writing this letter to the author, in December, 1957. A recent letter from Mr. John L. Johnson of the Pawnee Agency at Pawnee, Ok'ahoma states: "Mrs. Dennison was a very fine woman and a respected member of the Kaw tribe. She served many years on the Kaw Tribal Council, and represented her tribe in Washington, D. C., as a delegate on tribal matters."

Assuredly the old stone school building should stand to mark the end of the trail of the virtually extinct Kansa (Kaw) tribe which once was large and important enough to impart its name to the great state—Kansas.



(Photo, Frank F. Finney Collection)

Kaw Boarding School. Building erected 1874 at old Kaw Agency, now Washunga, and still standing. (1958)

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THEOPHILUS HUNTER HOLMES, C. S. A., FOUNDER OF FORT HOLMES

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman[1]

Theophilus Hunter Holmes, like many graduates from the United States Military Academy, resigned from the Army at the beginning of the Civil War, joined the Confederate service and there attained high rank. He was a son of Governor Gabriel Holmes[2] and his wife Mary (née Hunter) Holmes, and was born in Sampson County, North Carolina, November 13, 1804.[3]

Theophilus H. Holmes received his appointment to West Point from his native state in September, 1825. Four years later upon his graduation, he was assigned as a second lieutenant to the Seventh Infantry, and served in that famous regiment many years.

Few officers in the United States Army saw longer service on the frontier of his day than Holmes. He fought in both the Florida wars against the Seminole Indians and in the Mexican War. He was stationed at different times in a period of thirty years at the noted army posts in the Indian Territory—Fort

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[1] This article on Lieutenant-General Theophilus Hunter Holmes has been adapted for publication in *The Chronicles* from an original manuscript with annotations on "Theophilus Hunter Holmes, Lieutenant-General Confederate States Army," by Carolyn Thomas Foreman. This is one of many manuscripts generously contributed by Mrs. Foreman in her extended researches and writing through a long period of years, now on file in the Editorial Department for future publication in *The Chronicles.*—Ed.

[2] Gabriel Holmes was born in Sampson County, North Carolina, 1769; attended Harvard College; studied law at Raleigh, North Carolina and practiced law at Clinton in that State. He became a state senator in 1807; governor of his native state 1821-1824; elected to the House of Representatives of the U. S. Congress in the Ninteenth, Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses. He died near Clinton, North Carolina, September 26, 1829.—*A Biographical Congressional Dictionary 1774 to 1903*, (Washington, 1903), p. 602.

[3] Holmes' quaint given name was from that of Saint Theophilus of Adana in Cilicia, who lived in the Sixteenth Century, and his middle name "Hunter" was that of his mother. Captain Holmes married Laura Wetmore, in 1841, who was a niece of George Edmond Badger. (George Edmond Badger, born April 13, 1795, at Newbern, North Carolina, was a student at Yale College for two years. He served in the House of Commons of North Carolina in 1816; served as judge of the Superior Court in 1820; appointed Secretary of the Navy, by President Harrison March 5, 1841, reappointed by President Tyler; elected a United States Senator 1846 and in 1849; member of the North Carolina State Convention of 1851. Died at Raleigh, North Carolina, May 11, 1866. He is said to have ranked with Daniel Webster, John J. Crittenden and other great lawyers.—*Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Dumas Malone [New York, 1932], Vol. 1, pp. 485-6.)

Gibson, Fort Towson, Fort Washita and Fort Arbuckle.[4] He is best known in Oklahoma history, however, as the officer in charge of the building of the military post on the Canadian at the mouth of Little River in 1834, named Fort Holmes in his honor.

Lieutenant Holmes' career began when he was sent to Fort Jesup, Louisiana, in 1830, where he remained through 1831. He was with the armed forces on the Arkansas River in 1832 before he was sent to Fort Gibson, from which post he set out two years later with a detachment of the Seventh Infantry to construct a new military post and quarters for a garrison of two companies on the "Big Osage War and Hunting Trail" near the mouth of Little River. This location had been pointed out the spring before, by Captain J. L. Dawson when opening a military road in this vicinity out of Fort Gibson, as a place where "The Site for a small Garrison at Little River is very elegible, being high and dry, free from marsh or low ground and contiguous to a fine spring of pure water."[5]

Lieutenant Holmes in command of a detachment from the Seventh Infantry began the work on the new fort, first known as "Camp Canadian," on June 21. Plans called for the building of a stockade post eighty yards square, enclosed by pickets with a block house at two angles. A force of fifty to seventy men worked through the summer "felling and getting timber for block houses, making clapboards and laths, sawing plank, quarrying, dressing laying stone, laying foundations, building chimneys, burning charcoal, blacksmithing, and making hay."[6]

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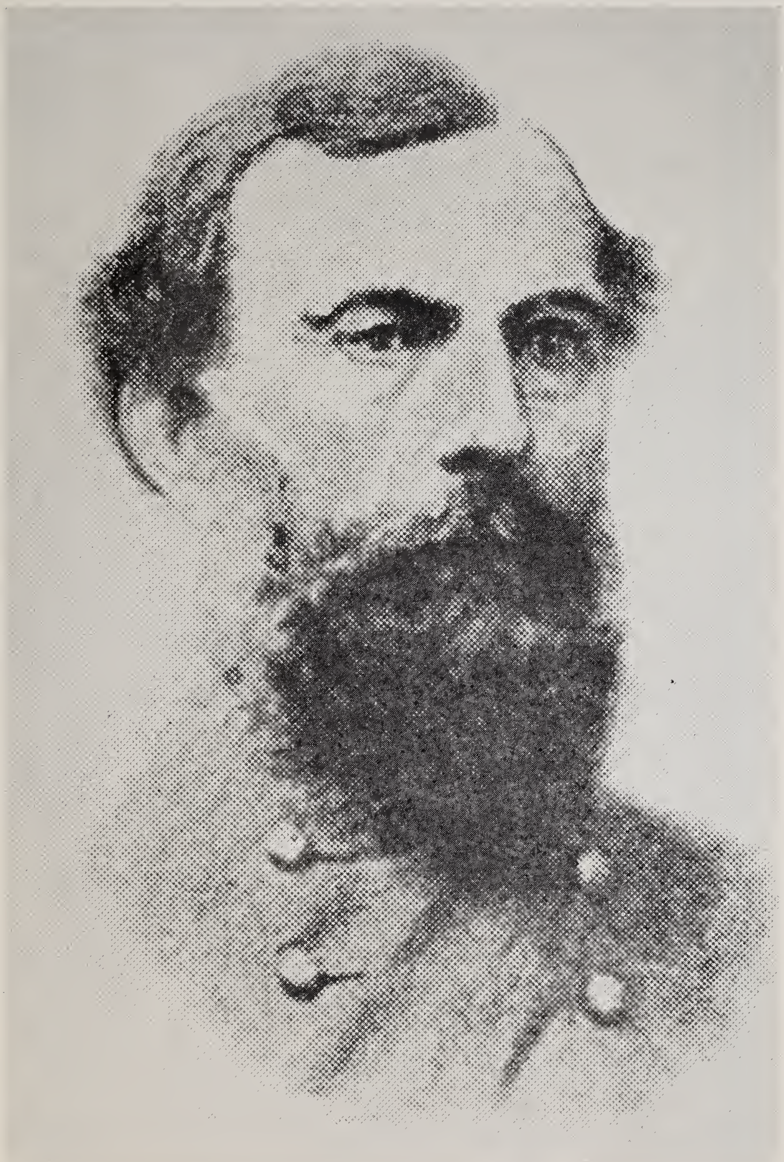
[4] Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), Vol. 1; and Brevet Major-General George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (New York, 1868), Vol. 1.

[5] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 129.

[6] *Ibid.* Lieutenant T. H. Holmes constructed the military post at the mouth of Little River, under orders from Brigadier-General Henry Leavenworth, Commander of all the troops of the Southwestern Frontier (by *General Orders*, February 12, 1834), who arrived at Fort Gibson on April 28, 1834 (Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* [Cleveland, 1926], p. 114).

A year after the founding of Fort Holmes, Major R. B. Mason in command of a detachment of Dragoons set out west from Fort Gibson, and established an encampment on the east side of the Canadian River at a location about five miles northeast of present Lexington, in Cleveland County. This temporary encampment is referred to in the records as "Camp Mason," and also as "Camp Holmes." It was here that the U. S. Commissioners held the first peace treaty with the Comanches and Wichitas, in Oklahoma, in August, 1835. This meeting with the Plains Tribes and other tribes in attendance at the second Camp Holmes was a great event in the history of Oklahoma, and has been the subject of published articles and many references in volumes on the history of this State. See Grant Foreman's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* and his article on "The Journal of the Proceedings of Our First Treaty with the Wild Indians, 1835," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 4 (December, 1936); also, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General



Lieutenant General Theophilus Hunter Holmes, C.S.A., Founder of Fort Holmes, 1834, in Indian Territory

The summer of 1834 saw the famous Dragoon Expedition under the command of General Henry Leavenworth set out from Fort Gibson southwest to the old Wichita Village ("Toyash Village") on the North Fork of Red River to meet and make peace among the Plains Tribes, the Kiowa and the Wichita having recently been at war with the Osage. General Leavenworth arrived en route at Lieutenant Holmes' Camp Canadian, and was overtaken here by Colonel Henry Dodge and his staff on June 25, with Dragoons following a few hours later.[7] The *Journal* of the Dragoon Expedition, kept by Lieutenant T. B. Wheelock, has this entry:[8]

> *June 25.*—Colonel Dodge and staff reached Camp Canadian, on the west bank of the Canadian, thirteen miles from the last camp, at twelve o'clock; reported to General Leavenworth, whom we found in camp; command came up at two o'clock. Road today through open, level prairie, well watered; crossed the Canadian half a mile below the mouth of Little river; Canadian two hundred yards wide, bed nearly dry, low banks; Indian name signifies "river without banks." Near the east side passed Lieutenant Holmes, 7th infantry, with a company of the 7th regiment of infantry. Lieutenant Holmes just commenced building a fort and quarters for two companies. At Camp Canadian another sulphur spring, and good grazing and water.

The Expedition set forth the next morning, leaving twenty-seven sick men at Camp Canadian, in charge of Assistant Surgeon Hailes and Lieutenant Abert G. Edwards. Among the sick was Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke who recovered enough to go back to Fort Gibson where he saw the return of the Dragoon Regiment a month later, its ranks decimated by death from sickness and accident, including that of its commander General Leavenworth, the worst disaster in the early annals of the Army. Lieutenant Cooke wrote a bitter indictment of the Jackson Administration for sending inexperienced

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Richard Barnes Mason," *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (March, 1941); and "The Diary of Assistant Surgeon Leonard McPhail on his Journey to the Southwest in 1835," edited by Col. Harold W. Jones, U. S. A., *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (September, 1940). A handsome stone, historical marker has been erected by the Colonial Dames for the second Camp Holmes, on U. S. Highway #77, at Lexington, in Cleveland County. The Oklahoma Historical Society erected an official Oklahoma Historical Marker for Fort Holmes, at Bilby, in Hughes County, on U. S. Highway #270.

[7] George B. Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950), gives the complete *Journal* of the Leavenworth expedition of 1834, with annotations and map of the route followed in Oklahoma.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 11. Thompson B. Wheelock of Massachusetts was appointed to West Point in 1818. He first served in the Fourth Artillery and later in the Third Artillery and the Second Artillery. He resigned June 30, 1829, and served as president of Woodward College at Cincinnati College; returned to the army and became a first lieutenant of the Dragoons September 19, 1833. He died by his own hand June 15, 1836.—Heitman, *op cit.*, vol. 1; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, Washington, D. C., July 21, 1836.

men on the ill-fated expedition through the western wilderness during the hottest part of the summer.[9]

Fort Holmes was garrisoned for about a year, its site at that of present Bilby, in Hughes County. The location was advantageous for the crossing at the Canadian River on the old Osage Trail which was followed by early military expeditions, western emigration and traders with the Plains Indians including the noted Jesse Chisholm as a young man. A firm of traders, Edwards and Shelton, established a trading post about 1836 across Little River, a few miles southwest, that flourished for many years known as Edwards Trading House or "Fort Edwards," the term "fort" being a holdover from the earlier military post not far away. Later cartographers marked this post on maps as "Old Fort Holmes" for it became an important landmark on the military road leading to Texas rather than military post. Just before the Civil War when a road was marked out west from Fort Smith for carrying the U. S. mails by way of Old Fort Holmes and Edwards Store through the Indian Territory, an iron bridge—one of several across streams in the Territory—was constructed where the road crossed Little River in this vicinity. Some of the stone abutments of this bridge which was destroyed during the Civil war can be still seen near the sites of Old Fort Holmes and Edwards Store.[10]

Lieutenant Holmes was on recruiting duty during 1836-1837, returning to his regimental headquarters at Fort Gibson as adjutant of the Seventh Infantry in 1838. He was commissioned Captain December 9, 1838, and continued at Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation for another year during Indian Removal to the Indian Territory. He took part in the Seminole War in Florida, 1839-1842, in command of Company C of the Seventh Infantry. From 1843 to 1846 he was in garrison at different times at New Orleans Barracks, at Pass Christian (Mississippi) and in Texas.[11]

In the Mexican War, Captain Holmes served in the defense of Fort Brown[12] on May 3-9, 1846. He fought in the Battle of Monterey on September 21-23, and was brevetted Major on September 23, for gallant conduct in several conflicts before that city. He served with the forces at the siege of Vera Cruz, May

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[9] Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 129; and Otis E. Young, *The West of Philip St. George Cooke* (Glendale, Calif., 1955).

[10] J. Y. Bryce, "Temporary Markers of Historic Interest," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (September, 1930), p. 289. The ruins of the abutment to the iron bridge on Little River were visited in locating noted Oklahoma historic sites in 1949.—Ed.

[11] Cullum, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

[12] Brownsville, Texas.

9-29, 1847, and was stationed in Mexico through the early part of 1848, returning to Jefferson Barracks for 1848-1849.[13]

Captain Holmes was soon again ordered to serve in threatened hostilities with the Seminoles in Florida whence he embarked aboard the steamer *Fashion* on February 28, 1850, sailing for New Orleans in charge of a party of Seminoles headed by their chiefs, Ca-pit-chu-che and Ca-che-fixico. The *Fashion* reached New Orleans on March 13, all on board having suffered a wretched voyage and sea sickness.[14]

Captain Holmes returned to Jefferson Barracks, and set out for Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where he was on duty until 1851. His next assignment was Fort Washita, Indian Territory, where he was in command more than three years.[15] When Fort Towson was abandoned in 1854, Captain Holmes was one of eleven officers who were transferred to Fort Arbuckle.[16] He was commissioned with the rank of major on March 3, 1855 while serving with the Eighth Infantry. He was stationed at different times at Fort Bliss, Texas, and Fort Stanton, New Mexico in 1858-59, where he took part in the expedition against the Navaho Indians. Major Holmes was superintendent of General Recruiting, from July 1, 1859, to April 6, 1861, resigning from the Army on April 22, 1861.[17]

Holmes returned to his native state where he assisted the Governor in organizing the North Carolina troops for the approaching war, and was placed in command of the Southern Department of Coast Defense. President Jefferson Davis, his classmate and intimate friend in the Military Academy at West Point, appointed Holmes Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army on June 5, 1861, and transferred him to Virginia in command of three brigades to which six batteries were assigned. General Holmes became known as the "Defender of the James

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[13] Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, and Cullum *op. cit.*, Vol. 1

[14] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, (Norman, 1934), p. 251.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 139 note 9, 141; and *Advancing the Frontier* p. 139.

[16] Fort Arbuckle was on Wild Horse Creek, the location about 7 miles northwest of present Davis, in Garvin County. The post was first called Camp Arbuckle located about 2 miles northwest of present Byars, in McClain County, from whence it was moved in the spring of 1851, the site on Wild Horse Creek having been selected by Captain R. B. Marcy shortly after traveling the road from Fort Smith to Dona Ana, New Mexico. Camp Arbuckle was established in 1850, by Captain Marcy, on the south side of the Canadian River some miles west of Old Fort Holmes and Edwards' Store.—George H. Shirk, "The Site of Old Camp Arbuckle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1949); and Grant Foreman, "Fort Arbuckle," *ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (March, 1928).

[17] Cullum, *op. cit.*, p. 359; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, (New York, 1888), Vol. 3, pp. 241-42.

River," having a part in the engagement at Acquia Creek[18] and in other campaigns in Northern Virginia. He commanded a reserve brigade under General P. G. T. Beauregard at the Battle of Bull Run in July, 1861.[19] Holmes was commissioned major-general, and returned to North Carolina to command a Division in the Confederate Army. Vigorous defense measures in the state required necessary changes, in which President Davis tendered his old friend a lieutenant-general's commission which Holmes at first declined. He finally accepted the commission when urged by the President, having been placed in command of the Trans-Mississippi Department with headquarters at Little Rock, Arkansas, on July 16, 1862. Holmes hastened west, and assumed his command at Vicksburg, Mississippi, on July 31, 1862, signing himself in *General Orders No. 1* as "Th. H. Holmes, Major-General, Provisional Army C. S." The rank of Lieutenant-General was conferred on him, by President Davis, as noted in a letter dated October 27, 1862, from George W. Randolph, Secretary of War, C. S. A.[20]

The Trans-Mississippi Department included the Indian Territory where General Holmes had served so many years in the regular Army before the War and where, during the War, 10,000 to 11,000 troops from the Five Civilized Tribes served in the Confederate service. The Indian Territory as part of General Holmes' Trans-Mississippi Department was under the command of Brigadier-General Albert Pike.[21] Late in 1862, the Confederate Indian forces in the Indian Territory were placed under the command of Brigadier-General Douglas H. Cooper, with the First Cherokee Regiment under Colonel Stand Watie; the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, under Colonel Tandy Walker and the First Creek Regiment, under Colonel D. N. McIntosh.[22]

Following the defeat of the Confederate forces at the Battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas, in the spring of 1862, there were many difficulties in the Trans-Mississippi Department with frequent changes of the commanding officers and necessary reorganization of the armed forces. The summer of 1862 saw trouble with Albert Pike, Commander of the Department of the Indian Territory, C. S. A., prominent citizen, writer and poet of Arkansas who had come from New England and settled here in the West in the 1830's. His arrest was ordered by Major-General T. C. Hindman, Commanding the District of Arkansas, for insubordination, Pike's biographer later stating that this was the "most distressing" period in Albert Pike's life and that "he was not good enough soldier to accept the orders of his superiors." Pike was arrested at Tishomingo, Chickasaw Nation, in November, 1862, by a detachment of Missouri Cavalry, and was taken to Little Rock where he was granted a leave of absence from his command by General Holmes until a decision in his case could be made.[23]

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[18] Acquia Creek is a deep tidal channel, ten miles long, in Stafford County, Virginia. The river port of Acquia Creek was one of considerable commercial importance before the Civil War.—*Lippincott's Gazetteer of the World*, (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 16.

[19] *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. IX, p. 176.

[20] *War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, Series 1, Vol. XIII, pp. 855, 860, 906.

[21] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 978.

[22] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 844; *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 903.

Lack of funds for the payment of the troops and for purchase of necessary supplies harassed the Trans-Mississippi Department in the Confederate Army. Two of General Pike's chief complaints were the lack of equipment for his command and money to pay his soldiers in the Indian Territory. Secretary of War, James A. Seddon,[24] of the Confederate States wrote from Richmond to General Holmes:[25]

> I have received your letter of the 25th ultimo in reference to the urgent need of money for your command. In addition to the sum of $4,888,567 carried out by Major Carr, the sum of $2,500,000 was sent to him in charge of a special agent, who left this city on October 16, and had not reached your headquarters at the date of your letter. It is hoped that these amounts will be sufficient to meet the most pressing claims, and if more funds are necessary you are requested to forward estimates made out by bonded officers, as no money can legally be paid from the Treasury to any others. The sums mentioned above do not include $1,132,393 lately sent to the quartermaster of General Pike's command. The Quartermaster-General reports that in no instance has the reasonable estimate of any bonded quartermaster been received and not acted on the same day it reached his office.

The Trans-Mississippi Department had been divided into districts by command of General Th. H. Holmes on August 20, 1862: the District of Texas, the District of Louisiana and the District of Arkansas, the latter composed of the states of Missouri and Arkansas and the "Indian country west thereof."[26] A further change came when these forces were constituted the "Southwestern Army" of the Confederate States, Lieutenant-

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[23] *Ibid.*, W. B. Morrison, "Fort McCulloch," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (September, 1926), p. 219. Muriel H. Wright, "General Douglas H. Cooper," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, (Summer, 1954), pp. 168, 171.

[24] James Alexander Seddon was born at Falmouth, Virginia, July 13, 1815. Graduated from the University of Virginia in 1835 and elected a representative to Congress from his native state from 1845 to 1847, and again from 1849 to 1851; member of the "Peace Congress" in July, 1861. He became Confederate Secretary of War in 1862. Died in Goochland County, Virginia, August 19, 1880.—Charles Lanman, *Directory of the United States Congress, 1774 to 1903*, (Washington, 1903), pp. 788-89.

[25] Official Records, Vol. XXII, p. 897; Vol. XIII, pp. 924-5.

[26] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 877.

General E. Kirby Smith in command with headquarters at Shreveport, Louisiana, on January 14, 1863.[27] Lieutenant-General Holmes assumed command of the District of Arkansas on March 18. He was superseded in this command by Major-General Sterling Price, C. S. A., after the Battle of Helena, on July 24 but resumed command of the District of Arkansas on September 25, 1863.[28]

Helena, a strategic point on the west side of the Mississippi River in Arkansas, had been entered by Federal forces in June, 1862, during the attempted invasion of Arkansas, and fortified. Frequent skirmishing through the summer and fall in the vicinity had brought victory to Confederate troops on October 25, 1862, a congratulatory message—*General Orders No. 33*—out of the Trans-Mississippi Department by order of General Holmes, citing the gallant conduct of Captains Johnson and Corley and "the brave men of their command" with heavy losses to the Federals in the capture of prisoners and supplies in the fight.[29] Helena, however, was soon heavily garrisoned by Federal troops because the necessary reinforcements from the east at the time for the Trans-Mississippi Department could not be sent to carry on any Confederate plans for an attack on the stronghold. Reliable information in the hands of Lieutenant-General Holmes pointed to the capture of Helena a practical move by the Confederate forces as a means of raising the siege against Vicksburg farther down the river in Mississippi, in the early summer of 1863. A report from General Holmes, dated from Little Rock, June 15, 1863, to Lieutenant General E. Kirby Smith said, "I believe I can take Helena, Arkansas. Please let me attack it." A reply came immediately from General Kirby Smith at Shreveport, Louisiana, "Most certainly do it."[30] The Secretary of War, J. A. Seddon, of the Confederate States, had strongly recommended the move against Helena by the "Southwestern Army" in May, stating "Its policy is so apparent that it is hoped it will be voluntarily embraced and executed."[31]

General Holmes assembled his expeditionary army of 7,646, and advanced through Arkansas to Fort Curtis, principal defense of Helena, in Phillips County.[32] He found the fortifications much stronger than he had supposed. Graveyard Hill was attacked at daylight on July 4, and the fortifications captured, General Holmes later reporting that the Confederate troops here "when brought into position and ordered forward, behaved magnificently, charging the rifle-pits and breastworks, and taking the hill without a halt." On the other hand the attack on Hindman Hill was unsuccessful because the officer of reinforcements "utterly failed to render the slightest aid" in the assault.[33] The gallant Confederate officer in charge of the attack was then driven back by the Federal troops under the command of General Mayberry Prentiss,[34] his garrisoned forces numbering 4,129.

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[27] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII. pp. 2, 3.

[28] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 3, 4, 5.

[29] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 907.

[30] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 407.

[31] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 407.

[32] Fort Curtis was named for General Samuel Ryan Curtis a native of Ohio who was appointed to the Military Academy at West Point July 1, 1827. After his graduation in 1831 he became a second lieutenant and joined the Seventh Infantry at Fort Gibson in 1832. He resigned in 1832 and had a distinguished career as a civil engineer until he became adjutant general of

General Holmes had met with a resistance at Helena entirely beyond his expectations. Not only were the Confederates mowed down by the fire from the fortifications but the gunboat *Tyler* lying in the river enfiladed any columns that poured through the ravines to support the attack.[35] A retreat was ordered before noon on the day of the battle. General Holmes made his report to the Chief of Staff on the Helena expedition in August, stating that he wrote it "with deep pain":[36]

> . . . . My retreat from Helena was effected in the most perfect order and without the slightest demoralization of any kind . . . . . My loss, as near as is acertained, is 173 killed, 687 wounded, 776 missing; total 1,636 . . . . . I commanded brave, gallant and willing troops, and should have succeeded in the capture of Helena, for though the difficulties were very great, they were not insurmountable, and the misfortune of failure was in a very great measure consequent on the men not being well in hand after success. . . . . As the expedition failed, which should have succeeded, I refrain from all expressions of commendation, believing that the brave officers and men who distinguished themselves will willingly forego the applause due them in consideration that our beloved country reaped no benefit from their exploits.

Lieutenant-General Holmes was finally relieved of his command in the Trans-Mississippi Department chiefly because of his age, and returned to North Carolina where he was in

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Ohio for the purpose of organizing his state's quota of volunteers for the Mexican War. After a very distinguished civil and military career he died December 26, 1866 at Council Bluffs, Iowa, aged sixty years.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 397.

[33] *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, pp. 408-11; and *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, (New York, 1911), Vol. 1. p. 365. General Holmes' command comprised Price's Missouri and Arkansas brigades; and Marmaduke's and Shelby's Cavalry.

[34] Benjamin Mayberry Prentiss of Virginia, joined the First Illinois Infantry as a first lieutenant and adjutant June 18, 1846 and received his captain's commission June 17, 1847. He became captain of the Tenth Illinois Infantry April 29, 1861; colonel, April 29, 1861; brigadier general of volunteers the next month: major general November 29, 1862. He resigned October 28, 1863 and died February 8, 1901.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 805.

[35] *Photograhic History of the Civil War*, Vol. 1, p. 365.

[36] *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, p. 411.

charge of Confederate reserves until the close of the War. He lived his last days in Cumberland County, North Carolina, passing to his reward at Fayetteville on June 20, 1880. The year before his death he had written to his old friend who had once served in the Seventh Infantry of the Regular Army, Confederate Commissary General Lucius Ballinger Northrup who referred to Holmes as ''the old paladin.'' In this ''fresh and charming letter,'' Holmes had said: ''As for Jefferson Davis I look upon him as the great sacrifice of the age, his and not Lee's name should fill the hearts of the Southern people.''[37]

The Raleigh *Observer* in an editorial on June 22, 1880, described Lieutenant-General Theophilus Hunter Holmes as ''simple in his tastes, brave, true, and just in his deportment . . . . a splendid example of an unpretentious North Carolina gentleman and patriot.''

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[37] *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. IX, p. 176.

FEDERAL INDIAN RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH, 1781-1789

*By Kenneth Coleman**

During the American Revolution and throughout the period of the Articles of Confederation Indian relations followed a pattern which had evolved in the colonial period. Individual colonies had handled their own Indian affairs until the French and Indian War when a centralized system of dealing through Indian superintendents was begun. Henceforth centralized control in the Southern colonies was carried out by Indian Superintendent John Stuart, a very able official who soon secured the confidence of the Southern Indians. Land purchases and regulations of Indian trade were however left to the individual colonial governors. The superintendent's office was never developed to its ultimate proficiency because of the cost to the British government and the objections of the individual colonies. Thus began the pattern of conflict between the states and the central government which was to prevent any really effective federal control of Southern Indian affairs in the 1780's.[1]

Throughout the Revolution the British tried to keep the Indians friendly to them, sought to use Indians as military allies at times, and tried to prevent any Indian help to the Americans. The Continental Congress and the states tried to see that the Indians did not help the British. Although Congress established three Indian departments—northern, middle, and southern—in July, 1775, the states carried on most of the Indian activity in the South. In 1776 the Cherokees attacked the Carolina frontier, but were defeated by the four southern states and made to acknowledge this in the Treaty of Dewitt's Corner in 1777. The Creeks were generally on the side of the British and gave some military cooperation, but the tribe was badly divided and never gave the British the hoped-for assistance.[2]

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[1] On colonial Indian affairs, see Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier* (Philadelphia, 1928); John R. Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Ann Arbor, 1944); Helen L. Shaw, *British Administration of the Southern Indians, 1756-1783* (Lancaster, Pa., 1931); and Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1943).

During the 1780's there were four important Indian tribes in United States territory south of the Ohio River—the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, and the Choctaws. The Cherokees claimed the mountain region extending from Southern Virginia into Northern Georgia and present-day Alabama. Their principal towns were at the headwaters of the Savannah, Hiawassee, and Tuckasegee rivers and along the Little Tennessee River. Echota on the Little Tennessee was commonly considered the capital of the nation, which numbered some 2,000 warriors. The Creeks occupied the south and central parts of what is today western Georgia and most of Alabama. Geographically and politically they were split into the Lower and Upper Creeks. The Lower Creeks were located along the middle portion of the Chattahoochee River, while the Upper Creeks centered their towns along the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. The Creeks totaled some 5,000 to 6,000 warriors and were the most formidable of the Southern Indian tribes. The Choctaws occupied the central and southern parts of present-day Mississippi. They numbered about 5,000 warriors and were the pre-eminently agricultural tribe of the South. The Chickasaws occupied the area north of the Choctaws, extending into what is today Tennessee and centering near the present city of Memphis. They numbered about 500 warriors and had little contact with the Americans.[3]

After the ending of military activity and the exdous of the British from the South—the British Indian Department was closed in the summer of 1783—there was need for a general understanding between the United States and the Southern Indians. The main problems which needed to be considered were: (1) the military activities of the Indians against the United States during the Revolution; (2) the withdrawal of the British from and the replacement by the Spanish in the Floridas; (3) disputed claimants, the United States and Spain, for area occupied by the Choctaws and Creeks; and (4) the rentless demands of land speculators and frontiersmen, often with the backing of the state governments, for more Indian lands. Some states negotiated individual treaties with the Indians to settle immediate problems, but there was a growing feeling throughout 1782-1784 that the Continental

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[2] On the Southern Indians in the Revolution see Walter H. Mohr, *Federal Indian Relations, 1774-1783* (Philadelphia, 1933), pp. 1-92.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4; Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The Spanish-American Frontier, 1783-1795* (New York, 1927), p. 24; James Truslow Adams, *Atlas of American History* (New York, 1943) pp. 47, 76-77, 88-89.

Congress should make a general settlement of these problems with the Southern Indian tribes.[4]

One of the most complicating factors in Southern Indian relations in the 1870's was the activity of the Spanish. Spain sought to use the Indians as buffers to keep the republican virus of the United States from infecting her own colonies. Spanish colonials were not demanding new cessions of Indian lands as were the Americans. Spain claimed, but did not try to control, most of the land occupied by the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. Much of this territory was claimed also by Georgia and the United States. Spain never publicly claimed territory north of 32° 30′ North Latitude and never avowed a policy of backing the Indians against the United States or Georgia, but in fact she did both.

During the summer of 1784 Spain negotiated treaties with the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws in which these tribes acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of Spain and promised to exclude all traders from their nations who did not have Spanish licenses. Spain was especially anxious to keep Indian friendship and to prevent the Americans from regaining the Southern Indian trade which they had lost during the Revolution. Yet Spain never took steps to create adequate trading facilities without which Indian friendship was impossible. Almost her sole source of Indian trading goods was the British firm of Panton, Leslie and Company which was allowed to continue business in the Floridas after the Spanish return.[5]

Closely connected with the Spanish problem were the Creek Indians, who occupied territory in dispute between the United States and Spain. After Alexander McGillivray became the Principal Chieftain of the Creeks in 1783, they possessed a leader who was a past master at the duplicity necessary to play Spain against the United States and Georgia to his personal advantage and to that of the Creeks. McGillivray was son of a Scotch Indian trader, Lachlan McGillivray, and a Creek half-breed woman. He had received a white man's education and business experience in Charleston and Savannah before the Revolution. When his father's loyalist leanings led the elder McGillivray to return to Britain and to the confiscation of his American estates, Alexander went to his mother's people with an undying hatred of Georgia and South Carolina and a desire to avenge himself upon them for his financial losses. His Indian blood and training, his natural ability, and his knowledge of the white man and their ways soon led to a position of leadership among the Creeks. Because of his realization that the Spanish did not want the lands of the Creeks as did the Americans and because of his doubts that the United States could live up to its promises or would restrain the Georgia frontiersmen, McGillivray soon picked Spain as the most likely to help the Creeks in their fight to prevent Georgia from securing Creek lands. The complications of McGillivray's position and the way in which his influence with the Creeks was sought are well illustrated by the fact that he was made both Spanish agent to the Creeks at a salary of $50.00 per month and a partner in the trading firm of Panton, Leslie and Company.[6]

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[4] See Draper Manuscripts, Wisconsin Historical Society, 1XX, pp, 50, 55, 65, 69, 71; 5U, pp. 2-5; 4XX, p. 17; Library of Congress, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress* (34 vols., Washington, 1904-1927), XIX. pp. 262-263; XXV, p. 692; Edmond C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (8 vols., Washington, 1921-1936), VII, pp. 148, 365, 475-476, 480; Stephen B. Weeks, "Gen. Joseph Martin and the War of the Revolution in the West," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893* (Washington, 1894), pp. 435-436, 439-442; Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Pickney's Treaty* (Baltimore, 1926), p. 55; Mohr, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[5] For Spanish Indian dealings see Jane M. Berry, "The Indian Policy of Spain in the Southwest, 1783-1795," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* III (March, 1917), pp. 467-468; John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Okla., 1938), p. 25; Mohr *op. cit.,* pp. 143-146; Whitaker *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43, 60-61.

During the Revolution, Congress considered Indian Affairs in the South only as they concerned immediate problems and never adopted any overall policy. Virginia's delegates urged Congressional consideration of the Southern Indian problem in late 1783 and early 1784. They were backed by other Southern delegates who hoped that a general Indian settlement might secure more lands from the Indians.[7] In the spring of 1784 a Congressional report on Indian affairs in the South took the viewpoint that Indian relations should be entirely in the hands of Congress.[8] Two factors intervened to prevent action on the committee's suggestions—objections of Southern delegates to centralize Indian control completely and fears of northern and middle state delegates that an Indian settlement might open too much land to southern speculators. Hence Congress adjourned in June, 1784, without taking any action on this report, despite the urging of southern delegates who feared Indian war if something were not done quickly.[9]

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[6] On McGillivray see Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, and Arthur P. Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, V (1928), pp. 181-203. 289-311. (Also, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Alexander McGillivray, Emperor of the Creeks," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, No. 1 [March, 1929], pp. 106-120.—Ed.)

[7] Burnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 365, 475-476; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (Richmond, 1884), III, pp. 607, 620.

[8] *Journals*, XXVII, pp. 398, 453-464, 595-596; Burnett *op. cit.*, p. 480.

When Congress reassembled in November, 1784, another committee was appointed on Southern Indians whose amended report was finally adopted on March 15.[10] Commissioners were appointed to make peace with the Southern Indians and to receive them into the favor of the United States. The commissioners were instructed to inform the Indians of the territory ceded to the United States by Great Britain and to secure the release of all white prisoners or property held by the Indians. The states within whose territory the Indians resided could send representatives to the negotiations if they desired. The report as adopted by Congress did not emphasize the importance of the Federal Government over the states as much as had the 1784 report.

Nine thousand dollars were voted as the complete expenses for the treaties. Congress chose Benjamin Hawkins, William Peery, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Lachlan McIntosh as the commissioners, any three of whom could negotiate the treaties.[11] Martin, Virginia's agent, was well known and liked by the Cherokees. Hawkins was a former North Carolina delegate to Congress and a future United States Indian agent. Pickens was a South Carolina Revolutionary officer, and McIntosh was a Georgia officer. Peery, of Delaware, and Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, were reportedly elected to check any land grabbing plans of the southern states.[12] However Carroll refused to serve and was replaced by McIntosh, and Peery did not attend the negotiations.

Now that the Congressional settlement was actually on the way, Patrick Henry and Alexander Martin, the governors of Virginia and North Carolina, took steps to see that no new troubles between the Indians and the whites occured to mar the possibility of successful negotiations.[13] Hawkins, Pickens, and Martin met in Charleston in May, 1785, to decide upon the times and places of negotiations, notify the Indians, and make other necessary preparations. Considerable difficulty was experienced in getting the necessary funds from the Southern states, as Congress had directed. South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia reported that they could furnish but scant funds until their legislatures met. Virginia apparently furnished the requested amount, and Congress authorized funds from its treasury to make up the shortage.[14]

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[9] *Journals*, XXVII, pp. 550-551, 625-626; Burnett *op. cit.*, p. 638 and for the last half of 1784; VIII, p. 72.

[10] *Journals*, XXVII, pp. 118-120, 136-139, 159-162.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184, 362.

[12] Burnett, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 75.

[13] Draper MSS, 15ZZ, 29-31; *The State Records of North Carolina* (26 vols., Goldsborough, 1886-1907), XVII, p. 16.

While the commissioners were meeting in Charleston, the Georgia-Creek frontier was uneasy. A few Creeks had ceded to Georgia the lands between the Ogeechee and Oconee rivers at Augusta in 1783. The boundary line between whites and Indians specified in this treaty had never been surveyed because most of the Creeks maintained that the cession was not a legitimate act of the nation and refused to cooperate in surveying the line. When it proved impossible to get the boundary surveyed before federal commissioners arrived, Governor Samuel Elbert informed the Creeks that the federal meeting would be the occasion for drawing the line. Elbert also appointed state commissioners to help the federal commissioners and to see that they did not encroach upon the rights of Georgia.[15]

Alexander McGillivray wrote the federal commissioners that he was glad the United States had at last decided upon a general Indian settlement, which he thought should have been made much earlier. He condemned Georgia's action toward the Creeks, pointed out their treaty with Spain, and insisted that his people must be treated as an independent nation. However he ended with a conciliatory note saying that the Creeks wanted nothing but justice—which they expected from the United States—and promised to meet the commissioners whenever they desired.[16]

The federal commissioners arrived at Galphinton on the Ogeechee River, in Georgia, the place appointed for the Creek negotiations, on October 24 but found only a few Indians there. After a wait of more than a week it did not appear that more Creeks would come, despite reports to the contrary. The reports circulated by Governor Elbert about the Augusta boundary line being run did not help Indian attendance. Actions of the Spanish and McGillivray kept others away. The commissioners suspected the Spanish but did not know that the Creeks had just got their first large supply of ammunition since the Spanish return to Florida. Apparently the absence of Indians at Galphinton was a part of McGillivray's plan to delay any real settlement in order to see what he could get from both the Americans and Spanish. The commissioners refused to negotiate with so few Indians—only two towns were represented—so explained the purpose of the meeting to the Indians, gave them presents, and left to meet the Cherokees.[17]

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[14] *Journals*, XXVIII, pp. 195-196; XXIX, p. 691; Burnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70; Draper MSS, 14U, pp. 1-2, 3-4, 10-18; *North Carolina State Records*, XVII, pp. 473, 493-494, 514-515.

[15] Draper MSS, 14U, pp. 5-7; Randolph C. Dowes, "Creek-American Relations, 1782-1790," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1937), pp. 141-150; Mohr, *op. cit.*, *pp.* 141-142, 146-147.

[16] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (2 vols., Washington, 1832), I, pp. 17-18.

At Galphinton the federal commissioners showed a copy of their proposed treaty to the Georgia commissioners, who protested that it deprived Georgia a part of her sovereignty. The federal commissioners replied that Indian treaties were the sole right of Congress.[18] After the federal commissioners had left Galphinton, the Georgia commissioners entered into a treaty with the Indians present which confirmed the Augusta treaty of 1783, which had ceded the lands between the Oconee and Ogeechee rivers, and made a new grant south of that obtained at Augusta. The other articles of this treaty were based upon the proposed federal treaty.[19] With the help of Spanish ammunition, the majority of the Creeks were in no mood to be imposed upon by Georgia and lost no time in disallowing the new treaty and its cessions.[20]

The federal commissioners went directly from Galphinton to Hopewell on the Keowee, in South Carolina, where they negotiated successful treaties with the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. These Hopewell treaties, which made for peaceful relations between the Indians and the United States, were the most important accomplishments of federal Indian relations in the south in the 1780's. None of these tribes had leadership so skillful in wilderness diplomacy as Alexander McGillivray. None of them occupied the strategic position between the Americans and the Spanish nor lands so ardently desired by the whites as did the Creeks. These tribes were anxious and willing to have American protection and trade and had few objections to the United States. These differences in the Indian situation explained the success of the Hopewell negotiations over the failure at Galphinton.

The federal commissioners—Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Lachlan McIntosh—arrived at Hopewell on November 17 and began negotiations with the Cherokees four days later. North Carolina was represented by William Blount and Georgia by John King and Thomas Glascock, but these state representatives took no part in the negotiations.[21] The commissioners began by reviewing briefly

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 26, 49, Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[18] *American State Papers, I. A.*, I, pp. 16, 29, 49; North Carolina State *Records*, XVII, pp. 566 567.

[19] *American State Papers, I. A.*, I, p. 17.

[20] Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray." *Review*, V, pp. 195-198.

[21] The account of Cherokee negotiations at Hopewell is from the journal kept by the commissioners and published in *American State Papers,I. A.*, I, pp. 40-43. There is a contemporary copy in Draper MSS, 14U, pp. 21-55.

American-Cherokee relations during the late war. The area of the United States as defined by the Treaty of Paris of 1783 was next explained, and the Indians were told that the United States did not want their lands. The Indians were invited to make any complaints they might wish so that a real peace could be effected.

The next day Tassel of Chota, who seemed the chief Cherokee spokesman, replied that the Indians were well pleased with the talk of the opening day. His main complaint was that the Virginians had taken up lands not given them by the treaty of 1777, the last land cession made by the Cherokees. The Indians were willing to give up the occupied land if it was paid for, but they could not give up any more land. Requests were made that all Indian prisoners held by the whites be released and that traders with adequate stocks come into the nation. The Cherokees spent an entire day in drawing a map of their country.[22] The lands to be given up by the Indians were very thoroughly discussed, and the Cherokees drove a hard bargain. Finally the Indians were induced to give up all areas of large white settlement except the area in the forks of the French Broad and Holston rivers. The Indians insisted that some 3,000 whites in this area be removed and the lands returned to them. This the commissioners said they could not promise. It was agreed to refer the matter to Congress for a final decision. The commissioners did agree to remove several small settlements of whites from the Indian country.

On November 28, the completed Treaty was thoroughly explained to the Indians, who expressed satisfaction with it, and then signed by the commissioners and the thirty-seven chiefs present. Presents to the amount of $1,300 were distributed to the Indians who again requested that prisoners held by the whites be returned to them. The Cherokees expressed great satisfaction at being under the protection of the United States and hoped that the two nations would be at peace henceforth.

Immediately before the signing, William Blount of North Carolina, entered a formal protest stating that the treaty infringed upon North Carolina's rights in alloting lands to the Cherokees which the state had sold to her citizens or granted to Revolutionary soldiers. The commission replied that the protests would be transmitted to Congress but that they were sure a steady adherence to the treaty would remove all causes for trouble between the whites and the Cherokees. The Georiga commissioners also protested against the Treaty.[23]

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[22] Printed in *American State Papers, I. A.*, I, p. 40.

In the Treaty[24] both sides agreed to return all prisoners held by them, and the Indians agreed to return all property stolen from the whites. The Cherokees acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the United States and no other nation. All whites living in Indian lands, except those between the French Broad and the Holston rivers, were to remove in six months or forfeit the protection of Congress. Members of either race who committed crimes against the other were to be punished. Retaliation of one race against the other for deaths or stolen property, except for manifest violations of the treaty, were to be replaced by a demand for justice and an open declaration of hostilities if this was refused. Congress was to have the sole right of regulating trade with the Cherokees. The hatchet was declared forever buried by Congress and the Cherokees, and the Indians promised to notify the United States of any warlike intentions against the United States of which they might learn. The Cherokee nation was given the right to send a deputy to Congress if it chose to do so.

While the commissioners had not obtained all the territory which land speculators desired, they had got recognition from the Indians of the *status quo* so far as any main settlements of whites were concerned. They had based the Indian-white boundary line upon the cession of the Indians to Richard Henderson on the Cumberland, the Treaty of Dewitt's Corner after the Cherokee War in 1777, and the Georgia Treaty of Augusta of 1783. Because the settlement between the French Broad and Holston was in express violation of the 1777 Treaty with the Cherokees, the commissioners felt that something should be done to compensate the Indians for this loss of land and suggested that perhaps the best thing to do would be to teach them the mechanical arts, as they were beginning to make progress in this direction as well as in agriculture.[25] Both Hawkins and Pickens pointed out that the Cherokees had lost all faith in the repeatedly broken promises of the states in their area, but looked with complete faith upon Congress and its promises.[26]

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[23] *Ibid.*, 43-44; Mohr, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-151; H. M. Wagstaff, ed., *The Papers of John Steele* (2 vols., Raleigh, 1924), I, p. 21; Louise I. Trenholme, *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina* (New York, 1932), p. 58. The fact that Blount, his brother, and Governor Caswell held title to part of these lands perhaps somewhat motivated these objections.

[24] The treaty is printed in *Journals*, XXX, 187-190, and in Charles J.
provided for in the fourteenth article of the Treaty of Holston in 1791.
Kapp'er, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (58 Congress, 2 Session, Senate Document No. 319, 2nd ed., Washington, 1904), II, pp. 8-11.

[25] *American State Papers, I. A.*, I, pp. 38-39. This recommendation was provided for in the 14th Article of the Treaty of Holston, 1791.

A month after the Cherokee treaty was completed, the Choctaws arrived at Hopewell. They had been on the way since October and had most of their horses stolen in coming through the Creek country. The Creeks, apparently at the instigation of the Spanish, had tried to dissuade them from coming to Hopewell. But the Choctaws had possessed a great regard for the British; and, if the United States could defeat the British, then it must be a good nation to protect the Choctaws. Clothing had to be distributed by the commissioners[27] to make the Indians presentable at the negotiations. The Choctaws seemed most friendly to the United States and did not offer any objections to the suggestions of the commissioners as had the Cherokees. Neither did they seem to possess the bargaining ability of the Cherokees nor their familiarity with the ways of the whites. It was much more difficult to make them understand the boundary provision of the treaty as they did not understand maps at all.[28]

The Choctaw treaty, signed January 5, was the same as the Cherokee treaty except that the Choctaws were not given the right to send a delegate to Congress. In setting up the boundary between the Choctaws and the whites, the commissioners did not feel that they could go farther back than the preliminary treaty with Great Britain. Therefore the boundary line was fixed as nearly as possible as it had been November, 1782. The United States was to have the right of locating trading posts within the Indian country and promised to begin trading with the Choctaws as soon as the boundary dispute with Spain was settled.

After the Treaty was signed, the Choctaws did most of their talking and made most of their demands. They asked that their people held as prisoners by the whites be returned, but particularly asked for presents. Presents to the value of $1,181 were given to them; and the commissioners reported that they were great beggars and gamblers, gambling away their presents before the treaty had been finished despite their need for clothing. They seemed well pleased with all the presents except the guns which were muskets instead of rifles.

The Chickasaws, like the Choctaws had been long on the way to Hopewell and had most of their horses stolen on the way. Negotiations with them began as soon as those with the Choctaws were completed and were finished on January 10.[29] The general provisions of the Chickasaw treaty were the same as the Choctaw Treaty. Before the treaty was signed the Chickasaws offered few objections to the commissioners' proposals, but after the signing they complained that their cattle and horses had been stolen by the whites and that many whites had settled on their lands without permission. They requested that Commissioner Martin remove these people. They also complained that the traders who visited them stole as much as they bought from the Indians and asked that honest traders be sent. A trading post was expressly reserved for Muscle Shoals, where it would be accessible to both Choctaws and Chickasaws. The commissioners reported the Chickasaws to be honest, well informed, and the most orderly and best governed Indians they had seen. Blount protested against the Chickasaw Treaty, because the Chickasaw lands lay in the extreme western part of North Carolina, but the commissioners were not influenced by this objection.

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[26] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[27] McIntosh left Hopewell after the Cherokee treaty, hence the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaties were negotiated by Hawkins, Martin, and Pickens.

[28] The journal of the Choctaw talks is in Draper MSS, 14U, pp. 56-92. The Treaty is in Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, II, pp. 11-14, and *Journals*, XXX, pp. 193-195. The Commissioners' report to Congress is in *American State Papers. I. A.*, I, pp. 49-50.

The commissioners believed that if the treaties were respected there would be Indian peace—a belief that seems entirely reasonable because the treaties had, in effect created Indian reservations by specifying boundaries which completely enclosed the Indians. The commissioners realized that they had not secured all the lands that frontiersmen and speculators desired, but believed that they had done as much for these groups as they should. They seemed honestly to be trying to do the right thing by the Indians and whites,[30] something that was very difficult at best and which many Southerners did not want done.

The reports of the federal commissioners and the treaties were referred to a Congressional committee on April 10, 1786. No report was ever made by this committee. Neither were the treaties formally ratified by Congress. Instead they were entered in the *Journals,* an action which took the place of ratification. With the completion of the treaties the work of the commissioners was finished. Their commissions were revoked on July 12, 1786, and thus ended the one really successful part of federal Indian relations in the South under the Articles of Confederation.[31]

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[29] The Chickasaw talks and the report of the commisioners are in *American State Papers I. A.* I, pp. 50-52, and in Draper MSS, 14U, pp. 93-107. The treaty is in Kappler, *Indian Affairs,* II, pp. 14-16, and in *Journals,* XXX, pp. 190-192.

[30] Burnett, *op. cit.,* VIII, p. 385.

[31] *Journals,* XXX, pp. 160,, 370-396; Burnett *op. cit.,* VIII, p. 385.

But Congress and the country had not heard the last of the Hopewell treaties. As soon as Governor Caswell of North Carolina heard of the signing of the documents, he instructed the North Carolina delegates in Congress to prevent Congressional ratification. However the North Carolina delegates, Timothy Bloodworth and James White, arrived in New York after the treaties had been entered in the *Journals,* and all their attempts to get the treaties changed or voided came to naught.[32] In January, 1787, the North Carolina General Assembly instructed the North Corolina delegates to demand the disavowal of the treaties on the grounds that the Cherokees and Chickasaw lands in question were within the jurisdiction of the State. Again the North Carolina delegates protested, but the committee to which their objections were referred apparently never reported.[33] In 1787 and 1788 the North Carolina Assembly resolved that such allocation of land to the Indians within the borders of North Carolina did not annul state grants, which the State would protect, and that such federal action was contrary to the constitution of North Carolina and the Articles of Confederation.[34]

On February 11, 1786, the Georgia General Assembly passed resolutions against the attempted negotiations of the federal commissioners with the Creeks at Galphinton and the "pretended treaty" with the Cherokees and other tribes at Hopewell. Everything done by the commissioners within the limits of Georgia inconsistent with its rights and privileges was declared null and void.[35] Congress took no notice of this action, but Georgia and North Carolina made it obvious to all that Congress could make treaties with the Indians occupying lands belonging to states but that enforcement of such treaties was a different matter.

Before Congress terminated the services of the Southern Indian commissioners, it was at work on permanent regulation of Indian affairs. An ordinance, passed on August 7, 1786, created an Indian Department of two districts, separated by the Ohio River. A superintendent, elected by Congress and responsible to the Secretary at War, presided over each district. The superintendents were to live among the Indians, to be acquainted with their situation and thoughts, to handle Indian relations with Congress, and regulate Indian traders. Georgia delegates tried unsuccessfully to remove the Southern

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[32] *North Carolina State Records,* XVIII, pp. 591-592, 599; Burnett, *op. cit.,* VIII, pp. 351, 385, 474; Draper MSS, 4XX. pp. 2-4, 18.

[33] *North Carolina State Records,* XVIII, pp. 462-465, 467, 483; XXII, p. 1005; Burnett, *op. cit.,* VIII, pp. 639-640; *Journals,* XXXII, pp. 237-238.

[34] *Ibid.,* and Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele,* I pp. 21-22.

[35] *American State Papers, I. A.,* I, p. 17.

Indians from the provisions of the ordinance. Delegates from several southern states sought to weaken the ordinance and did secure an amendment requiring the superintendents to act in conjunction with the states for Indians living within the boundaries of the states. James White, a former North Carolina delegate to Congress, was elected Superintendent of the Southern District on October 6, 1786, and directed to proceed to his district immediately to put the ordinance into effect.[36]

Throughout the last half of 1786 and most of 1787 there were complaints by the Cherokees of violations of the Hopewell treaty by people from North Carolina and the state of Franklin. Most of these complaints were addressed to Joseph Martin (the North Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia agent to the Cherokees) instead of to White, the Congressional superintendent.[37] White devoted his entire time to the Creek problem, never dealt with the Cherokees, and probably never became known to them.[38] The creation of the Congressional Indian Department was responsible for the discontinuance in January, 1787, of Virginia's Indian Department,[39] which under Martin had been the most stabilizing influence in the Cherokee country. This discontinuance might have wrought havoc in Cherokee relations had not Martin continued to exercise his moderating influence as North Carolina's and Georgia's agent.

After the Hopewell treaties, the Creeks caused more trouble than the other southern Indians, and primary consideration is given to them for the rest of this paper. Alexander McGillivray, after a trip to New Orleans in the summer of 1786 and renewed indications of Spanish backing from Governor Miro, influenced a general meeting of the Creek Nation to demand that Georgians withdraw to the east of the Ogeechee River and give up all the lands beyond it which the state had been claiming since the Treaty of Augusta in 1783.[40] Georgia prepared for a Creek war, with little expectation of help from the Federal Government. In November state commissioners met with some Creek chiefs at Shoulderbone Creek, near the Oconee, and signed a treaty confirming the Oconee cessions of Augusta and Galphinton. Georgia acted alone because the newly elected federal superintendent had not yet arrived in Georgia and a treaty was considered the only way to prevent a war.[41] McGillivray immediately insisted that Georgia had used coercion to get the treaty signed, that the Indians who signed the treaty did not speak for the nation, and that it was no more valid than the treaties of Augusta or Galphinton.

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[36] *Journals,* XXX, pp. 368-372, 425-428; XXXI, pp. 485-489, 490-493, 747.

[37] Burnett, *op. cit.,* VIII, pp. 580, 628.

[38] White told the Virginia delegates that Creek relations took up all of his time and left none to be devoted to the other tribes. *Ibid.,* pp. 687-688.

[39] Draper MSS, 2XX, p. 12.

[40] Caughey *op. cit.,* p. 31.

[41] Downes *op. cit.,* XXI, pp. 156-157, *et passim*; Mohr, *op. cit.,* p. 155.

Superintendent White was in Georgia by February, 1787, and wrote McGillivary that he thought peace between Indians and whites could be easily obtained if each side would give in a little on its demands. Certainly Georgia had, said White, all the territory that she needed and this should give the Indians future security. McGillivray gave White his side of the argument and expressed the hope that White would remove the white settlers from the disputed Oconee lands.[42] At a general meeting of the Creeks on April 10, White was well received but failed to get confirmation of the treaties of Augusta, Galphinton, and Shoulderbone. Creek relations with Spain were good at this time, and McGillivray was not greatly concerned about the wishes of Georgia or the United States. White invited the Creeks to tell him of any complaints they had but would not agree to their contention that the settlers should remove from the disputed lands.[43]

After his investigation of the Creek situation, White made a good analysis of it to Secretary at War Henry Knox on May 24, 1787.[44] Peace had been restored to the Creek country before his arrival, White reported; but he had improved it by securing the release of the hostages held by Georgia as a guarantee that the Treaty of Shoulderbone would be carried out. The Creeks were reported as having great respect for Congress but none for Georgia. In fact, they had been restrained from war only by McGillivray's desire to await Congressional action. McGillivray had delayed a treaty with Spain for two years in hopes that the United States would do something, said White, but finally dealt with Spain when it seemed that the United States would do nothing for the Creeks.

McGillivray had said that if the United States would set up a government south of the Altamaha he would be the first to take an oath of allegiance to it, and would also get a cession of the Oconee lands for Georgia, By this proposal he probably contemplated an Indian state which would relieve the Creeks of the necessity of appealing to both the United States and Spain and perhaps would relieve the constant pressure of Georgia frontiersmen for more lands. Trade with the eastern part of the Creek country could be carried on much easier throughout the Altamaha and its tributaries than it could through Pensacola, the entry from Spanish Florida. White was correct in his statement that McGillivray's natural bias was not toward Spain but that he had been forced into her arms by the action of Georgia and the non-action of the United States. White did not know it, but McGillivray was probably convinced that Spain would not back the Creeks all the way in their fight against Georgia. McGillivray and White must have realized that the lands south of the Altamaha were good hunting lands but were not nearly so good for agricultural purposes as the Oconee lands so ardently desired by Georgians.

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[42] *American State Papers, I. A.*, I pp. 21-22, 18-19.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

White estimated the Creek population at about 6,000 well-armed warriors and pointed out that they could retreat into Spanish territory if hard pressed by Americans. The causes of the Creek-Georgia disagreement he listed as three: (1) The natural reluctance of the Indians to give up their lands; (2) the fact that the cessions so far had been obtained from so few Indians and with coercion; and (3) the continual encroachments of the frontiersmen upon Indian lands. White correctly ascribed must of the Creek animosity to McGillivray's attitude, which White attributed to Spanish influence and pay. This report is a very good analysis of the Creek situation, though it did not suggest a solution. It was the main work of White as Indian Superintendent, and upon it his reputation must rest.

Despite White's efforts, the usual frontier clashes continued through the summer of 1787, and Georgia-Creek relations deteriorated. Both sides accused the other of violating treaties, and Georgia sought allies (Franklin, South Carolina, the Choctaws, and the Chickasaws) to help her in her anticipated Creek war. Arms were secured from Congress; but none of the anticipated allies sent any forces to fight the Creeks, who caused considerable harm on the frontiers.[45] The Georgia Assembly reviewed Creek relations in October and concluded that the cause of the immediate troubles was the feeling of the Indians that the United States was not backing Georgia fully and might favor the Creeks in part of the argument about the Oconee lands. Congress was called upon for help in arming the 3,000 state troops authorized to fight the Creeks.[46] This assembly resolution is a good example of Georgia's critical attitude toward the Indian activity of the federal government while the state was unable to pacify the Indians or to defend herself against them.

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[45] Downes, *op. cit.*, XXI, pp. 161-165;; Mohr, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163; *American State Papers, I. A.*, I, pp. 31, 33; Draper MSS, 9DD, p. 45; *Journals*, XXXIII, pp. 530-531.

[46] *American State Papers, I. A.*, I, pp. 23-24; Downes, *op cit.*, XXI, p. 165.

Secretary at War Knox made a complete report on the Southern Indian situation to Congress on July 18, 1787.[47] He came to the heart of the problem when he said that the power given to the United States in the Ninth Article of Confederation needed to be interpreted specifically to determine whether Congress had the power to deal with the Creeks who lived within Gorgia territory. To settle the problem of land boundaries between whites and Indians, Knox recommended three solutions: (1) Congressional interpretation of the Ninth Article to enable Congress to regulate boundaries with independent Indian tribes who lived within the boundaries of a state; (2) state requests to Congress to act as judge in such matters and authorization for enforcement of Congressional decisions; (3) state cessions of western territory to Congress which would then have complete control over the territory and its Indian inhabitants.

Knox believed that land cessions were the only of these alternatives that the states would agree to and recommended that Congress again request cessions. If Georgia and North Carolina agreed to make cessions of their western territory, Congress could take immediate steps to pacify the Creeks, to enforce the Hopewell treaties, and to settle any other Southern Indian problems. Unless the United States could manage all Indian affairs and enforce its treaties, Knox thought a general Indian war could be expected.

A motion of the Georgia delegates that Congress promise to help Georgia in the event of a Creek war and Secretary Knox's report were referred to a committee which reported on August 3, 1787, that the Indians had grounds for their complaints, that Georgia and North Carolina had encroached upon Indian lands, and recommended that the states take action to preserve the peace.[48] The committee thought that the Ninth Article needed an interpretation that would clarify the powers of Congress in regard to Indian affairs. The article must have been intended to give all power over Indian affairs to Congress or the states; the power must belong to Congress to make it of any practical value. Congress could not infringe the powers of states in its dealings with Indian tribes because state laws could not affect independent Indian tribes. This report was the strongest statement made in the 1780's relative to Congressional Indian powers. It clearly faced the facts of the problem in the South and suggested what was possibly the best remedy, but it was not adopted by Congress.

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[47] *Journals*, XXXII, pp. 367-369.
[48] *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 407-408, 454-455, 462-463.

The committee pointed out that any settlement of the Indian problem in North Carolina and Georgia was impracticable so long as the states and Congress maintained directly opposite views of the powers of each. The committee agreed with Knox that a cession of western lands was probably the best solution to the problem. Otherwise Congress should be given the power to manage all affairs with the Creeks and Cherokees. Georgia should be informed that Congress could not help her against the Creeks unless it had complete control of the situation. The Indians should be informed that Congress was working upon a solution of the problem and that it would not contenance unjust attacks upon its citizens.

Though Congress would not assert its power in Indian affairs as had been repeatedly recommended, it did pass a resolution on October 26, 1787, provided that Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina should each appoint one commissioner to act with the Indian Superintendent in negotiating with the Southern Indians. These three states were to furnish $6,000 expenses for the treaties.[49]

Superintendent White's election to Congress by North Carolina late in 1787 resulted in his resignation as Indian Superintendent.[50] As superintendent, White had dealt only with the Creeks; and Virginia's Congressional delegates now took steps to prevent his successor from ignoring the Cherokees. Virginia's delegates, other delegates, and secretary Knox felt that a superintendent or deputy should reside among the Cherokees.[51] Congress elected Richard Winn, of North Carolina, as Superintendent of the Southern District on February 29, 1788, and Joseph Martin as federal agent to the Cherokees on June 20, and as agent to the Chickasaws on August 20.[52] Knox instructed Martin that he was subordinate to the Southern Superintendent and should constantly communicate with him. However, Martin was to report directly to Knox, and there is no evidence that Martin and Winn corresponded with each other.

Knox urged rigid economy upon Martin, especially in the matter of Indian presents and told him that his duty was to investigate grievances and report to Congress which would take the necessary actions.[53] Martin replied that he doubted that he or anyone else could now accomplish what could have been acomplished earlier with the Cherokees and that he feared a general Indian war against the whites would soon break out.[54] Here, as McGillivray had told Whte about the Creeks, it was too late. The states in their individual action and land greed had done a great deal of damage that it would take years of friendly relations to repair. Congress had procrastinated when it should have acted.

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[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 707-711.

[50] Burnett *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 694.

[51] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IV, p. 226; Burnett, *op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 687, 691-692, 704; *Journals*, XXXIV, pp. 182-183.

[52] *Journals*, XXXIV, pp. 72, 175, 247, 433; Burnett, *op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 704, 756; Draper MSS, 2XX, p. 17.

[53] Knox's instructions, Draper MSS, 2XX, p. 20. There are no letters to or from Winn in the Martin Papers in the Draper MSS.

Martin's appointment as federal agent to the Cherokees had been occasioned by violations of the Hopewell treaty by whites who continued to settle upon the lands reserved for the Cherokees. Martin continued to report violations and the efforts which he took to prevent settlements. This situation induced Knox to make a special report on the Cherokees to Congress on July 18, 1788, in which he said that unprovoked outrages were frequently committed by land hungry white intruders in the Cherokee area. The troubles between Franklin and North Carolina brought Knox to think North Carolina would not object if Congress should issue a proclamation ordering settlers to move off lands not fairly purchased. Knox was of the opinion that if the treaties were not inforced there would be constant trouble on the Southern Frontier and that troops should be used if necessary to enforce removal of unauthorized whites.[55]

During the summer of 1788 there was considerable trouble between the whites of Franklin and North Carolina and the Cherokees. North Carolina sent a militia expedition commanded by Joseph Martin to Lookout Mountain against the Chickamaugas, a troublesome group of Cherokees who objected to peace with the whites. The friendly Cherokees were particularly incensed by John Sevier's attack with the people of Franklin upon several towns and the murder of a number of Indians, including one of their leading chiefs, Great Tassel.[56]

Superintendent Winn urged Knox to get Congress to authorize a settlement with the Cherokees and to provide the necessary funds. On August 14, 1788, Congress voted an additional $4,000 to be added to the $6,000 voted the previous October for holding treaties with the Southern Indians and called upon North Carolina to furnish her share of the necessary funds and to appoint the commissioner authorized in October.[57] Winn successfully appealed to Governor Johnston to halt frontier hostilities until the commissioners had a chance to negotiate with the Indians.[58]

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[54] Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 150, II, pp. 443-446; III, pp. 413-414.

[55] *Journals*, XXXIV, pp. 342-344.

[56] Weeks, *op. cit.*, pp. 462-465; Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 150, II, pp. 435-446; III, pp. 349-378, 401-410; No. 71, II, pp. 623-624; No. 56, pp. 441-442.

In line with Knox's report of July 18, Congress agreed on September 1, to a proclamation requiring people settled in areas reserved to the Indians by the treaties of Hopewell to remove at once and directing the Secretary of War to have sufficient troops to protect the Cherokees and to remove all unauthorized whites from the Indian lands. The proclamation specifically provided that nothing in it should affect the territorial claims of North Carolina.[59]

In backing additional Federal action, relating to the Indians, the Southern states found themselves embarrassed as they had consistently refused to abide by the treaties of Hopewell. This situation they hoped to ignore and get congressional support for their desires by having the states appoint a majority of the commissioners for the new treaties and by inserting the proviso in the proclamation that it did not affect territorial claims.[60] Thus they could reap the benefits of Congressional protection but suffer no lessening of their sovereignty. The troubles caused by John Sevier and others in the Cherokee country were referred to the executive of North Carolina, with the request that it investigate them and punish the guilty. Governor Johnston had already given orders for the arrest of Sevier due to the troubles he was causing in the western part of North Carolina.[61] Sevier was arrested in October but soon released on bail. However the effort to create a separate state of Franklin had collapsed by this time, and this failure helped to restore North Carolina authority over the whites in the Cherokee country.

North Carolina was worried lest Congress take positive steps to effect the removal of the whites settled upon Indian lands, but no Federal troops were sent into the Cherokee country to carry out the Congressional proclamation. There is no evidence that any force was ever used or that any settlers ever vacated any Cherokee lands in line with the proclamation. The North Carolina Assembly did resolve that intruders on Indian lands should not be protected. John

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[57] *American State Papers, I. A.*, I, p. 28; *Journals*, XXXIV, pp. 423-425.

[58] *American State Papers, I. A.*, I, p. 45.

[59] *Journals*, XXXIV, pp. 476-479. An actual copy of the proclamation as publicly posted is in Draper MSS, 2XX, p. 6.

[60] Burnett, *op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 789-790, 804-805.

[61] *American State Papers, I. A.*, I, p. 45.

[62] *North Carolina State Records*, XX, pp. 551, 568, 582-583; XXI, 105, 197, 535-536.

Steele was appointed the North Carolina commissioner to negotiate a federal treaty; and North Carolina voted its share of the expenses. North Carolina seemed, from the instructions given Steele by the assembly and governor, more interested in securing peace than in maintaining its sovereignty inviolate.[62] During the winter and spring, Winn and the Cherokees carried on negotiations preliminary to a treaty. The frontiersmen were hard to restrain; but Martin, Winn, and Johnston did their upmost to keep peace so that a treaty might be negotiated. Georgia and South Carolina added similar efforts.[63]

By the time the commissioners — John Steele from North Carolina, George Mathews from Georgia, and Andrew Pickens from South Carolina— met with the Cherokees in the summer of 1789, Winn's term as Indian Superintendent had expired and no one had been appointed in his place. The Federal Government under the constitution was being set up, but had taken no action as yet. The Cherokees appeared friendly, but no definite treaty was agreed to. There seemed to be general agreement to wait until the new government could handle the matter.[64] One of Secretary Knox's first acts under the new government was to give President Washington a complete report on the Cherokee situation and to urge that action on it be taken soon.[65] The position of the United States was considerably strengthened in 1790 by North Carolina's cession of its western territory, but no Cherokee treaty and land settlement were negotiated until 1792.

The year 1788 opened with Creek attacks upon the Georgia frontier. Small and isolated attacks in which a few whites and Indians were killed and Negroes carried off by the Indians continued throughout the year. Governor George Handley informed Congress that Georgia could not defend herself against Creeks, and that Congress would have to furnish defense supplies unless peace could be negotiated.[66] Early in April, Federal Commissioner Pickens and Mathews sent an Indian trader, George Whitefield, into the Creek nation to inform the Indians of the powers of the commissioners and to tell them that if they rejected peace they would have to fight the entire United States and not Georgia alone. Whitefield and McGillivray consistently advised the Creeks to meet with the commissioners for a treaty. A meeting was agreed upon for September 15.[67]

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[63] *Ibid.*, XX, pp. 551, 567; XXI, pp. 506-509, 522-524, 527-529, 529-532, 534-535.

[64] Mohr, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Draper MSS, 4XX, p. 6; 2XX, p. 30.

[65] *American State Papers, I. A.*, I. p. 53.

[66] Downes, *op. cit.*, XXI, p. 170.

By summer the Georgia situation became more critical, and Abraham Baldwin urged Congress to help Georgia. After the usual committee report and debate, Congress on July 15, resolved that if the Indian Superintendent found it necessary he could notify the Creeks that their refusal to enter into a treaty with the United States upon reasonable terms would result in the arms of the United States being called forth to protect the Georgia frontier.[68] Secretary Knox said that conditions on the Georgia frontier were more dangerous than the Northwest because the Creeks possessed superiority in numbers, unity and cooperation, and a good leader in whom they had confidence. If Congressional protection were necessary it should be with a force big enough to completely subjugate the Creeks in one campaign. Knox recommended a militia army of 2,800 to be furnished by Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina and estimated $450,000 expenses for a nine months' war. Congress took no action on this report.[69]

After Whitefield's trip into the Creek nation, attacks upon the frontier lessened, and Governor Handley ordered all state troops to suspend hostilities. When everything seemed arranged for a meeting, McGillivray demanded, as a preliminary, that the Georgia settlers retire from the disputed lands on the Oconee. This condition the commissioners and Georgia officials refused.[70] The governor called the assembly to meet on July 15, but could not get a quorum. Hence, it was impossible to secure the necessary funds, and Handley thought it best to try and postpone the negotiations. He suggested that if the change in the Federal Government were urged as the reason for the delay, it would probably appeal to McGillivray. McGillivray accepted the postponement and promised a suspension of hostilities if Georgia would do the same.[71] Small Indian attacks upon the frontier continued after this promise of peace, but there were no large attacks that appeared to have central direction.[72]

The winter of 1788-1789 was fairly quiet on the Georgia-Creek frontier, an area not noted for peace and quiet. In the spring when the Creeks became more restless, the commissioners sent George and John Galphin, Creek traders, to the nation. The Indians agreed to meet the commissioners in June; but, at McGillivray's request the meeting was delayed until September 15, By this time, President Washington had considered the matter and decided that the commissioners should not be local men. Consequently he appointed Benjamin Lincoln, Cyrus Griffin, and David Humphreys as federal commissioners. They arrived at Rock Landing on the Oconee, on September 20, and met the Creeks. After a few days of negotiations a draft treaty, giving up all the lands ceded by the treaties of Augusta, Galphinton, and Shoulderbone, was read to the Indians. McGillivray and the Indians, displeased with this proposal, left the conference grounds without informing the commissioners; and negotiations ended.

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[67] (Charleston) *City Gazette,* April 18, June 25, July 10, Oct. 9, 1788; *American State Papers, I. A.,* I, p. 26.

[68] *Journals,* XXXIV, p. 326.

[69] *Ibid.,* pp. 356-366.

[70] *American State Papers, I. A.,* I, p. 29.

[71] *Ibid.,* pp. 28-29; *City Gazette,* Dec. 3, 1788.

[72] *City Gazette,* Sept.-Dec., 1788.

The next year, 1790, McGillivray did sign the Treaty of New York with the United States by which the Creeks ceded the lands to the Oconee, about which they and Georgia had disagreed since 1783. However it was several years before all the Creeks could be brought to agree to this treaty and the lands were cleared of Indians and fully opened to white settlers.[73]

From the story of Federal Indian affairs in the South in the 1780's, several generalizations can be drawn. Congress generally assumed that it had, or should have, supremacy over the states in Indian affairs, especially in trade regulations and land purchases. In actual practice, federal action fell far short of this theoretical supremacy.

Congress entered the field of Indian relations late, after the individual states. The states were unwilling to give up all Indian affairs to Congress, and Congress never made a concerted attempt to convince the Southern states that they should do so. Article IX of the Articles of Confederation, from which Congress derived its power over Indian affairs, stated, "The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of . . . regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indianns, not members of any of the states, provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated." The Southern states, especially Georgia and North Carolina, had a legal argument that Congress had no rights to deal with Indian affairs in the South since all tribes lived in lands which belonged to one of the states. Congress refused to take any definite stand on an interpreation of this part of Article IX. Consequently the states sought to use

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[73] Downes, *op. cit.*, XXI, pp. 176-183.

Congress when it suited their immediate need, and ignored it when they could get what they wanted without Congress or did not approve action that Congress had taken.

Not only was Congress late in getting into the field of Indian control, but she tried to do it with a very inadequate force an insufficient funds. Two men, the most the Congressional Indian Department ever had in the South, could never hope to do what needed to be done with the four widely scattered tribes whose government was quite decentralized and whose control over their members was slight at best. Any sort of effective Indian management would have required agents constantly living with the Indians and a real attempt to control traders in the Indian country. Such agents should have heard and tried to adjust complaints of Indians against whites, would have known at first hand much of the trouble between the two races, could have guaged Indian feeling constantly, and could have done a great deal to control troublesome traders.

Besides the trouble between Congress and the states and the small Federal Indian forces, there were the Indian activities of the Spanish. The Indians agreed to diametrically opposite treaties with Spain and the United States, as did the Choctaws and Chickasaws in 1784-86. The Creeks played the Spanish against the Americans in an effort to get more for themselves. McGillivray was particularly adept at this wilderness diplomacy, and no action of his or of the Creeks toward the Americans can be understood without first knowing the current Spanish policy and activities. In reality Spain promised or hinted at more help than she actually gave, but she did furnish through Panton, Leslie and Company considerable aid without which the Creeks could not have held out so long against the demands of the Georgians for the Oconee lands. The Americans always knew that the Spanish colonists were their enemies in Indian diplomacy, but they never knew just how much help the Creeks received from the Spanish interests.

The Indians soon became disgusted with State action and looked forward with real hope when Congress entered the field. They originally believed the statement of federal Indian policy made by Secretary Knox, "It may be asserted to be the sincere desire of Congress to exhibit to all the Indians a conduct perfectly moderate and just—ready at all times to listen to the reasonable complaints of the Indians and to afford them protection when injured."[74] Congress did not live up to the expectations of the Indians and thereby lost a golden opportunity to improve Indian relations and to make the Indians feel that they were getting fairer treatment than they could expect from the individual states. With the smallness of the Federal force and budget, the lack of any definitely stated policy and the amount of opposition that Congress encountered from the states and the Spanish, it is a wonder that Congress was able to accomplish what it did in the field of Indian relations under the Articles of Confederation.

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[74] Knox's instructions to Joseph Martin, June 23, 1788, Draper MSS, 2XX, p. 20. This is as good a statement of Congressional Indian policy as has been found.

THE 'Y' CHAPEL OF SONG

*By Jessie Newby Ray**

On a hot, sultry day in June, 1949, the beautiful little 'Y' Chapel of Song was officially presented to Central State College at Edmond, Oklahoma.[1] Its construction had been made possible by hundreds of students, both past and present, faculty and friends who by services of various kinds and by gifts helped to accumulate the necessary funds.

The purpose, to which the chapel is dedicated, is peculiarly fitted to the needs of a modern college community. It is not intended as a place of public assembly, but for meditation and prayer. No one is compelled to seek the chapel. It is open to all who have even a moment of time to enjoy its privileges, This gives it unique distinction among academic buildings.

The chapel enables Central State College to render a constant and essential service to the moral and spiritual life of the college and community. Various groups hold services here. Followers of different religious faiths may be seen sitting quietly in the gracious atmosphere of the sanctuary. Weddings are celebrated here frequently. It is a building dedicated to the spiritual life. It is a refuge from noise and confusion—an isle of quietness in the ebb and flow of bewildering tasks. The gift of the chapel to Central is "Peace to all who enter into its spirit of silence and calmness."

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[1] This article by Dr. Jessie Newby Ray has been adapted editorially for *The Chronicles*, from her original manuscript on "The 'Y' Chapel of Song" contributed for publication and now on file in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Her original manuscript gives a history of the Chapel at Central State College, with detailed descriptions of the building and all furnishings besides the names of all persons connected with the project, citing references to sources in her writing, the principal source being her compilation "The Chapel Story" (1947-1951) in typescript copy now in the Library of Central State College. Dr. Ray received her A. B. and A. M. degrees from the University of Oklahoma, and her Ph. D. degree from the State University of Iowa. As a teacher in Oklahoma for fifty years before her retirement in 1956, she is best known as a teacher of Latin in Central State College. She is also known as a lecturer and as a writer of many articles for professional magazines. Her outstanding published work was her thesis for the Ph. D. degree, *A Numismatic Commentary on the "Res Gestae" of Augustus* (Athens Press, Iowa City, 1938), which was sold (out of print, 1958) and reviewed in the United States and fourteen foreign countries as a most scholarly work on the subject. She was one of the national leaders in the unique celebration, "Bimillennium Horatium"—the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of Horace, the great Roman lyric poet—, her notes on which are found in *Appendix A.*—Ed.

A motion passed at a cabinet meeting of the Young Women's Christian Association in April, 1941, authorized the withdrawal of $1,500 from the loan fund of the Association to start the project of building a small chapel on Central's campus.[2] The Young Men's Christian Association immediately took similar action and made a contribution. At that time Miss Margaret Carpenter (Best) Edmond, was president of the Y. W. C. A., while the president of the Y. M. C. A. was Mr. T. C. Johnston from Clemscot, Oklahoma.

When the desires of the Y. M. and Y. W. were referred to Dr. R. R. Robinson, President of the College, he heartily approved the idea and presented the matter to the State Board of Regents for Oklahoma Colleges. The Board endorsed the project but, since the State Legislature cannot appropriate money for a building to be devoted to religious purposes, it was evident that funds for erecting this building should consist entirely of contributions and proceeds from campus enterprises.

In the summer of 1941, Dr. Robinson appointed a committee called the 'Y' Chapel Building Fund Committee.[3] A steady campaign to raise funds was started immediately and was continued until the dedication of the building in 1949.

The 'Y' Chapel of Song is an 'L' shaped building which is 56 feet wide and 56 feet deep. The total height is 22 feet. The sanctuary, which is 26 feet wide, has a seating capacity of 125. The chapel was erected by the J. W. Skaggs Construction company. This building for young folks was designed by two young architects, Mr. Duane R. Conner and Mr. Fred Pojezny of Oklahoma City. Mr. Conner's description follows verbatim:[4]

> The 'Y' Chapel of Song . . . . a natural building. Rising from the earth naturally as do the towering elms among which it is situated . . . . a building with character consistent with its purpose. No ostentatious imitation of a cathedral; cathedrals were built for cathedral purposes. This is a chapel built for chapel purposes—a finger pointing the direction of an organic American architecture. A simple, natural, expressive structure. The sloping wood beams which give the

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[2] Jessie Newby Ray, *The Story* (*1947-1951*), Vol. I, p. 2; and *The Vista*, May, 14, 1941.

[3] The Committee consisted of the two 'YM' and 'YW' presidents; Mr. Frank Bateman, Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds; Mrs. Starr Otto Doyel, Home Economics and 'YW' sponsor; Miss Mildred Kidd, Music; Dr. Fred McCarrel, Education; Mr. Guy Rankin, History and 'YM' sponsor; Mr. Van Thornton, Industrial Arts; and Dr. Jessie D. Newby (now Ray), Latin and 'YW' sponsor, who was chairman of the Committee until its work was finished. Miss Lorena Hindes, Education and 'YW' sponsor, kept a record of the contributions until she retired. She was succeeded by Dr. Milton L. Bast. Mrs. Doyel served as secretary of the Committee.

[4] *The Story*, Vol. III, pp. 4-13, gives details of specifications, contracts, blueprints, and statements.

Front View, 'Y' Chapel of Song

Back View, 'Y' Chapel of Song

building its identifying form, the stabilizing concrete piers, the wood deck, the asbestos cover, and the columns of brick made from native red clay, all in their natural state and as straightforwardly articulated as are the trunks, limbs and leaves of the shading elms. The natural structural materials, selected for fitness and harmony in combination, each representative of its natural characteristics and purpose without sham or artifice, take the place of the usual finishes and provide an atmosphere of friendly warmth.

Incorporated integrally with the building are the fourteen stained glass panels—not windows to fill voids in an otherwise solid wall—a principal factor in the determination of the general form of the building as it stands. Daylight pours into the auditorium from behind the seated auditor and into the choir through concealed strips; from all sides and from above comes light-diffused, glareless, properly directed, unlike that from separated window holes.

Fresh air enters under the lower edge of the main slope and exhausts by gravity and temperature at the ridge ends in a chimney-like action. A spring-like interior climate is provided by gravity heat from under-floor pipes.

In all respects a modest, quiet little building . . . . yet, with an uncompromising integrity in its honest expression of purpose and structure, it is a congenial place for congenial activities. It will not grow out of date but will remain young for many years to come.

The campaign for funds for the chapel started with the solicitation of the faculty, then the townspeople. Advertising was sold on programs and hand bills. White elephant sales, faculty "slave markets," benefit programs and personal contributions brought in more than $20,000 by July, 1947. More than a thousand individuals helped in different ways. At one of the faculty "slave markets," Dr. Robinson offered to shine some one's shoes. His services were bid in for $3.50 by Bill Hughes whose shoes were given a shine before the bidders in Mitchell hall.

The original plans were based upon a Works Progress Administration grant which would furnish labor and some materials. Everything was done to be ready to start construction April 15, 1942. But war needs caused all non-defense W. P. A. projects to be discontinued April 1.[5] This made it necessary to raise *all* the funds needed. Greater costs of both labor and materials increased the expense of building still more.

Finally, during the summer of 1948, new plans were drawn which would permit the chapel to be constructed with the funds on hand. On November 1 of that year, "at long last," ground was broken and work actually was begun. The heavy snows of the winter of 1948-49 delayed the work, but the building was finished about the middle of April.

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[5] Acknowledgement and recognition here should be given Mr. George Winkler, artist and architect (then of the architectural firm of Winkler and Reid of Oklahoma City) for the fine plans with blue prints that he made of an English country style chapel for the Central State College building, in 1941. The specifications for Mr. Winkler's design were used for the W. P. A. project. Because of the excessive amount of labor required, these plans had to be discarded for the present less expensive design.

The chapel is erected in the inner circle formed by other buildings where it is in the very heart of the campus. The site is north of Wantland Hall and east of the Administration Building. It is almost equidistant from both of the resident halls. The location is the most effective the campus affords. Miss Hindes said, ''Such a building with the associations which will gradually accumulate around it, will make it a shrine for all Central State students.''[6]

The simple but effective narthex (vestibule) is dedicated to the late Sergeant Buster Andeel[7] by his parents Mr. and Mrs. Richard N. Andeel of Wagoner, Oklahoma. Buster played football and basketball at Central. He lost his life while flying a mission over Foggia, Italy. He was awarded the Purple Heart posthumously.

In the wing which extends to the south are the usual study and choir room. The former is called the ''Twyford Four Generations study.'' The latter is the Ella M. Corr choir or bride's room. As the years go by, many a bride and bridegroom will wait in these rooms preparatory to putting the seal of the marriage vows to a campus romance.

The study is built to furnish living quarters for two. Annually Chapel scholarships are granted to two young men of high character who will care for and show the building. Another scholarship is given to a student, either boy or girl, who will arrange a program of mid-day Meditation and Song services in the chapel.

In the southwest corner of the chapel there is a ''Time Capsule''—an asbestos-lined steel lock box. It is to be opened when the college celebrates its one-hundredth birthday in 1991.[8]

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[6] "The 'Y' Chapel Picked as Best,"—*The Vista,* March 31, 1953, p. 1. The Oklahoma Chapter of the American Institute of Architects in March, 1953, rated the 'Y' Chapel as the outstanding building in the eccesiastical group which had been constructed in Oklahoma since the end of World War II, a jury of three out-of-state architects having made this decision.

[7] A brief biography of Buster Andeel appears in "Oklahoma War Memorial —World War II" continued series by Muriel H. Wright, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 1 (Spring, 1944), p. 12. Biographical material on Sergeant Andeel in the form of a questionnaire and notes sent by his nearest of kin are in the permanent files of "The Oklahoma War Memorial" in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[8] The capsule was sealed in the concrete crypt by Mrs. W. Max Chambers, by a representatives of each of the twelve grades of the College Demonstration School, by one from the kindergarten and by a pre-school child. The last named, Andrew Ray Perrin, son of Mr. and Mrs. Waldo E.

The loading of this container, planned by Miss Edna Jones, Secretary of the College Alumni Association, was a unique feature of the Golden Anniversary Homecoming of Central State in 1942. The contents consist of documents that give the history of organizations and departments of the college during its first fifty years of existence. It is hoped that the materials will be readable on the one-hundreth birthday.

The low interior walls of the 'Y' Chapel of Song are covered with ceramic tile, tan in color, on which the art students of the college applied a pattern of crosses made up of simple lines broken by winged halos. Mrs. Bertha Hamill, head of the Art Department, directed this work.

All the furniture of the sanctuary was made in the Industrial Arts department under the close supervision of Mr. Asbury Smith.[9] The actual work was done by Mr. John Brown, Mr. Joe Richards and Mr. Robert Stringer. The chairs in the narthex were made in 1951, by Mr. H. L. Melton, a visiting Industrial Arts instructor. The decorative iron organ grill was made by Mr. Sam Webster of the Metal Work department. It was designed by Mrs. Hamill and has the letters 'Y. W. C. A.'' cleverly included down the center of the pattern. Two wrought iron brackets on the brick piers at the sides of the chancel are dedicated to Miss Leita Davis, retired History professor; and to Mrs. Ella Colander Weisenbach, former house-mother to college faculty members and students. An iron picket fence marks the south boundary of the chapel area. Each post is topped by a cross effectively proportioned.

Tribute is paid to faculty members, students and friends of the College by the dedication to them of the pews, windows and other pieces of equipment. Pew ends and chancel furniture are hand carved.[10] Names of individuals are found on the pews of the center aisle.[11] Town and college clubs and classes are on the two side aisles.

Other gifts to the Chapel are worthy of mention. The Freshmen classes during the years the chapel campaign was

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Perrin, Oklahoma City, still has the small trowel used in the ceremony. It was purchased and given to him by his grandfather, Professor Louis B. Ray. It is hoped that some of these students will be living in 1991 to participate in the Centennial celebration of the Central State College.

[9] See *Appendix B* for Dedications—list and notes on—all furniture and equipment in the Chapel.

[10] This carving was done by Miss Gertrude Freed, Mrs. Louise Cook Janz and Mr. Merle Keyser.

[11] Four of the pews in the choir are dedicated to past presidents of Central: two. to acting presidents. They are Mr. Thomas W. Butcher, Dr. James A. McLauchlin, Mr. Grant B. Grumbine and Dr. M. A. Beeson; also Mr. Cliff Otto and Mr. Louis B. Ray. Dr. and Mrs. R. R. Robinson's names are on a pulpit pew.

carried on, were steady patrons. The Freshman Class of 1948 dispensed with its spring picnic in order to pay for the two silk battle flags—the U. S. and the Christian. Two Freshmen presented them as the colors on dedication day. The Freshman Classs of 1955 paid for a light fixture in the narthex. Funds ($1,818.47) accumulated under the leadership of the Freshman classes of the war years paid for the large aluminum plaque, mounted on the east wall, which cites the names of the sixty-one Centralites who gave their lives in the service of their country.[12] The rest of this fund, supplemented by a small amount from the Student Activity fund, purchased the Wurlitzer organ. This is a tribute to *all* the Central men and women who served in World War II.

The Modern Mothers and Motherhood Culture clubs have paid for ornamental light fixtures at the doors. Mrs. John Roaten and the architects, Conner and Pojezny, supplied bulbs and evergreens for landscaping. The architects also gave the distinctive blue prints for the chancel furniture and for the inscription on the black-grained white marble plaque at the main entrance. The Heston Studio gave the plaque and encised the design. Mr. Van Thornton drew the plans for the pews.

Mr. Arthur Van Arsdale of Edmond, presented a large colorful painting of ''Mr. Davis' Iris.'' This hangs in the choir room. Miss Betty Burris of Ponca City presented a copy of the Moffatt translation of the Bible in memory of her friend, Louise Elaine Ray.

The first thousand students, faculty and Edmonites who gave at least one dollar each, and those who gave special gifts, are listed in the Honor Roll on a panel in the organ nook.

The chapel is illuminated by sixteen glass windows which were designed and executed by college students to illustrate songs of the 'Y's and of the daily worship services. The colossal art project of making the windows was started by Miss Beatrice Paschall (Stebbing), a graduate of Texas State College for Women at Denton, Texas. She was succeeded by Miss Betty Winston (Graham). Both had worked on several of the windows and furniture of the Little-Chapel-in-the-Woods in Denton, Texas.

The first step taken toward the designing of the windows was the selection of a theme. After a committee realized that the saints, the Psalms and other biblical scenes and events had been treated by Old World artists with whom Central students could not hope to compete, some one said, ''Why don't we use the songs we sing?'' And so the *theme* of the window designs and the *name* of the chapel—the 'Y' Chapel of Song—were determined.

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[12] See *Appendix C* for the inscription with a list of the names of the war-dead from Central State College.

Art students met with the Y. M. and Y. W. representatives to select a list of songs. Only those songs could be used the thought content of which could be represented concretely. An assembly ''announcer'' gave the student body an opportunity to vote on song titles and suggest others. A few were selected by those who dedicated windows to some member of the family. The words of the songs were typed and sent up to the Art department. Students read these over and over. Eventually one student saw the possibilities of one song, another of some other.

The fact that all the work, with the exception of the actual cutting of the imported colored glass, was done by Central students, makes the windows of particular interest. The students made the designs, cut the patterns (templets) for each piece of glass, did the painting, and then fired the glass in the school kiln. They even assembled with ''came leads'' the three windows which were finished first.

After the window designs had been completed, it was found that the themes of those which are on the north side of the sanctuary constitute a complete life cycle: Infancy, Childhood, Marriage, Maturity, and Immortality. All of these center about a female figure. The five on the south side, which are built around male figures, represent the five fields of interest of the well-balanced life of an adult male citizen: Labor, Intellectual Interests, Church Activity, Civic (including Family) Duties, and Service in the Armed Forces. These ten windows are each two feet wide and eight feet high, made in three sections.[13]

The Scripture, ''I am the vine; Ye are the branches,'' was accepted as the theme for the wood carving and for the three narthex windows. This group of windows measures five and one-half feet by ten and half feet. They express the purpose of the chapel—that the knowledge of Christ may grow in the hearts of the college young men and women.

When the chapel was given to Central State College on June 26, 1949, many guests were seated outside under the nearby elms. At this service, the incoming president, Dr. W. Max Chambers, signed the legal document of Bequest and Acceptance. The Agreement states that the building and equipment is bequeathed to the college; specifies the composition of a 'Y' Chapel board; and gives the qualifications for recipients of chapel scholarships. The Reverend Wm. H. Alexander, pastor of the First Christian church in Oklahoma City, delivered the dedicatory address, "Open Windows." His short speech sensed the feeling of the little chapel. He closed by saying, "I hereby dedicate the 'Y' Chapel of Song to the glory of God and to the service of humanity. May God love you, every one."

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[13] See *Appendix D* for list and notes on the memorial windows in the Chapel. Further details and notes on the designing and making of these Chapel windows are given in the original manuscript on the history of the 'Y' Chapel of Song, by Dr. Jessie Newby Ray, in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The influence of the Chapel has made itself felt in the cultural and spiritual life of the campus. The funds spent in its decoration gave students an opportunity to exercise talents which otherwise could have been undiscovered. It is almost unheard of for an art pupil to learn the technique and fine points of design in light and color which the medium of glass furnishes. Students were inspired to create beautiful things when they worked with iron, glass, ceramic tile, leather, paints, wood, cameras, music and poetry.

Central State college can take a justifiable pride in having permitted and encouraged the construction of this chapel on the campus. The chapel is open every day that the College is in session. Visitors from all over the world have signed the guest book. The fond hope of those who worked on the project is that this structure will be a monument indicating the deep interest of the College in the religious welfare of the student body, in keeping with the inscription on the right as one enters this beautiful, quiet place:

> "May the chapel serve to foster and perpetuate the cultural and spiritual life of Central students and its staff—
>
> "May it be an isle of quietness in the ebb and flow of campus life—
>
> "May peace come to all who enter its portals."

Appendix A

"BIMILLENNIUM HORATIANUM"

The year 1935 was the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of Quintus Horatius Flaccus, the great Roman lyric poet.

As part of the Bimillennium Horatianum observance, which was participated in by a score of nations in Europe and the Americas, the American Classical League asked me to head a national Translation committee. The duties were to encourage high school students to translate one of Horace's odes. Some 5,000 translations in 35 states were entered in the contest.

Books were given as prizes to the individual winners. The schools, both high schools and colleges, received engraved walnut plaques on which were mounted metallic coated sprays of ivy from Horace's Sabine farm.

The sprays had been gathered from the walls of the villa on the farm which was given to Horace by Augustus. Horace felt that

BLEST BE THE TIE THAT BINDS OUR HEARTS IN CHRISTIAN LOVE
THE FELLOWSHIP OF KINDRED MINDS IS LIKE TO THAT ABOVE

The Rose Window
This has 823 pieces of glass in different colors of red, blue, yellow, green, purple and mauve.

"Indian Window" — Window of Church Activity

Central students at work on window design for the 'Y' Chapel of Song.

the highest honor he attained was the right to wear a wreath of ivy which was conferred upon a poet—just as wreaths of laurel were given to victors in athletic contests.

In response to a request I made (January 31, 1935) to the head of the Italian government, Signor Benito Mussolini himself directed Carlo Galassi Paluzzi, president of the *Instituto di Studi Romani* in Rome, to gather these sprays. Some laurel leaves from the Palatine Hill in Rome also were packed in a hermetically sealed box. This was transmitted by diplomatic mail to the Italian consul in St. Louis who forwarded it to me in Edmond.

At the suggestion of Royal Italian Ambassador Rossi in Washington D. C. (November 27, 1935) I compiled a large scrapbook which contained letters of appreciation from the president of the American Classical League and other officials of the Bimillennium Horatianum; clippings about the six national winners with copies of their translations; photographs of the plaques (these had been specifically requested) and other pertinent data. I was instructed to send the book to the Royal Italian Embassy in Washington. It was then forwarded to Rome where it was displayed when, on December 8, 1935, the 2,000th anniversary of the poet's birth was celebrated.

On June 9, 1836, Ambassador Rossi wrote: "I am directed to express to you Signor Mussolini's thanks for the gift and his keen appreciation of the success of the contest held by the American Classical League as a part of the commemoration of the Bimillennium Horatianum."

The 1936 issue of *Acta Latina* (news sheet of the Latin department of Central State College at Edmond) was devoted to the Horatian project. In it were cuts of the plaques and contest leaders; and of Signor Paluzzi holding in his hands long sprays of the ivy. In the background could be seen the vine covered crumbling walls of the villa where Horace lived and worked almost twenty centuries ago.

—Jesse Newby Ray[14]

Appendix B

DEDICATIONS

Unless cited otherwise, see *The Story* by Dr. Jessie Newby Ray, for references about the dedications of pieces of furniture and equipment.

Altar: to Mrs. Isa Ringer by her children, Gladous R. Strickland, Juanita R. Russell and Melvin Ringer; Vol. I, pp. 13, 23, 97, 124, 126, 172f. The Ringers were early day settlers west of Edmond.

Broadcast Unit: to Mr. Frank Buttram by his wife. He received a Life certificate from Central Normal in 1909; Vol. I, pp. 189f and plate, 195 Pl. A, p. 244-7; p. 261.

Narthex Chair: to Professor F. C. Oakes by his children Frederick C. Oakes and Myrtle E. Jacobson. Professor Oakes was on the faculty of Central State from 1903 to 1952; see CSC, 437-456.

Lectern: to Miss Nora Talbot, dean of the School of Home Economics, A&M, Stillwater; Vol. I, pp. 13, 124, 126; also "Home Ec Grows Up", *Daily Oklahoman*, Sunday, October 15, 1950, Magazine Section, p. 11.

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[14] Cf. Newby, Jessie D., "Two Thousand Years Ago!" *The Oklahoma Teacher*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (December, 1935) pp. 12f and 39.

Mirror (Choir): to Mr. Dave McClure by his wife and son, Victor Guy McClure. The McClure family in 1882 leased land from Bill Chisholm which included the campus of Central State college. Vol. I, pp. 172, 191, 237, 254.

Painting: to Jessie Newby Ray by her brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Buttram. "Follow Me" was painted by Mr. Milton Frenzel, an artist of the Emil Frei, stained glass window company, St. Louis, Missouri.

Picture Window: to Mr. and Mrs. William T. Rivers by their daughter, Miss Barbara Rivers. The Rivers' home stood on the site of the college auditorium; Vol. I, pp. 191, 238.

Pulpit: to Miss Lorena Hindes by her friends and pupils through the efforts of Mrs. Starr O. Doyel; Vol. I, pp. 7 Pl. B, 13, 124, 151, 176; II, 17f, Pls. B, C, F and p. 26.

Table: to Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Bell by their children Georgia B. Marshall, Pearl, Ralph, Hugh and Walter Bell; Vol. I, pp. 13, 135.

Pews: North aisle, classes and clubs: Freshman classes of 1945, 1946 and 1947; Vol. I, pp. 124, 172. Central State college high school, Class of 1944. This was the *first* class to donate to the fund; Vol. I, pp. 85, 162 Pl. Central Normal School, Class of 1904. This was Miss Hindes' class and it was she who collected the money for this pew. Vol. I, p. 14. Student Association, Vol. I, p. 172. Kappa Delta Pi, Vol. I, p. 124. Criterion Alumni, Vol. I, p. 124. American Association of University Women, Vol. I, p. 162; II, p. 64. Cambridge Literary club of Edmond, Vol. I, pp. 65, 162.

North side of the central aisle: John Adams, attorney-at-law, Guthrie. He was literally Central's *first* graduate since his initial made him the first of the first graduating class (1898) to receive a diploma; Vol. I, pp. 14, 109. J. L. Overlees, jr., 328 East Fifth, Edmond; Vol. I, p. 14. J. C. Adamson, Geography and Mathematic, C. S. C. (1907-1920), by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Royce Adamson; Vol. I, p. 125. Mrs. Starr O. Doyel, Biology and Home Economics, C. S. C. (1926-1957) Vol. I, pp. 7 Pl., 124f. Catherine House Ashton, Seminole—an Edmond pioneer; Vol. I, p. 104. Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Gilmore by their daughter, Miss Laura. They were early settlers near Edmond; Vol. I, p. 125. Mr. Robert H. Manning, Harold "B" Keiss and John B. Eaves were Gold Star members of the Armed Forces of World War II; Vol. I, pp. 125, 191.

South side of the central aisle: Mamie Philura Zingre Ferrel, Hennessey, Class of 1900; Vol. I, p. 109. Mary Belle Bigbee Ganote, sister of James Woodrow Bigbee; Vol. I, p. 136. Juanita Whitefield Pruett, by her mother Mrs. S. W. Whitefield. Class of 1907; Vol. I, p. 125. Hattie Seay Binion, primary critic teacher of C. S. C. (1927-1943), Class of 1927—by Mrs. Roy Fisher; Vol. I, p. 110. Dr. J. L. McBrien, Rural Education at C. S. C. (1927-1933), by his granddaughters Ellen and Elizabeth Hurt; Vol. I, p. 125. Jacob Weisenbach, an employee of the college (19 -1947) by his wife; Vol. I, 13, Pl. B, p. 85. Charles J. Steen, Fire Chief of Edmond, by his daughter Adeline S. Minick of Seminole; Vol. I, p. 104. William O. Lacy, son of L. D. Lacy, Oklahoma City, Elma Bliss Shelby by his wife and Mr. Thomas B. Eaves by his mother, Mrs. Ina B. Eaves—all Gold Star members of the Armed Forces of World War II; Vol. I, pp. 14, 110 and 125.

South aisle: Triumvirate, Shakespears Tau Theta Kappa and Criterion women's social clubs. Triumvirates were the *first* club to pay for a pew. Senate and Arena, men's social clubs; Women's Athletic association, Blue Curtain Players; departmental organizations, Second Generation and the Sad Sacs. This last named was an organization of war veterans. It only lasted two years. The Chairman wanted very much to have the name of the War Veterans on a pew because it is an indication of the period of time when the solicitations were made. For all these see Vol. I, pp. 93, 124, 162, and 172f.

Appendix C

MEMORIAL PLAQUE

IN MEMORIAM

This plaque is dedicated to those students of Central State College who gave their lives in the service of their country in World War II.

BUSTER ANDEEL
MARSHALL JUDSON ANDERSON
HAROLD C. ASLIN
JAMES WOODROW BIGBEE
CECIL BLAKELY
CHARLES O. BLAKEMORE
CHADWICK NEAL BOWEN
KENNETH H. BOZELL
NORMAN W. BRITTAIN
HAROLD JACK BUNSTINE
JAMES EDWARD BUTLER
OVID WALTER CAMPBELL
ERNEST BLAINE CLARK
WILSON L. COOK
JOHN J. COONE
PERRY O. CORLEY
RUSSELL R. DOUGHERTY
LAWRENCE GEORGE DUNNICA
JOHN B. EAVES
THOMAS B. EAVES
ROBERT EMMETT FITZGERALD
VICTOR JAMES FRANCE
RICHARD S. FRANK
JACK C. FROST
FRANCIS E. HAMILTON
WILLIAM SEWARD HANCOCK
RALPH M. HART
KARL F. HETZEL
WARREN CECIL HOWARD
CHARLES D. HUGHES
WILLIAM MILTON HUSKEY
PAUL N. HUSTON
FRED D. HUTCHINSON
WILLIAM LAWRENCE JAMIESON
GEORGE DEWEY JOHNSTON
HUGH C. JONES, JR.
DARREL CLARK JORDAN
JOHN L. JUBY
HOYT R. JUDY
WARREN L. KEELY
HAROLD "B" KIESS
ELTON VERN KIME
JAMES A. KING
ROY S. KLINE
BALDWIN J. KROBER
WILLIAM O. LACY
J. E. LEHMAN
EARL J. LYON, JR.
ROBERT H. MANNING
DALE MEARS
DAN W. MESHEW
MARVIN R. MOORE
HAROLD J. MORRIS
JESSE IRWIN McMILLAN
FRANK PULLEY
ERNEST R. RECORDS
WILLIAM C. RHODES
MILTON L. SEARS
BLISS SHELBY
ROSS A. SIEH
BERNARD SIMPSON
ALBERT RAYMOND SMITH
RICHARD A. SNODDY
ALVIN E. STUBBS
WILLIAM ROBINSON WARNER
HAROLD WILLSIE
RICHARD R. WILSON
MARVIN ALLY WOODCOCK

Unveiled Memorial Day, 1949
Presented by the Freshman Classes of the War Years

Appendix D

The individuals honored and a brief description of each window follows:[15]

Window of Infancy. Annie Van Ginkle (Mrs. George Gray) a housemother to many students of Central State college in its pre-domitory days, was honored by her daughter, Mary Gray Thompson (Mrs. Homer) by the dedication to her of this *Window of Infancy,* in the first of the Life series. It illustrates the song, "We Three Kings of the Orient Are" by John Hopkins, Jr.

My Mother's Bible Window. Rev. and Mrs. Hiram Warner Newby were paid the tribute of having the *Window of Childhood* dedicated to them by their children. The window, sometimes called "My Mother's Bible" window, was dedicated on the annual campus Mothers' day, May 2, 1948.

The Window of Marriage. Marie Nichols Moseley, wife of Central State's thirteenth president, Dr. John O. Moseley, was honored by the dedication to her of the Bride's Window (the *Window of Marriage*). It was a twenty-first wedding anniversary present from her husband. They were both present at the dedication ceremonies, having come from the University of Nevada where he was president. The *Window of Marriage* illustrates the fellowship song, "The Bells of St. Mary's," by Furber and Adams.

The Window of Prayer. Otto William Jeffries, who, as student, faculty member and dean of the college, was connected with Central almost continuously from 1897 to 1930, is the honoree of the *Window of Prayer* which illustrates Cardinal Newman's song, "Lead Kindly Light."

The Window of Immortality. Jonathan Gilmore Smith, who was the care-taker of the Administration building from its construction until his death (1904-1932) was honored by his wife, by the dedication to him of the "Easter Window" or the *Window of Immortality.* This was the first window to be completed and shown to the public. It was dedicated April 26, 1944. Dr. Fred McCarrel paid tribute to Mr. Smith, who came to Oklahoma Territory in "The Run in 1889."

The Triple Narthex Windows. Ruby Canton, Hugh Nicholas Comfort and John Towner Butcher were honored by the dedication to them of the triple narthex windows. These windows were dedicated at a morning assembly, July 2, 1947. The eulogy of young Comfort was given by one of his English teachers at the University of Oklahoma, Dr. Jewell Wurtzbaugh. She said, "Hugh Comfort was never fearful, but patient and prepared for what each day might hold. He had no fear of toil; and, whatever he undertook, he wished to do—and did do—well."

Dr. Charles Evans, president of Central State college from 1911 to 1916, in glowing terms paid tribute to Miss Canton who was a librarian of the college from 1908 to 1928. She was the first to teach classes of library science in Oklahoma. When she became librarian, there were over four thousand books out over town. She went around with a wheelbarrow and collected all but one! She attended the Library school of the University of Chicago; Columbia and Pittsburgh universities and Carnegie Tech. She spent the summer of 1926 in Europe. The late Addie Stephens started the idea of a memorial window for her former teacher.

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[15] The artists for the Chapel windows were: Pat Shiner (Hamil) designed the *Window of Marriage;* Miss Frances Walker, the *Window of Civic Interests*; Mr. Ray Gilliland, the *Rose Window,* the windows of *Church Activity* and of the *Knight*; Beatrice Paschal (Stebbings), the panels of the doors of the *Two Mothers.* Shirley McCalla (Calkins) designed the other nine windows. Many other students helped to execute the windows in other ways.

Mrs. John T. Butcher (Angie Lynch) was the first to assume the responsibility of the dedication of a chapel window. Mr. Butcher was superintendent of schools at Blackwell, Pauls Valley and El Reno. He taught mathematics two years at the Northern Oklahoma Junior college at Tonkawa and at Central high school in Oklahoma City. From 1928 to 1941 he was in the Education Department at Central State College.

The prime purpose of the chapel is expressed pictorially by the Narthex Windows. They are the only ones which are not based on a musical theme. They illustrate the scripture, "I am the vine; ye are the branches," *John* xv, 5. The robed figures in the side panels represent the typical young man and woman of Central State college at worship. In the large central panel stands Christ. The features are traditionally Hebrew.

In the left window, which honors Miss Canton, is the figure of a young woman representing the Y. W. C. A. In her hands is a book, perhaps one of those in the Ruby Canton library which has been preserved as a special collection in Evans hall. The right panel is a tribute to Hugh Comfort. In his hands is a scroll on which are the words, "Live Today,"—words which were written on the fly leaf of his Bible.

The Doors of the Two Mothers. Hattie Hagenbaugh Clegern and Frances Ella Tillman McLaughlin are the ones to whom the stained glass window panels of the main doors are dedicated.

The Chariot Window. Virginia Worsham Howard, Fourth grade critic teacher of Central Normal and State college from 1916 to 1941, is the honoree of the Window of Labor or the *Chariot Window* which illustrates the Negro spiritual "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot." It represents the first of the five fields of activity of the well-balanced life of an adult male citizen—Labor. The others, which will follow, are Intellectual Accomplishments, Church Activity, Civic Interests (including family), and Military Service.

The Chariot Window was dedicated on Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1946. A delightful program was presented by the Music department of Langston university. Particularly effective was the singing of the theme song from the balcony when the window was lighted.

The Potter's Window. Harriet Jones Thomas is honored by the dedication to her of the *Potter's Window* or the Window of Intellectual Accomplishments. The window presents pictorially the song, "Eternal Mind the Potter Is and Thought the Eternal Clay." It is more nearly representative of the work of Central State college than the theme of any other window. For with what do teachers work if not the minds and thoughts of their students?

The Window of Church Activity. This Indian Window was dedicated to Benjamin Franklin Nihart by his wife and children—Mr. Claude E., Corinne and Mrs. Clara Stroup. Dr. Fred McCarrel, a member of the first 'Y' Chapel committee, was a student in Professor Nihart's classes. He considers him the greatest teacher that he had ever known, here or elsewhere. "He was universally loved; his interests in literature and life were broad; his Christian character was a source of inspiration to thousands." The *Window of Church Activity* (or Indian Window) was dedicated in a general assembly July 18, 1945. It illustrates John Oxenham's song, "In Christ there is No East or West."

So far as is known, this is the only window of stained glass in the United States in which the *major* figure is an American Indian. If to the Red, Brown, and Yellow races pictured here, are added the Black and White in other windows, one sees that all the races of mankind have been included. The artist who originated and executed the design of the "Indian Window" (as well as those of the Knight and Rose windows) is Ray G. Gililand, half Delaware Indian. The model of the Indian chief was Benjamin R. Beames, a member of Central's football team. He is of Choctaw Indian ancestry.

The Window of Civic Duties. Richard Thatcher, the first president of the Territorial Normal school, now Central State college, is the honoree of the *Window of Civic Duties* (including family). It illustrates Katherine Lee Bates' patriotic hymn, "America the Beautiful." The theme traces the development of American freedom from the time of our Pilgrim forefathers to the present day. The eulogy which was given by Mrs. Elizabeth King Cowgill, a close friend of Mrs. C. C. Hisel, one of the four Thatcher daughters.

The Knight Window. The window which represents "Service in the Armed Forces" is suitably dedicated to 2nd Lieut. James Woodrow Bigbee. He was a Central State College student, and a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point. He is listed on the Memorial plaque as one of Central's Gold Star service men. The *Knight Window* illustrates the official hymn of the Y. M. and Y. W., "Follow the Gleam." The basic design is a knight in the armor of a Crusader who fought for the cause of Christ. Miss Lura Beam, who was the Associate of Arts for the American Association of University Women, said: "The most inspiring thing I have seen in Oklahoma is the memorial *Knight Window.* The excellence of the work is astounding." Mr. George Winkler, Oklahoma City architect and artist, said: "The art of the chapel windows is not traditional religious art but there is nothing to which any religion could object." *The Rose Window.* This window illustrates John Fawcett's song, "Blest Be The Tie That Binds," the hymn that was used for years by the P. E. O. Sisterhood before the official "P. E. O. Ode" was written. Against the neutral grayish-white of a large marguerite in the central square, the red triangle of the Y. M. C. A. is interlocked with the blue triangle of the Y. W. C. A. to form the six pointed "Star of David." Stretching from top to bottom of the star is a cross of greenish-yellow glass. These symbols of the Old and the New Testaments take their meaning from the theme song. At the right and left of the square are two cherubim in beautiful garments of blue, mauve and rich purple. Similar spaces above and below the square are given over to the words of the song. A broad circular border is made up of stylized grapes and leaves broken by four doves. Each dove is individually designed. No piece of glass could be used for the similar space of any other dove. The grapes look like clusters of jewels set against leaves of rich blue-green. (There are 823 pieces of glass in this window.) The grapes and leaves repeat the motif of the woodcarving and the background of the Narthex Window. The *Rose* Window is dedicated to the "Eternal Chapter" by Chapter D of P.E.O. of Edmond.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Oklahoma Historical Society Expands

The recent Legislature and the Governor were most considerate in their dealings with the requests of the Oklahoma Historical Society. A considerably expanded budget was provided, along with the creation of two new departments. Four new staff positions were also provided.

One of the new departments established was that of historic sites. Legislation was enacted, which made the Oklahoma Historical Society the official historic sites commission of Oklahoma. Sufficient funds were provided to enable the Society to make a survey of the places and sites that might be recommended for preservation. The law setting up the historic sites program provides for state, local, and private cooperation in financing and managing historic sites facilities.

The other new department set up in the Oklahoma Historical Society was that of newspaper microfilming. Through the years one of the most complete newspaper libraries in the nation has been built up in the Oklahoma Historical Society. It is estimated that more than thirty million newspaper pages are in the stacks of the newspaper department. In order to guarantee better preservation, make newspaper reading more readily available, and save space, the microfilming department was created. An appropriation was made to provide for the purchasing of machinery, and the hiring of personnel for carrying on the microfilming work.

The newspapers of the state are cooperating with the Oklahoma Historical Society in this joint enterprise of seeing to it that all available newspapers that have been printed in Oklahoma be preserved on microfilm.

Two employees have been secured to do microfilming work. They are the machine operator and assistant.

One of the most important new positions to be established on the Oklahoma Historical Society staff was that of Chief Curator. This new staff member will be in charge of field work and general supervision of the museum collections.

Another much needed employee was provided when the position of night watchman was established. Down through the years valuable articles have been taken from the Historical Society Building at night time. From 1930 to 1957, the Oklahoma Historical Society was left unprotected from the time the staff members left in the evening until they returned the next morning. Now the night watchman is on duty when the rest of the staff is off duty.

With new departments and additional staff members, the Oklahoma Historical Society should be in a position to render a greater service to the people of Oklahoma.

(E. L. F.)

Centennial of the Butterfield Overland Mail Organization

The Centennial of the organization of the Butterfield Overland Mail Line (1857-1957) was an outstanding celebration during Oklahoma's Semi-centennial of Statehood, 1957, commemorating a great historical event in the history of the Nation and the Southwest. Mapping the route and making all plans for carrying the first transcontinental mail over 2,900 miles between the Mississippi River and San Francisco took a year after the signing of the greatest contract for carrying the U. S. mail, in September, 1857, between the Post Office Department and John Butterfield and his associates. The Overland Mail Company carried the mail out of St. Louis, Missouri, southwest through what are now seven states including 192 miles across Southeastern Oklahoma from the Arkansas line at Fort Smith southwest to Colbert's Ferry on Red River. There was the year of preparation and then the carrying of the first mail in September, 1858, west and east between St. Louis and San Francisco, the operation continuing regularly twice a week both ways until July 1, 1861, that marked the outbreak of the Civil War.[1]

The Centennial Celebration centered in Southeastern Oklahoma, beginning in June, 1957, with the use of cancellation on mail, "Centennial Butterfield Overland Mail 1857-58," at four post offices: Spiro, Wilburton, Atoka and Durant. Each one of these towns were outgrowths or in the vicinity of 4 out of the 12 stage stations on the old Overland Mail route in Oklahoma: respectively, east to southwest, Walker's (old Choctaw Agency), Holloway's (the ''Narrows'' northeast of Red Oak), Boggy Depot (about 9 miles southwest of Atoka), and Fisher's Station (about 4 miles west of Durant).

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[1] Plans for the celebration of the centennial of the Butterfield Overland Mail (St. Louis to San Francisco) were begun in 1954, through the Oklahoma Overland Mail Centennial Committee, with Vernon H. Brown, Captain American Air Lines, as Chairman. A seven-state caravan overland along the old Butterfield Route is planned for September, 1958—centennial date of the first mail by stage between St. Louis and San Francisco—with the Oklahoma Overland Mail Committee co-operating, Captain V. H. Brown. Committee Chairman and members John D. Frizzell, H. A. Randall, T. J. Caldwell, J .H. Wallace, Gasparre Signorelli, Muriel H. Wright, Berlin B. Chapman, W. E. Hollon, James D. Morrison, George H. Shirk. It has been through the work of this committee that the U. S. Post Office Department will issue the Overland Mail Centennial postage stamp in September, 1958.

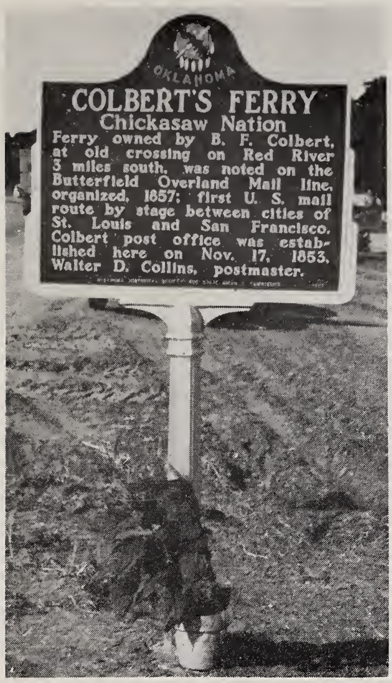
Highlight of the Butterfield Overland Mail Centennial came out of Durant, through the interest and work of a local committee, of which Dr. James D. Morrison, History Department Southeastern State College, was chairman. Durant citizens sponsored the building and erection of a replica of a log-cabin stage stand for ''Fisher's Station,'' at the Semi-Centennial Exposition in Oklahoma City, June 14 to July 7, 1957. A special exhibit relating to the pre-Civil War period in the Indian Territory (especially the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations) was on display from the Oklahoma Historical Society in the cabin every afternoon, in charge of custodians from members of Oklahoma City Camp Fire Girls, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Daughters of the American Revolution and some of the staff members from the Historical Society who volunteered their service on different days. Hundreds of visitors from over the Nation and the state registered at ''Fisher's Station'' during the Exposition. Adding to the interest of the display, was the beautiful Abbott & Downing stage coach (an original) restored and owned by Mr. and Mrs. John Frizzell, of Oklahoma City, the coach exhibited in a log-fenced corral at the north end of the cabin. At the south end of the cabin, a modern U. S. Post Office bus was shown.

A two-day celebration was held at Durant on September 14 to 15, given to historical pageantry in a big street parade, awards to the best dressed couple representing ''Mr. and Mrs. John Butterfield'' in costume, and special historical exhibits in the Williams Library, with registration in the ''Fisher's Station'' cabin which had been moved back to Durant from Oklahoma City and erected on the Court House grounds. A special street-program was given by Kiowa Indian dancers in costume late in the afternoon. The Centennial Celebration continued Saturday evening with a square-dance fiesta at Texoma Lodge west of Durant. Water sports and fireworks late Sunday, September 15, on Texoma Lake at the lake-side landing of the Lodge closed the two-day festivities .

Saturday afternoon, September 14, was given over to a special program at Colbert about 13 miles south of Durant. The Oklahoma Historical marker ''Colbert's Ferry,'' erected through the Oklahoma Historical Society by funds contributed by citizens of Colbert was dedicated at the parkway on U. S. Highway # 75-69 in the town. Many members of the noted Chickasaw family of Colberts from far and near were in the large crowd of visitors in attendance at this program, during which a mail bag of specially cancelled mail sponsored by members of the Oklahoma Philatelic Society was delivered to the Colbert post office in the "Butterfield Overland Mail" coach which with teams and driver was generously provided by Mr. John Frizzell of Oklahoma City. After the program, there was a visit to the site of the old Colbert's Ferry on Red River, three miles away, and to the old Colbert burial plot that is near the site of the home of the late Frank Colbert who operated the ferry boat on Red River for many years.

The Centennial Celebration of the Butterfield Overland Mail had begun on Friday, September 13, by special program of activities and street parade at Atoka in the morning, followed by a special program at the site of Old Boggy Depot and basket dinner sponsored by the "Jacees" Junior Chamber of Commerce at Atoka. The "Butterfield Overland Mail" coach with teams and driver furnished here through the generosity of Mr. Frizzell brought mail bags of specially provided cachets "Overland Mail Company—Butterfield Centennial—Atoka—1857-1957" and letters with "Butterfield Centennial" cancellation, from Atoka through Boggy Depot on the way to Durant overland over the old traces of the Overland Mail Route of 1857-61. The Old Boggy Depot cemetery, the main street of this historic town and sites of the residences, stores and stage stand had been wonderfully cleared of brush and were in plain view. The residences of some of the most historic pioneers in Oklahoma and other sites along this street were marked by temporary markers that recalled the history of Boggy Depot. The fine work here for the Centennial was contributed by interested citizens locally and of Atoka, led by Mr. Russell Telle and Mr. Jene Mungle.

Emphasis on the history of old Boggy Depot and its early-day citizens in several addresses made up the afternoon program climaxed by the dedication of the Old Boggy Depot State Park. A gift of the deed of about 40 acres was presented to the State of Oklahoma for this park by Mr. J. B. Wright, of McAlester, out of land at Boggy Depot that had been owned by members of Wright family for nearly 100 years. This park is immediately east of the old cemetery, taking in the sites of the Principal Chief Allen Wright residence, the Masonic Lodge, the church and school, a part of the Confederate commissary and depot ground and a number of residences of the historic town. Only the sites of the places in its history and the traces of the Butterfield Overland Mail Line along its main street remain to indicate the location of the thriving center of Boggy Depot of the Chickasaw and the Choctaw nations, for a half century beginning in 1838.


OKLAHOMA
COLBERT'S FERRY
Chickasaw Nation
Ferry owned by B. F. Colbert, at old crossing on Red River 3 miles south, was noted on the Butterfield Overland Mail line, organized, 1857; first U. S. mail route by stage between cities of St. Louis and San Francisco. Colbert post office was established here on Nov. 17, 1853, Walter D. Collins, postmaster.

Oklahoma Historical Marker dedicated at Colbert, Sept. 14, 1957, Butterfield Overland Mail Centennial.

Butterfield Overland Mail Stage Coach on the way to the Overland Mail Centennial at Durant, Sept. 14, 1957.

The press throughout the country gave special notice to the Butterfield Centennial celebrations in the Southwest in 1957. Special articles were published in historical association quarterlies and brochure: *New Mexico Historical Review,* Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (April, 1957) presented "The Southern Overland Mail and Stagecoach Line, 1857-1861," by Oscar Osburn Winther; *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Vol. LXI, No. 1 (July, 1957), "The Butterfield Overland Mail Road Across Texas," by J. W. Williams; *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (Spring, 1957), "The Butterfield Overland Mail One Hundred Years Ago," by Muriel H. Wright; special brochure published under the auspices of the Arkansas History Commission, 1957, "The Butterfield Overland Mail in Arkansas," by W. M. Lemke and Ted R. Worley. *The Tulsa World, The Daily Oklahoman, Durant Daily Democrat, The Indian Citizen-Democrat* (Atoka) carried feature stories beginning in the spring. Special mention should be made of a series of two articles on the "Centennial of the Butterfield Overland Express," by H. Paul Draheim, in the *Utica Observer-Dispatch* in November, 1957, giving a fine close-up review of the life of John Butterfield as a leading citizen of Utica, New York, and President of the Overland Mail Company, 1857.

HISTORY COMMEMORATED AT FORT SILL, 1957

Sherman House Dedicated

This Semi-centennial Year of Oklahoma Statehood has seen two outstanding commemorations of history at Fort Sill, under the direction of the Commanding General, Major General Thomas E. de Shazo.

Sherman House, quarters for the commanding officers of Fort Sill since 1871 was dedicated as an Oklahoma historic landmark in a commemoration during which a special historical marker of stone was dedicated at the location on Saturday, March 16, 1957, with many distinguished guests from Lawton, Oklahoma City and over the state in attendance. General de Shazo, who presided at the ceremonies, introduced Major General (Ret.) William S. Key, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society and former Commander of the 45th Division, who made the principal dedicatory address; Chief Justice Earl Welch of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, who extended greetings from State officials, and Mr. Frank Sneed, Comanche County Historical Society, who spoke on the significance of restoring historic sites.

General Key said in his dedicatory address that no other military post has had such "a romantic history or contributed more to the State and enhanced the professional knowledge of more Army leaders than has Fort Sill.'' He pointed out that since 1817 when the first detachment of soldiers of the Seventh Infantry landed from a boat at Belle Pointe on the Arkansas River, and there established Fort Smith, ''the Army has played a most important part in the growth and development of our great State. . . . . Our State is rich in military tradition, and the history of Oklahoma is primarily the history of the Red Man and the Military Man . . . . . The biggest task assigned the Army before the Civil War was the transportation, protection and subsistence of pioneer Indian citizens of Oklahoma.'' General Key praised the Army for inspiring and encouraging the Indians through friendly counsel, and for stimulating their self reliance. He commended General de Shazo and his command for the increasing interest in Oklahoma history and for the preservation of Sherman House in the story of Fort Sill, adding ''May this historical building stand as a symbol of courage for the great Army.''

Mr. Frank Sneed, a grandson of the late General Richard A. Sneed who was a Confederate veteran and in later life Secretary of the State of Oklahoma, explained in his address why the Historical Society considers it important to preserve important landmarks in the state. He said, ''The greatest strides in humanity come from the uncommon man. The imperative need of this nation at all times is the uncommon man and woman . . . . . If we can preserve and revitalize these reminders of our heroic past, we will inspire more men like General Lee, Teddy Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and General Sherman . . . . . If we can transmit across the years not only facts, but the feelings of our rich and romantic heritage, we will have done something important. We will have had a part, however small, in the development of more of these exceptional Americans; more of these priceless national resources and more of these uncommon men.''

Chief Justice Welch in the opening address, said ''This historic spot through the years gleams like a western star in the history of Oklahoma. . . . . No people are great who do not remember and respect their own history and the history of men and women who made it great. We but honor ourselves when we meet on such an occasion to honor the places and those in the building of history.''

The 77th Army Band played for the ceremonies, which were opened by invocation by Colonel Lexington O. Sheffield, Chaplain. General de Shazo in the course of his remarks said that the Old Quadrangle and the other buildings of the Old Post are filled with history—not only Fort Sill history but Comanche County and Oklahoma history. He pointed out the Post

Chapel, the second oldest house of worship in the state still in use, and to other historic landmarks nearby, including the School of Fire for Field Artillery, established in 1911, and other landmarks. The Program for the Dedication Ceremony briefly reviewed the naming of Sherman House and other notes on the early history of Fort Sill as follows:

> Building 422 is formerly named the Sherman House in honor and in memory of General William Tecumseh Sherman. General Sherman narrowly escaped death at the hands of Kiowa warriors on the porch of this building, 27 May 1871. As General-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States, he was on a tour of border posts at the time to investigate reports of Indian depredations. During his stay at Fort Sill, General Sherman resided in this house as the guest of Brevet Major General Benjamin H. Grierson, the first Commanding Officer of the Post, who had rendered distinguished service under General Sherman in the Civil War.
>
> General Sherman's postwar career was devoted entirely to the Army's vital role in the development and settlement of the American West. From 1865 to 1869, he commanded the Military Division of the Missouri, comprising the vast region west of the Mississippi River to the crest of the Rockies and extending from the Canadian line southward to Mexico. On 4 March 1869, he succeeded General Grant as General of the Army and served the nation in this high capacity until his retirement in 1884.
>
> The establishment of peaceful conditions on the Great Plains was accomplished by the Army under the most difficult circumstances. In addition to the problems of overcoming great natural barriers of distance and terrain, General Sherman's small post-Civil War force was charged with the task of pacifying some 300,000 nomadic Indians who fiercely resisted every advance of settlement; of protecting hundreds of widely-scattered frontier communities and thousands of miles of stagecoach and wagon routes; of guarding the construction of transcontinental railroads; and of maintaining its own isolated outposts and extended lines of communication and supply. Despite these difficulties, by 1884 the Plains had been settled and the course toward final peace with the Indians had been set. General Sherman's inspired leadership of the Army during these years contributed much to the success of the Nation's westward expansion.
>
> Building 422 was constructed of native stone from Quarry Hill by troops of the 10th Cavalry Regiment in 1870-71. Since the establishment of Fort Sill, it has traditionally served as the Commanding Officer's quarters.

Guests attending the ceremonies held on the Old Quadrangle repaired to Sherman House where the stone marker was unveiled by General Key and General de Shazo. The inscription on this marker, prepared under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society, reads as follows:

SHERMAN HOUSE

This House of native stone was built by 10th Cavalry Troops in 1870-1. While visiting Fort Sill, General William Tecumseh Sherman narrowly escaped death at the hands of Kiowa Warriors during a Council on the front porch of this house, May 27, 1871.

Another commemorative event in history was the reburial of the celebrated Comanche Chief, Quanah Parker (Died, 1911) and his mother, Cynthia Ann Parker, in the Post Cemetery at Fort Sill, August 9, 1957. The handsome monuments and the remains in these graves of two of Oklahoma's most noted characters in Comanche Indian history were moved from the Old Post Oak Cemetery about 3½ miles northeast of Indiahoma, in clearing the wide area west of Fort Sill for expansion of its military reservation and construction of a guided missile range.

Full military honors were accorded the memory of Chief Quanah Parker in an impressive ceremony held at the Post cemetery, open invitation to the public and many State dignitaries having been extended by Major General Thomas E. de Shazo, Commanding General. A great throng was in attendance during the ceremony on this Friday afternoon in August, 1957, the names of notables in Oklahoma and Texas and of representatives of fifteen Indian tribes, besides the seven surviving children of Chief Quanah Parker making a long list among those present.[1] Grandsons of the Chief, many of them veterans, served as bearers. An all-Indian honor guard and firing squad had been selected from the soldiers serving at the Post. General de Shazo delivered the principal oration on the last great chief of the Comanche people; Colonel Lexington O. Sheffield, Post Chaplain, conducted the committal rites.

DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF BRONZE PORTRAITURE IN THE INDIAN HALL OF FAME, 1957

Based on the idea that the American Indian has made an indelible imprint on our national character and culture, and that many outstanding Indian personalities in history have contributed inestimably to the development and the social, economic, political and cultural well-being of these United States, the National Indian Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians was organized on January 25, 1952. This organization was incorporated under the laws of the State of Oklahoma on February 1, 1952. State Legislative action (Senate Joint Resolution No. 9), enacted into law on March 18, and signed by Governor Johnston Murray on March 24, 1953, set aside a ten-acre tract at Anadarko, Oklahoma, adjacent to the Southern Indian Museum for the organization's purpose, and designated the State Planning and Resources Board as the custodian and physical developer. The tract was officially cited as "The National Hall of Fame for Famous American

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[1] *Lawton Constitution*, Lawton Oklahoma, Aug. 4, 1957; and *The Daily Oklahoman*, Friday, August 9, 1957.

Unveiling of bronze bust of Chief Joseph, Nez Perce, by Indian Hall of Fame, August 19, 1957. Left to right in photo: Gen. Hugh M. Milton, Assist. Sec'y. Army of the United States; Kenneth Campbell, Sculptor; Joseph Blackeagle, Nez Perce; Justice N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma State Supreme Court.

Unveiling of bronze bust of Allen Wright, Principal Chief of Choctaw Nation, by Indian Hall of Fame, November 15, 1957. Left to right in photo: Muriel H. Wright (Choctaw), Mr. Fisher Muldrow (Choctaw), Justice N. B. Johnson (Cherokee), General Patrick J. Hurley, former U. S. Secretary of War.

Indians,'' and is now being developed as a landscaped area under a Master Plan. The Indian Hall of Fame organization has proceeded with its purposes of making this place one of national significance by erecting here bronze portraiture of American Indians famous in history.

The By-Laws of the Indian Hall of Fame, a non-profit organization, has made the following provision for the selection of famous American Indians, by a group of ''Electors'' appointed by the Board of Directors, ''from outstanding men and women citizens of the United States among college and university executives, historians, professors of history, authorities on Indian affairs, notable Indians of today and justices of appellate courts,'' every state of approximately 2,000,000 population represented by one Elector:

> Only those persons who are recognized by the Federal Government as American Indian by blood, or their descendants, and who have been deceased for fifteen years prior to their nomination to the Indian Hall of Fame are qualified for honors therein. Election of such qualified American Indians to the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians shall require an affirmative vote of a majority of the Advisory Board of Directors of the said organization. Names of famous American Indians may be submitted for election for honors in the Indian Hall of Fame by any person interested in commemorating the great contributions that these individuals made to their people and to the cultural, spiritual, and social development of the American way of life.

Memorial statuary of three famous American Indians has already been dedicated and placed by the Indian Hall of Fame organization: the Delaware Scout, Black Beaver; the Nez Perce warrior and leader, Chief Joseph; and the Choctaw Chief, scholar and statesman, Allen Wright.[1]

The first of these memorials is a bust of heroic proportions of Black Beaver, famous scout and guide to many exploring expeditions in the Southwest, which was unveiled in ceremonies in the Rotunda of the State Capitol on May 13, 1954. The bust, now in the Indian Hall of Fame, was executed by the well-known sculptor Keating Donahoe, of Oklahoma City, whose live model in carrying out his commission was Jackson McLane of Anadarko, great-great grandson of Black Beaver.

The second memorial statue for the National Hall of Fame for famous American Indians is that of of Chief Joseph, Nez Perce of Southwestern Oregon. This is a beautiful bronze bust from the work executed by the talented sculptor, Kenneth

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[1] Other nominees for memorial statuary in the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, bronze portraits of whom are now in the making, are the late Will Rogers (Cherokee), Charles Curtis (Kaw), Osceola (Seminole), Quanah Parker (Comanche), Sequoyah (Cherokee) and Hiawatha (Mohawk, 16th Century).

F. Campbell, who is professor of Archeology and Director of the Museum of East Central State College at Ada, Oklahoma.

The bronze bust of Chief Joseph was unveiled in the Indian Hall of Fame area on August 19, 1957, in ceremonies attended by a large crowd of visitors and notable citizens. The program was presided over by Judge N. B. Johnson, Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma and President of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, and personal representative of the Honorable Raymond Gary, Governor of the State of Oklahoma. The program included Invocation by Rev. John R. Abernathy, revered Methodist minister and civic leader; Address of Welcome by Hon. Don Baldwin, President Pro Tempore of the Senate of the State of Oklahoma; Greetings by Robert Goombi, President of the American Indian Exposition annually presented at Anadarko; Commentary on the Indian Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians by Mr. Logan Billingsly, founder of the organization and formerly of Anadarko, now living at Katonah, New York; Indian Ceremonial Dance supervised by Sarah Gertrude Knott, pageant director; Presentation of Gifts by Mr. Paul Stonum, Chairman of Arrangements Committee for the Unveiling, of Anadarko; and Benediction by Frank Bosin, venerable Kiowa leader. The unveiling of the bronze bust was by a group of Nez Perce Indians from Idaho, lead by Richard A. Halfmoon, Tribal Chairman. A brief biography of Chief Joseph appears on the printed program for the unveiling ceremony:

> *Chief Joseph* (Hinmaton-yalakit) intrepid warrior and leader of the Nez Perces of Southwestern Oregon: With his followers, he continued to live on ceded lands (Treaty of 1863) until enforced removal. In the war following the cession of their tribal lands, Chief Joseph leading his small band in a 1,000-mile retreat displayed such generalship as to inspire one historian who described it as "worthy to be remembered with that of Xenophon's Ten Thousand." Chief Joseph was forced to surrender but not before the conduct of the Nez Perces and the military and tactical skill of their leader had won unlimited praise from their conquerors.
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> Under military escort, Chief Joseph and his band, reduced to 431, were taken to Indian Territory but eventually (1885) were permitted to return to their beloved West, locating in the Colville Reservation in Washington.

The principal address on the program was delivered by General Hugh M. Milton II, Assistant Secretary of the Army of the United States, who was introduced by Major General (Ret.) William S. Key, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society. General Milton in attendance with members of his family during the unveiling ceremony spoke as follows:

> My good friends, it is a distinct privilege for me to be here on this occasion when you are conferring a great honor upon one of the most respected Indian Chiefs in the long history of the Western Hemisphere.

Today, I bring you greetings from the President of the United States and from the Secretary of the Army. Secretary Bruckner has asked me to express his deepest regret that he could not be here with you personally.

May I say that my presence here today as a representative of your United States Army is a token of our respect and our esteem for a tribal chieftian whose knowledge of tactics and the military sciences has long been recognized by the world's military leaders as superb.

The feat of Chief Joseph is unparalleled in American History: He led his tribe over a distance of more than 1300 miles; during most of the journey, not only was his force outnumbered and surrounded but also short on food, clothing, weapons, ammunition and horses.

The valiant efforts of Chief Joseph and his people are a living testimony in support of President Washington's statement in his official report after General Braddock's defeat "Indians are the only match for Indians." Those of you who know so well the story of the Nez Perce Wars of the 1870's, will recall that final victory for the Army came primarily as a result of the efforts of other Indian tribes who sought to defeat and to capture the Great Joseph.

Much of the later success of the American Army can be attributed to its knowledge of Indian tactics and the techniques of guerilla warfare in which the red man had no peer.

All the Warriors of the Indian Wars have now passed beyond the Great Divide, but their indominatable spirit lives on in their children and their children's children. The spirit of the Indian Nations has become in reality the vibrant spirit of America.

Lessons gleaned from the Indians' wise approach to problems in the Council have played a magnificent role in the process of developing American Statesmanship. Now, more than ever, there is a strong reason that we should study closely the details of the *United States government*, in history, and its relationship to the American Indian. We can learn much by looking into this background. For here, in smaller proportion, is to be found all the typical virtues and follies, our failures, our triumphs, our successes and our mistakes. From that mirror, we can see what we must do and what we must seek in order to make secure the future position of the United States.

Four times within the last century the United States has emerged from a major conflict as a first-rate world power. Each time, following every war, we have behaved in the manner of a third-rate nation, oftentimes bringing hardship or disaster upon all within the reach of our influence.

Following the great American Civil war, about which both sides still feel a common pride, we stepped to the Reconstruction Period in the South and all the needless horrors and bloodshed of Indian Wars in the West.

Following the display of a previously unequaled National heroism in World War 1, we permitted the growth of a festering sore in Europe. The collapse of the League of Nations, a world-wide depression, and the rise of totalitarianism and tyranny.

After an unparalleled achievement in Industrial production and the development of global strategy and tactics in World War II, we again squandered our strength by rapid demobilization, appeasing some of our enemies and for a time neglecting our responsibilities to a world already into the mire of famine and despair.

While we are too close to the Korean War to adequately understand all of its results, it appears that many lessons of the past have been forgotten once again.

The world has long thought of us as a peaceful people who would not make war. However, history proves us to be a businesslike people who cannot make peace. As that great American Indian and Oklahoman, Will Rogers, once so aptly put it: "The United States has never lost a war nor won a conference."

The day is gone when we can safely afford to behave in such a manner. It was nearly too late when at last we took stock of our follies and our failures and brought our methods, as well as our purposes, up to a standard on par with our national destiny. A look at our handling of the Indians during several decades may do us a great service and thus spare the Nation many mistakes in the future. For even though we are now powerful and the envy of all the Nations of the world, we must not forget that we are a minority among peoples of this globe.

From the history of our dealings with the Indian tribes and nations, we must earnestly seek for guidance which will prove of value to us in our dealings with other nations of the world.

The days of the Frontier are *History*. The Indian warrior of the past has joined his white brother in peace, but we must not forget that it was the Indian who occupied these United States for thousands of years before our ancestors knew there was such a country. The Indians acquired his strength from a keen knowledge of his homeland. Today there is a growing demand for each American really to know his native land. We must as a Nation, achieve the mental and spiritual calmness of the clear blue waters of our mountain lakes. This the Indian knew and understood as he patterned his life and his actions after the forces of nature from which he drew his livelihood. These native Americans laid down moral, economic and agricultural foundations strong enough to support the structure of the United States.

The red man has had an important role in the making of the history of our Nation. He has it within him to play an even greater part in the shaping of the destiny of tomorrow. From the great heritage of his forefathers, he has the capability which you have to contribute as American Citizens. Chief Joseph, who earned respect and admiration equal to that heaped upon any military leader, was the forerunner of thousands of American Indians who have fought beneath the Stars and Stripes on many foreign battlefields.

In my experience in your army, covering two World Wars and the Korean debacle, I know of no Indians of fighting age who did not eagerly and loyally volunteer their services when this nation was threatened by a foreign power. The Indian, more perhaps than other Americans, realizes the meaning of war and its purpose. He knows from centuries of experience the requirement for teamwork and its importance in the achievement of final victory.

In the early days even though we called the red man "Brother" our conflicts continued to drag on and on. It was not until we realized the meaning of "Brother-in-arms" that the white man and the red man could pursue in concert a mutual road to glory.

In every field—in the arts, the sciences and the humanities—there is opportunity for the American Indian to continue to make his contribution to American culture as he has contributed to the American Heritage. Together, all of us must continue to maintain the hidden strength of character, the integrity, and the steadfastness of purpose which has long been the hallmark of the American Indian.

And, so today, as we dedicate this statute designed to perpetuate the memory, the deeds, the heroism, and the integrity of the American Indian, all of which were so well exemplified in the life and actions of Chief Joseph, let us not forget that the opportunities of tomorrow exceed the opportunities of the past.

We must realize that we have not reached the end of the trail but rather that we are just approaching the birth of a newer and brighter day when all nations of the world may sit down in peace at the council of mankind as your people and mine have learned to do here in these United States.

The unveiling of the third memorial statue by the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians on November 15, 1957, was an outstanding event of the closing week of Oklahoma's Semi-Centennial which had commemorated the fifty years of Statehood since November 16, 1907, during an eight-month celebration in 1957. By special Proclamation, Governor Raymond Gary had proclaimed Friday, November 15, 1957, as "*Allen Wright Day* in Oklahoma," urging "our citizens to pay fitting trbiute to the memory of this outstanding Choctaw Chief who gave our great State its name." This third memorial statue in the Indian Hall of Fame is another beautiful bronze bust executed by Sculptor Kenneth F. Campbell of East Central State College at Ada.

The program for the unveiling of the Allen Wright statuary was held in the Rotunda of the State Capitol, with Judge N. B. Johnson, Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma, presiding. Several remarked that the ceremony was unique in that more notables in Oklahoma history were on the platform in the Rotunda, for this program than for any other since the Capitol was erected (1916). A word of welcome to the large crowd in attendance was given by Governor Gary who was present. Among the many other special guests, Judge Johnson introduced Will Rogers, Jr., the son of Oklahoma's native son, the late Will Rogers; Judge Edgar S. Vaught, U. S. District Court; Lieutenant Governor Pink Williams and Mrs. Williams; Mr. Fred Tway, of Oklahoma City, representing President Carter Davison, Union College, Schenectady, New York (Allen Wright's Alma Mater, 1852); Mrs. Mary Wright Wallace, oldest daughter of Allen Wright (age 94 years) and six of his grandchildren and one great-grandson.

The program for "Allen Wright Day" and unveiling of the bronze bust included special Greetings by Major General Hal Muldrow, of the 45th Division, World War II; Address of Welcome by Hon. Bob Trent, Oklahoma State Senator from

Atoka County; Brief Biography of Principal Chief Allen Wright by Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Director and Treasurer of the Indian Hall of Fame; Address by General Patrick J. Hurley, former U. S. Secretary of War, who was introduced by Floyd Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation and Vice-President of the Indian Hall of Fame; Commentary on the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, by Mr. Logan Billingsly, founder and a director; Mr. Paul Stonum, Director introducing Sculptor Kenneth Campbell; Major General (Ret.) William S. Key, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, introducing Miss Muriel H. Wright, a granddaughter of Chief Allen Wright and Oklahoma historian, who unveiled the statue; Acknowledgements from the Choctaws, by Hon. Harry J. W. Belvin, present Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation; Remarks by Rev. Raymond M. Ryder, representing Dr. Henry Van Dusen, President of Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Invocation and Benediction by Dr. Douglas V. Magers, Oklahoma Synod Executive of Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

General Patrick J. Hurley who is widely known as a native son of Oklahoma and who one time served as Attorney for the Choctaw Nation and was adopted by the Choctaws many years ago gave the principal address.

Address By General Patrick J. Hurley

Allen Wright, a remarkable and rarely gifted Choctaw Indian, was born in Mississippi in 1826. With his father, he made the long journey over the "Trail of Tears"—arriving in the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory in 1834. At the age of ten, he began to learn to read English; he attended the Choctaw school at Lukfata, finished his high school studies at Spencer Academy and, as one of the first five Indian boys ever sent to a fully accredited eastern college, he attended Delaware College (now University of Delaware) and graduated from Union College, Schenectady, New York, in 1852 with an A. B. degree. He pursued his studies further, becoming the first Indian to receive a Master of Arts degree—and completed the theological course at Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1855.

The English name, Allen Wright, was bestowed upon him by a missionary teacher at old Lukfata, near present Broken Bow, Oklahoma. His Choctaw name was *Kiliahote*—which means: "*Come, let's make a light.*" And if ever a man lived up to his name, it was Kiliahote—for his life was spent in urging, leading and guiding his people toward a more brightly enlightened future.

First, *he was an example as a citizen.* From him descended one of the greatest and influential families in the Choctaw Nation. His eight children were all well-educated, cultured men and women who led constructive lives in the service of the Choctaw people. His substantial, southern-style home at Boggy Depot, in what is now Atoka County, Oklahoma, was a center for gracious living. And Allen Wright was noted for his hospitality, not only to his Indian friends and Indian Territory neighbors, but also to the many prominent men, military heroes, intellectual leaders, political mentors and others, whose destiny led them along that greatest of all overland trails, the Texas Road. Those of us who lived along the Texas Road, as did Allen Wright, can still recall from our childhood memories a picture of the waning days of that great artery of transportation that carried the life-blood of a nation to the frontier lands of Indian Territory and Texas.

But Allen Wright did more than just live as a good citizen. *He was concerned with the spiritual welfare of his people.* After finishing his education in New York, he returned to Indian Territory as a regularly licensed minister under the Presbyterian Synod of New York and the Presbytery of Indian Territory. He served as a Minister of the Gospel from 1856 until his death on December 2, 1885. He was extremely active in the affairs of his church, not only in Indian Territory but nationally and internationally.

He was concerned with the political stability of the Choctaw Nation. As a member of the Choctaw General Council in 1856 and 1861, and Treasurer of the Choctaw Nation in 1859, 1863 and 1865, he participated in all of the meetings and conventions pertaining to the political and governmental affairs of his people. The so-called Blue County Resolutions, which he wrote, resulted in the adoption of the Constitution and Laws of 1860, at Doaksville—which remained the constitution and laws of the Choctaw Nation until Oklahoma statehood just fifty years ago. In 1861, he helped to write the treaty between the Choctaw Nation and the Confederate States. He enlisted in the Confederate Army as a private, later serving as Chaplain of the Choctaw Regiment of the Confederate Army with the rank of Captain. When the Civil War was ended, he went to Washington as a delegate representing the Choctaw Nation to make the Treaty of 1866 between the Choctaws and Chickasaws and the United States. It was during the drafting of this treaty that Allen Wright first used the name of *Oklahoma* (the words "okla" and "homma" being Choctaw words meaning "Red People") to apply to all the Indian Territory in 1866, admitted as the 46th State in 1907. Thus, Allen Wright gave the State of Oklahoma its name.

While in Washington in 1866, the Choctaw people elected him Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation—his election had taken place without his knowledge, an honor bestowed upon him by an appreciative people. In 1868, he was again elected Principal Chief.

He was concerned with laying a foundation for the education of his people. He helped to organize the Indian Territory Educational Association. He was author of a dictionary of the Choctaw language for use in the schools. He translated the Psalms of David directly from Hebrew into Choctaw. He translated treaties, laws and constitutions from English into Choctaw and from Choctaw into English, so that his people could better understand and be better understood. He translated some of the outstanding church hymns into the Choctaw language. He served as Choctaw Editor of the *Indian Champion*, a newspaper published at Atoka.

Now, as if we have not already shown a life full of great activity by this brilliant, dedicated and constructive leader in the fields of religion, government and education, let me add that he was a businessman of outstanding ability. He operated farms and ranches, a cotton gin, a flour mill, was associated in a mining company, organized the first oil company in what is now the State of Oklahoma, was one of the associates in the Choctaw Oil & Refining Company which drilled the first oil well in Oklahoma—and the first coal mine located in the Lehigh-Coalgate region was on one of Allen Wright's farms.

Here, indeed, was a man of whom any people could be proud. The Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, who have lived so long and prospered so well in the beautiful Red River Valley, are also doing great honor to themselves when they present this statue of Allen Wright to the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians as an example to the world, for the individual achievements of a great man are also a tribute to the character of the people he represents. We of the State of Oklahoma, also, are honored to have the opportunity to share with the Choctaw and Chickasaw people in paying this tribute to a man whose life, whose work, whose family, and whose achievements guarantee for him a place among the aristocrats of America.

For it is a fact, in this land of liberty and equality of opportunity, founded upon the eternal principles of individual liberty, self-government and justice for all, that the only aristocracy that is recognized is the aristocracy of mind, character and service. In the company of other great Americans whose life work has been dedicated to making America the great nation that it is, Allen Wright, a Choctaw Indian, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, will feel at home.

Special tribute to Allen Wright was a fitting close to the program, given from a fine tape recording made by Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, President of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, especially for the unveiling ceremony.

Remarks by Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen

I am happy to have the privilege and honor of participating in this occasion and thus linking Union Theological Seminary in New York to the institutions and hosts of individuals who today throughout Oklahoma and beyond across the Nation are joining to pay tribute to this great and inspiring man.

Allen Wright entered Union Seminary in the Autumn of 1852 less than twenty years after the Seminary's founding when it was still a small and struggling theological school. He came from his under-graduate course at Union College, also in New York State. Three years later in 1855, he went out from Union Seminary to begin his life's career as a Presbyterian missionary in that vast undeveloped land of the West to which he was to devote his life, and to which he was to give its name.

Already his gifts for distinguished scholarship and his devotion to its exacting demands were evident, gifts of devotion which enabled him to become the first of his race to win the advanced degree of Master of Arts, and to make his way some distance toward the Doctorate in Philosophy which were to equip him with the master of the three ancient languages of Latin, Greek and Hebrew which were to direct him in his outstanding accomplishments in the realms of learning, notably his translations of the Book of Psalms into the Choctaw and his Choctaw Lexicon. How appropriate that he should have inscribed upon the fly-leaf of his Lexicon: "I respectfully subscribe myself a friend of learning."

But this career of scholarship and grand service was early interrupted by the demands of the civil conflict which must have grieved Allen Wright's spirit deeply. Loyal to that part of the Union where his life was lived, he served with fidelity and distinction as a chaplain and captain in the Confederate forces, and thus initiated his career to State and Nation. More than once in later years, he was entrusted with high responsibility as a framer of treaties and delegate on important missions.

To Oklahomans Allen Wright will doubtless always be held in special affection and gratitude for his gift to their state of its name. But grounds for regard and appreciation reach far beyond his native state. He was above all a life-long minister of the gospel of his Master and a servant of people through the church of Jesus Christ.

It was fitting that in the last year of his life his theological Alma Mater in New York should have chosen him as the president of its alumni body, by now thousands spread to almost every land on earth.

A distinguished son and statesman of Oklahoma, a loyal leader of his own people, an American of outstanding accomplishments, a devout and devoted man of God, a tireless servant of his fellow-men, we today pay our tribute of honor to him and of thankfulness to God for him.

A now unto Him who is able to guard us from stumbling and to present us faultless before the presence of His glory and exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Saviour, the glory and honor, dominion and praise, both now and forever more.

Amen

CHARLES BURKHAM, PIONEER OF OLD MILLER COUNTY, "THE FRONTIER THAT MEN FORGOT"

Oklahoma and its counties have celebrated the semi-centennial of Statehood in 1957 yet few people know that two counties, called Crawford and Miller, were organized on the east side of the present state 137 years ago when Oklahoma was counted a part of the then new Arkansas Territory. Miller County including the southeastern counties of present Oklahoma had a colorful history, sprawling as it did south of Red River into the Arkansas claims in Mexican territory. Charles Burkham was among the first white settlers who came to make his home in this region on Red River, and for a time lived north of the river on the Oklahoma side. Some family traditions and stories about him and his daughter, Susanna, are told in a letter received recently by the Editor from his great-grandaughter, Mrs. Walter Wood, of Sand Springs, Oklahoma, who married and made her home in Western Oklahoma years ago. Mrs. Wood has been thrilled to read the history of Old Miller County published in three articles in *Chronicles of Oklahoma* in 1940-1941 (vols. XVIII and XIX) contributed by Dr. Rex Strickland, Chairman of the Department of History, Texas Western College of the University of Texas, at El Paso.[1] Mrs. Wood's stories about Charles Burkham and Susanna have been adapted for *The Chronicles* and editorial footnotes added as follows:

> The Charles Burkham written about in the account of Old Miller County, by Dr. Rex Strickland, was my Great Grandfather Burkham, my father's mother's father. He went with his wife and children, in company with several other families to that locality in 1812, having gone all the way from Virginia by way of wagons—a caravan of them.[2] Cooke's and other old families were also of the company who migrated there. They blazed the trail as they went, and crossed mountainous country and deep and shallow waters. Their journey was made especially hazardous by traveling through "wild" country where wild animals were, and by traveling at least a part of the time in country where some Indians were dangerously hostile to the whites. They finally reached their destination, the place that afterward was Red River County (Texas), so named by my Grandfather Benningfield.
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> These migrants took with them their slaves. They also took their gold, and enough provisions to last for awhile. They took up land under the government of Mexico.
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> My father's mother was the four-year-old daughter of the Charles Burkham, of whom Dr. Strickland tells in his articles on Old Miller County. When they reached Red River and were about to be set over by the ferryman, he told them that so long as he had run that ferry no white woman nor girl had ever been set across. So, the men took across little Susanna Burkham,[3] who had been born on Feb. 29, 1808,, and this was now 1812. Susanna, in 1844, became *my father's mother* (1844 was his birth date).

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[1] These articles published in *Chronicles* (1940-41), on "Old Miller County, Arkansas Territory, the Frontier that Men Forgot," by Dr. Rex Strickland, give an historical account of the permanent white settlement on Clear Creek (present Choctaw County) east of the Kiamichi River in Oklahoma, beginning in 1817. These settlers had built homes and opened up farms here a few years earlier. Even before 1812, this Red River country had been visited by "long hunters"—white men with their rifles. Surveyed boundary lines both south and north of the river, as well as Mexican claims to land south of the river, were not settled for many years. Government plans to keep this region free for Indian tribal ownership brought about Army orders at different times to drive out the white settlers, first south of the river for (1817) Caddo claims, and then north of the river for the Choctaw cession (1819) and later. These circumstances together with raids by the Osages and the Comanches brought difficult problems and turbulence for the early white settlers at different times, arousing their suspicions and even the hatred of some against the United States.

[2] Dr. Rex Strickland gives a statement based on the *Record of the Board of Commissioners* (transcribed), Red River County Texas): "Charles Burkham, his wife (neé Nancy Abbott), son, James, and daughter, Cynthiana, arrived July 4, 1816, from Indiana. *Registro.* Crossed river to reside at the mouth of Mill Creek, Bowie County, Texas, March, 1820." The Burkham family apparently was in the emigration out of Virginia in the years following the Louisiana Purchase, westward to Kentucky and Indiana many traveling on west to Missouri and thence southwest along the old trading route, sometimes called the "Shawnee Trail," marked on maps as early as 1807, and later known as "Trammel's Trace" through Arkansas southwest to Texas.

[3] Susanna's name was given as "Cynthiana" in the Burkham record quoted above. The crossing of Trammel's Trace on Red River was at the present Fulton, Arkansas.

The present District Clerk, E. W. Bowers, at Clarksville, Texas, County Seat of Red River County (Texas), tells me, "There is a Burkham Creek about 8 miles S. E. of Clarksville, and a Burkham school house at the same location." Mr. Bowers writes, "Of course, the names of your relatives are familiar to me. They are indelibly inscribed on the map of the County on headrights assigned to the original settlers."

Poor old Great Granddaddy Charles ("Charlie") Burkham[4] was not among these original settlers mentioned by Mr. Bowers, however, although the son, James, mentioned by Dr. Strickland was. Charles Burkham was not then living. Our families there built houses, a church, school, and began farming. They had gone out of the United States into Mexican territory to take up abundance of lands for themselves, and so began to establish a life for the good of their posterity. Comanche and other Indians would come over and "make a raid" on their horses, and be gone across Red River in no time. They were dangerous to the life and peace of these white settlers.

While our men ancestors were gone *somewhere* to bring back *salt*,[5] our women ancestors dug up the smokehouse dirt floors where salty meat had hung and dripped, and they boiled this in huge iron wash-pots and strained the water and evaporated it and got salt! Meal gave out. The corn they had planted that first year had not yet matured sufficienty for "gritting," so their substitute was "dripped clabber" cheese, which we call "cottage cheese." This was their "bread" for awhile.

My Grandmother Susanna told my mother (Mamma was the wife of Benjamin, Susanna's son) about these things. Susanna remembered all about it from the first, and Susanna lived to Feb. 27, 1880. She had said, "I'll see my birthday one month from today," and my mother had thought, "If you live—you ought rather say, 'If I live, I'll see my birthday one month from today.'" Grandmother Susanna was active enough every day to saddle her own horse and ride out after her milk cows. She had "cowboys" to ride after her cattle. Then as she sat on her porch sewing on a button on a new dress that she had made, she fell over with a heart attack, and died. This was the *little Susanna* who had remembered all, even to being set across the river ahead of the other girls, and who had told our mother so much about frontier life.

I do not know what year our Great Grandfather Charles Burkham took with him a trusted slave, and went in pursuit of a runaway slave. Neither ever returned. Kinfolk suspected the "trusted" slave had killed Charles Burkham to gain his own freedom. Yet unknown is his fate.

Charles Burkham's widow, Susanna's mother, now took with her a trusted slave, and took a peck piggin of gold out into the woods. She and the Negro came back without the gold. The children asked no questions. Later when she was dying, after a stroke, she mumbled and tried to say something, which afterwards they thought might have been an extreme effort to tell the whereabouts of the hidden gold. At the time of her death, they were so sorrowful they did not think of the buried and lost money.

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[4] Charles Burkham was living at Pecan Point on Red River in 1816. Pecan Point on the Oklahoma side near present Harris, in McCurtain County, was noted in the early history of the Miller County region. White settlers lived on both sides of the river at this point several years before the organization of the county. He lived on the Oklahoma side of Red River from 1817 to 1820. He was one of the commissioners appointed to open up two roads in Miller County about 1824.—Strickland articles in *Chronicles*.

[5] William Mabbitt, who came to live at Pecan Point in 1816, established a salt works—"Mabbitt's Salt Works"—before 1819, a location near present Cerrogodo, Arkansas, on the south side of Little River near the present Oklahoma line.

Susanna married a Mr. Barker, her first marriage. Their children were Pollyanne and Lucindy. Aunt Lucindy, whom I remember so well, was born "the night the stars fell," Nov. 13, 1833. Mr. Barker died. Sometime later, Susanna was wedded to a bachelor, Hudson Posey Benningfield, a minister and several years her senior. Their children were Rita, Robert, Benjamin, James, Belle, Nancy and Rebecca. "Ben" was our father. He and our mother married at Clarksville, Texas, in 1879.

Robert was "Uncle Bob." I never saw him. Uncle Bob was a dreamer and sleep-walker. One morning at breakfast when he was fourteen, he told his family of a strange dream he had the night before. He had dreamt that his Grandmother Burkham (the first Mrs. Burkham to enter and live there, the wife of Charles Burkham) had told him, "Bob, bring me (a certain) rock for my grave, and I'll give you a rail from it." After breakfast, his family discovered the *rail* lying in the yard where Uncle Bob had laid it down. Upon further investigation, they found his tracks going down the road where his Grandmother was buried in the family (or community) cemetery. There on her grave was the specified rock she had asked for!

When the Civil War came, Uncle Bob was among the first to go. His mother, Susanna, received a message that he "disappeared at the Battle of Shiloh." After I read Carl Sandburg's description of *that* battle, depicted so realistically that I almost felt as if it had just taken place and I was viewing the pieces of what once had been live boys, I could see *how* he could have "disappeared," and never been heard of again. But Grandmother Susanna never read Carl Sandburg's books, of course. She always believed Uncle Bob would sometime come home again. *Our mother who lived near* Susanna, our *Grandmother* (our father's mother), nearly *seven years* told us *all this.* Uncle Bob never came again. When I was a little girl—four or five—even I used to look over the rock pen of Grandmother Susanna's grave, and feel sorry because she had looked and looked for Uncle Bob to come, and he never came again.

Grandfather Hudson Posey Benningfield and his wife, Susanna, left Red River County after their children were grown, and moved to the next frontier, Atascosa County, Texas. They lived about 20 or more miles below San Antonio. It was here my parents lived, and where we seven children were born.

And here is a coincidence, I have never before related: First, let me say that all my single life I had an aversion to persons marrying who were a bit of kin to *each other.* I had said, "I wouldn't marry anybody a speck of kin to me for anything!" Walter and I met in Western Oklahoma, and within a year's time, we were married. A few evenings after our marriage, he mentioned his "Aunt Belle Burkham." I knew Walter had lived in Texas as a boy, so we immediately compared "stories" and found that one generation farther down the line than I, he, too, is a direct descendant of the Charles Burkham, who labored so hard to establish a home and community across Red River in Northeast Texas when dangers pressed from all sides.[6]

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[6] The Choctaw Treaty of 1825 established the boundaries of the Choctaw

Walter's mother, Laura, was a granddaughter of James Burkham, my Grandmother's brother. By Dr. Strickland's record, "Jimmie," as Grandmother called him, was 21 in 1827. He would thus have been about six when his family moved there (Red River county) in 1812. When we found our honorable ancestors were one and the same, we both felt that God and led us to each other (we'd known this even before) as He led Isaac and Jacob back to their mother's kin to get wives for themselves.

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country in present Oklahoma, and old Miller County north of Red River was in this cession. Secretary of War James Barbour stated that none of the white settlers would be evicted from the Choctaw lands until the eastern boundary line was established. The line was surveyed in 1828, and the Arkansas Territorial Assembly abolished Miller County north of Red River in October, 1828. In the meantime, some leading citizens on the Texas side of the river were approached to organize this part of the country under the Mexican government. Settlers both north and south of the river were anxious to have the boundaries established to determine the location of their land claims. Charles Burkham, living 20 miles south of Pecan Point in 1827, was commissioned a captain in the Mexican militia, planning to set out on an expedition to punish some raiding Comanches. James, his son, was to accompany him but the expedition did not materialize. The leaders among the settlers did not push organization with the Mexican government, and Miller County south of Red River was soon continued by the Arkansas Assembly. Some of the leaders were elected to office in this second Miller County now in Texas. It was here the Burkham family continued to live, leaving their name in the records and among the place-names of later Red River County, Texas.

BOOK REVIEWS

Doc W. F. Carver, Spirit Gun of the West. By Raymond W. Thorp. (The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California, 1957. Pp. 261. $8.50.)

Without doubt, William F. Carver (1840-1927) was the greatest marksman the world has ever produced. General Phil Sheridan said of him: "No man will ever live who can beat that shooting!" And General Sheridan was right. Feats of marksmanship were accomplished by this unassuming, somewhat quiet and almost modest man that appear incredible. Except that they are all recorded for us as cold facts of history, his accomplishments today would be passed off as fiction or as the product of a too eager press agent.

Born in Illinois, Doc (a nickname he carried throughout his life) Carver heeded the call of the West when seventeen years of age. Thereafter his first few years were spent with Indian tribes in the Minnesota region, where his phenomenal accuracy with firearms earned him the sobriquet of "Spirit Gun" and "Evil Spirit." After years on the Plains, hunting and roaming, shooting buffalo under contract (he would never accept employment except upon stipulation that the meat and hide both be used—he destested "hide hunters"), by 1877 he was ready to exhibit his rare ability to the world.

The years that followed were crowded with challenges, contests, exhibitions and feats of endurance with firearms unknown before or since. Typical was the fantastic shooting in 500 minutes of 5,500 glass balls thrown into the air. Even to someone unfamiliar with firearms, such would obviously require super-human ability. Merely to lift a Winchester rifle to one's shoulder 5,500 times and lower it again unfired in that alloted time would be beyond the endurance of the average marksman, let alone trying to fire accurately the weapon each time.

A world tour brought Doc Carver before princes, kings and emperors. All were captivated by his mild, almost bashful, and always polite conduct. His command performances before the Prince of Wales, the German Kaiser, and dozens of other royalty and nobility earned him world acclaim. While a guest of the Prince of Wales—later King Edward VII—he shot a hole through three different three penny bits—smaller than a dime—thrown into the air. In Berlin he was the guest of Kaiser Wilhelm I, who honored him with the epithet "Der Scheutzen Konig."

The vagaries of history have been unkind to Carver, and he is entitled to a much firmer niche than he now enjoys. Contemporary circumstance of course placed him with Wild Bill Hickok and Buffalo Bill Cody. Measured aside either of them, Carver stands as a much finer and greater person; and author Thorp is to be commended for re-aligning each in a more realistic perspective. In truth, we today know Buffalo Bill more from the writings of his publicity agents, Buntline and Burke, than from the actual deeds of their client.

Carver was the originator of the western show and coined the phrase ''Wild West.'' Again he has suffered at history's caprice, as even today schoolboys assume such to have been the exclusive domain of Cody and Hitchock. The author clears up that point in fine style, and his chapter ''The Great Wild West Imbroglio'' is priceless reading. This chapter demonstrates that the telling of history may be pungent, as well as funny and delightful. That portion of the volume dealing with the ups and downs of the Wild West Show business is exceptionally well written. Such incidents as when Bowery urchins lined up all available cigar store Indians in front of the hotel where Carver had his Indians quartered, hoping for an unscheduled intra-mural fight; or when a lady of fashion, while feeding carrots to a buffalo cow, found that the animal so liked the menu that her tongue pulled off and the creature swallowed not only the lady's glove but a $300 diamond ring, add much spice to the story.

The narrative closes with Carver's retirement from the field of championship shooting. The remaining thirty years of his great career are touched but lightly. The book is excellent in every way, and serves history exceedingly well in the re-orienting of us on the relative merits of Doc Carver, Wild Bill Hickok and Buffalo Bill Cody.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Rifles for Watie. By Harold Keith. (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1957. Pp. xiii, 332. $3.75.)

So little is known of the part that the Indian Territory and the Five Civilized tribes played in the Civil War that a real contribution is made by Harold Keith in *Rifles for Watie.* Extended research in libraries, supplemented by many interviews, gave him needed facts and interpretative viewpoints.

Most of the four years are concerned with Eastern Indian Territory, especially the Cherokee and Choctaw Nations. Stand Watie, leader of the Ridge faction against the Ross followers, rose to the rank of brigadier general in the Confederate army, the only Indian to attain that rank. Disastrous ravages by both armies and the strife that separated friends and relatives pervade much of the story.

The main character, Jefferson Davis Bussey, is met first as a Kansas boy of sixteen, eager to enlist in the Union army. Nearness to the state line made his family the victims of raiding Missouri Bushwhackers. This experience and the effects of hearing Abraham Lincoln speak enabled him to get parents' consent to enlist. Unable to provide a mount, the Bushwhackers having taken the Bussey horse, he could not realize his dream of being a cavalryman.

Numerous experiences gave him insight into the motives and hatreds, the extreme hardships and sacrifices of those who defended the Confederate cause. Historical and geographical facts and phases are faithfully observed. Though most of the characters are fictitious, they portray the life and characteristics of white people, Indians, and Negroes of that time and region.

Early in Jeff's army career he had unfortunate contacts with some incompetent and undependable officers, especially a captain who persecuted him severely. Later the young private was able to expose this captain as the traitor who was selling repeating rifles to Watie.

This study in history is made even more interesting by the romance that runs through several chapters. Jeff's occasional meetings with Lucy Washborne, a Cherokee girl who kept reminding him that she was a staunch "rebel," helped both of them to understand better the sincere loyalties of civilians and fighters on both sides.

Jeff loved dogs and three of them played important roles. Sully, a bloodhound, overtook him on his perilous 125-mile flight from Boggy Depot to Fort Gibson. Sent as a Union Scout across the line, he was captured but managed to conceal his identity and enlist in Watie's cavalry. Recovering from a long spell of malaria and having secured the information he was assigned to get, and more, he made his way, months late, to the Union headquarters.

Much research and years of living near this area enables the writer to present conditions as they were, to portray people as they lived and fought, and to have them live and talk in their colorful ways and dialects. These characteristics do much to make the book interesting as well as informative. The style lends itself well to historical fiction.

—Frank A. Balyeat

The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Drama On The Rappahannock: The Fredericksburg Campaign. By Edward J. Stackpole. (Military Service Publishing Company, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1957. Pp. 297. $4.75)

One very vocal body of Civil War historians insists that the "suicidal" conflict of a century ago was a "needless' war. War causation, according to this school of thought, cannot be found in basic differences over principle, but on the contrary, resides in the factors of irrationality, abnormality and "artificial" emotions in general.

Though this reviewer is not a promulgator of the above viewpoint, he was struck by the futility of the Fredericksburg campaign as a military operation. Of the over five thousand battles and skirmishes (somebody actually counted them!) fought during the Civil War, the Fredericksburg battle, December 11-15, 1862, seems one of the most inane. At no time during the four year struggle did northern military leadership look worse; Fredericksburg was the nadir. Brooding over the whole operation like an ill omen, was the pathetic figure of Ambrose E. Burnside. Appointed Commander of the Army of the Potomac by Linclon in a desperate gamble to find a general who could win victories, Burnside proved himself capable of doing everything wrong.

Immediately upon taking command, General Burnside initiated an over-all military plan that was doomed to failure unless his army moved with rapidity; he then made defeat inevitable by dallying for two weeks before crossing the Rappahannok, giving the opportunistic Lee a wonderful chance to form his defense. After the attack began, the Commander of the Army of the Potomac persisted in hurling wave upon wave of his men on a frontal assault of the impregnable Confederate position. This act was typical of his conduct of battle, for after a plan was formed, Burnside's tactical concepts seemed to have been held in a mental "straight-jacket."

Probably his greatest fault was an inability to use the English language. Burnside's orders to his commanders were confused and muddled, necessitating his officers constantly asking for clarification, which was seldom received. General Stackpole notes that even now with all the evidence available, it is impossible for the historians to uncover precisely what was Ambrose Burnside's over-all military plan—assuming there was one.

The only bright spot for the north was the well executed withdrawal under cover of a dark winter night. Caught by surprise, Lee was very chagrined that he had allowed the Union Army to slip away, thereby robbing the Confederates of a strategic victory.

Drama On The Rappahannock is recommended to the avid reader of military history who enjoys a detailed minute by minute presentation of a Civil War battle. However, few will be the readers who, after putting the book down, will not ask the question, "What really was the military value of the Fredericksburg campaign?" Perhaps in a larger sense, the thrice-wounded veteran, Oliver Wendell Holmes, caught the significance of the Civil War for the nation when he wrote that his generation had been "set apart by its experience. Through our great good fortune, in our youth our hearts were touched with fire. It was given to us to learn at the outset that life is a profound and passionate thing." One needs only read the daily newspaper to realize how persistent yet are the embers of this fire.

—Gene M. Gressley

University of Wyoming
Laramie, Wyoming

Oklahoma City: Capital of Soonerland. By Lucyl Shirk. Clayton Anderson, Editor, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce. (Published under the direction of the Oklahoma City Board of Education, with Semco Color Press, Inc., Oklahoma City, as printer, 1957. Table of Contents. Illustrations. Bibliography. Pp. 252. $3.95.)

This new book with the catchy title *Capital of Soonerland* will undobutedly long remain a standard on library shelves, in showing Oklahoma City's place in history from Indian Territory days to 1957. The story here and the wonderful illustrations, many of them fine prints from old photographs dating back to 1889, give the reader the full impact of the growth the Oklahoma's state capital city, in one broad stroke. The illustrations alone—photographs and maps—will satisfy the watcher of television who wants to know more about this home town. Yet the lively text completes the picture of Oklahoma City to-day.

The author, Miss Lucyl Shirk, a teacher of Social Science who was specially commissioned to write and complete a manuscript on the growth of Oklahoma City, achieved a remarkable piece of work on her subject. The text is well organized in twelve sections: "1. Historical Flashback" even goes into the history of Indian ownership of the land that is now Oklahoma City;" "2. People Make the City" . . . . on through "7. Fun for Everyone," "8. Cultural Interests" and last "12. Oklahoma City Looks to the Future" with its "Fantastic? Impossible? Ridiculous? Well, Perhaps" historical record as well as ideas that have been promoted by the Chamber of Commerce under the slogan of "600,000 by 1960."

As a project originally promoted by the Oklahoma City Board of Education, the book was planned to offer facts and amusing stories between two hard covers that anyone might like to know about this City, from those who are to be convinced of its right to a "place in the sun" among American cities; to the school children who can view here the marvelous metropolis in which they live.

This book with its up to the minute information in Oklahoma City's development and growth should be in every home and public library.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma City

Oklahoma: Semi-centennial of Statehood, 1907-1957). Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957). Pp. 70. 55¢.

In recent years significant or memorable anniversaries in the histories of the states of the Union have been recognized by a noteworthy exhibition in the halls of the Library of Congress. The display consists of original manuscripts, maps, photographs from the collections in the Library and of the original autograph reports and statutory documents borrowed from the National Archives. The Library presented on November 13, 1957, an exhibition commemorating the Semi-centennial of Oklahoma Statehood. The exhibits included 219 separate maps, photographs and original documents. Now collected into book form, the 19th in a series, with accompanying text and an outline sketch of Indian Territory and Oklahoma history, the catalog of the exhibition is a worthwhile addition to an Oklahoma library. Touching on such widely separated items as Washington Irving's 1832 *Tour on the Prairies* and Rodgers and Hammerstein's "Oklahoma!", the entire panorama of Oklahoma history has been artfully collected and displayed. Information is included on how copies of each picture and other entry in the exhibition may be ordered from the Library of Congress. The booklet is more than a souvenir of the Oklahoma Semi-centennial.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING OCTOBER 24, 1957

On November 5th, 1957 at 10:00 a. m., the regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Board of Directors room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Gen. Wm. S. Key and the following members answered roll call: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mr. Kelly Brown, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. E. Estill Harbour, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Gen. Wm. S. Key, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, Mr. George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

The following members of the Board had asked to be excused from the meeting: Mr. Exall English, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mr. R. G. Miller, and Mrs. Willis C. Reed. A motion was made by Miss Seger and seconded by Dr. Harbour that these members be excused. Motion adopted.

Mr. Phillips made the motion that the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting be dispensed with. The motion was seconded by Judge Vaught and carried.

The Chairman of the Constitution and By-Laws Committee, Mr. Shirk, stated that basically there was nothing wrong with the Constitution, but nevertheless, there were some provisions that are outmoded and some technical difficulties that could be improved. He stated that all members of the Board of Directors had received copies of the proposed changes in the Constitution and By-Laws and had been requested to submit any changes or recommendations they might have. He said that a number of comments and recommendations had been received from several Board members, which had proved to be most beneficial. Some of these changes and recommendations were discussed in detail.

Judge Hefner moved that the Constitution and By-Laws with approved changes be submitted to the membership for their consideration. Judge Taylor seconded the motion and the Board voted unanimously in favor.

Judge Johnson asked permission to be excused from the remainder of the meeting due to urgency in Court. He announced that at 2:00 p. m. on November 15th, in the Rotunda of the Capitol Building, there would be an unveiling of the statue of Allen Wright. General Patrick Hurley was to give the address. The statue of Allen Wright will later be placed in the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians located at Anadarko.

The Secretary's report was called for by the President. Mr. Fraker stated that he had attended the funeral of Judge G. L. Bowman, member of the Board of Directors. He also stated that Mrs. Elsie D. Hand, Librarian, had been ill for the past month. He reported that thirty-six new annual members and one new life member had been acquired. He made comment that Judge Clift had obtained sixteen new members recently. Mr. Fraker made mention of the oil derrick on the Historical Society grounds, which he is seeking to secure as part of the exhibits of the Society. He reported that the chair used by Gov. Wm. H. Murray in the Constitutional Convention had been obtained by the Society as a gift from Judge Dave Cotton. Mr. Fraker gave a brief summary on his having attended the Historical Societies Convention in Columbus, Ohio; also on his visit to the Historical Societies in Kansas and Nebraska. He emphasized that Historical Societies with their facilities are educational institutions.

Judge Vaught stated he had spent some time in Richmond, Virginia in the Historical Society and also in the Library there.

Mr. Phillips, Chairman of the Microfilming Committee, submitted a written report to the Secretary, which is herewith made a part of these minutes. After a brief report from Mr. Phillips, President Key expressed appreciation to Mr. Phillips for his interest and enthusiasm in the microfilming program.

Judge Clift made a motion that the Board commend Mr. Phillips and his Committee for their fine progress and that the Board also pledge to them their full cooperation. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger and unanimously carried.

Judge Cole moved that the new members, along with the gifts submitted by the Secretary, be accepted and a letter of appreciation be sent to the donors of the gifts. Motion was seconded by Mr. Mountcastle and the Board voted in favor.

Dr. E. E. Dale announced the publication by the Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, of a book on the life of Governor Robert Williams, written by himself and Dr. James Morrison. This book will be out sometime in January and will sell for $5.00 a copy. Dr. Dale also expressed his gratitude and appreciation to the Historical Society for its aid in furnishing much basic material for the book.

Gen. Key expressed congratulations to Dr. Dale and Dr. Morrison for their contribution in writing this book on the life of Gov. Williams.

Dr. Morrison announced there will be a Semi-Centennial Reunion of "Ex-Law Makers" Saturday, November 9th, at 10:00 a. m. in Durant. He asked that anyone who planned to attend, please notify him after the meeting.

Gen. Key called the Board's attention to the fact there now exists a vacancy on the Board of Directors. A letter of recommendation in favor of Mrs. George L. Bowman, wife of the late Judge Bowman, was submitted by Mr. Thomas Harrison. Mr. Harrison recommended that the Board appoint Mrs. Bowman to this vacancy for the unexpired term of Judge Bowman. This motion was seconded by Miss Seger. The motion carried unanimously.

Mr. Harrison asked about the progress of the accumulative index for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Mr. Fraker stated that this index would cost between seven or eight thousand dollars. He said he had asked Mrs. Rella Looney and Miss Muriel Wright to check into the method of compiling such an index. He further observed that he believed sales of such index would in time pay for the cost.

Gen. Key expressed his congratulations to Judge and Mrs. Baxter Taylor on having recently celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 12:05 p. m.

Signed: Gen. Wm. S. Key, President
Signed: Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED

MUSEUM:

Exhibits—

U. S. Flag, hand crocheted.
Donor: Mrs. Martha Marlowe, 3349 N. Newland St., Chicago, Ill.

Salt dish, smoker, shawl, and letter
Donor: Mrs. Maggie Miller, 519 W. Woodson, El Reno, Okla.

Constitution and Laws of the Chickasaw Nation.
Donor: J. E. Fletcher, Box 432, Colvax, Calif.

China dish brought to Oklahoma in the Run of 1889.
Donor: Mrs. Frank F. Ford, 186 Shore Rd., Pittsburg, Calif.

Thimble and newspaper clipping.
Donor: Mrs. Frank R. Lovejoy, 407 Olympic Ave., Bremerton, Wash.

Cant hook.
Donor: Herbert Chandler, Broken Bow, Okla.

Pitcher collection.
Donor: John McD. Parks, 214 S. Cheyenne, Tulsa.

Chair used by Wm. H. Murray at the Constitutional Convention.
Donor: Judge Dave Cotten, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Machete, bolo knives, Cuban knife, U. S. trench knives, cane Cuban drinking bottle, basket, haversack, canteen, belt, steel mirror, playing cards poker chips, match case, Phillippine trade tokens, spur used on fighting cocks in Cuba, Phillippine bandana. ash tray, knife, caliper, wrench, shell, roster of Company E First U. S. Infantry 1898, badge, National Encampment Spanish American War Veterans.
Donor: Mrs. Lemuel P. Lawrence, 833 West Jean St., Springfield, Mo.

Books—

Infantry Drill Regulations (Spanish American War), *Mamual of Guard, Target Record of Lemuel P. Lawrence.*
Donor: Mrs. Lemuel P. Lawrence, 833 Jean St., Springfield, Mo.

Pictures—

Bank at Crescent, Zack Miller, Oscar Brewster and group, Buffalo Bill, Oscar Coffelt, Billy Fox, Crescent City Hall, M. M. Tate, Scene in Thermopolis Wyo., Birthplace of Will Rogers, Street scene in Crescent, Chief Oway's Memorial, Buffalo Hide—Cherokee Strip Cow-Punchers Association, Cherokee Cow-Punchers Reunion, Ponca Indians at Joe Miller funeral, Horse Chief Eagle, Crazy Bear, Funeral of Joe Miller, Group at Joe Miller funeral, Long Horn cattle, Casket of Joe Miller, Col. Joe Miller and Ponca Indians, Frank Murphy, Joe Miller, Members of Cherokee Strip Cow-Punchers Association, Scene at Crescent 1920, Tom King, Oscar Brewster, Covered Wagon, group of C S C P A, Covered wagon and group of men.
Donor: Fred J. Acton, R. R. No. 3, Guthrie, Okla.

Log-cabin—Old Shawnee Town, Grave houses and stone, Canadian River.
Donor: Luther Williams, Manager Public Relations, Sunray Mid-Continent Oil Co., Tulsa 3, Okla.

Wah E Kitz, Weeco Chief
Donor: Lula D. Bell, Durham, Okla.
Martha Marlowe
Donor: Martha Marlowe, 2349 N. Newland St., Chicago, Ill.
"Project Mayflower" (framed)
Donor: Gov. Raymond Gary.

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL ROOM:

Exhibits—

Historical relics from Jefferson Davis Museum at Fort Gibson: hand made candle stick, two cannon balls, souvenir plate, glass frog, glass salt dish (1860), vinegar jug, earthenware pitcher, iridescent vase, blue willow ware, nine chairs, hand made laddle, soap dish, Confederate money, basket, Indian peace pipe, two handing lamps, hand made quirt and spur, wad cutter, hand made candle stick, salt kettle, book ends, saddle bags, Indian dancing shells, three sets andirons.
Donor: Oklahoma Division United Daughters of the Confederacy.
Four pound canon ball
Donor: Mark Coleman, Duncan, Okla.

Books—

Women of the South in War Time, Scrap book on the clippings of the life of Sidney Lanier.
Donor: Oklahoma Division United Daughters of the Confederacy

Pictures—

Ambro type picture (subject not identified), Jefferson Davis, Scenes from the life of Sidney Lanier, Lee on Traveller and framed Confederate money.
Donor: Oklahoma Division United Daughters of the Confederacy

UNION MEMORIAL ROOM:

Exhibits—

Army uniform and discharge papers.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. C. L. West, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Twenty Encampment badges, Union Soldiers.
Donor: Mrs. Jessy Sullivan, Sapulpa, Okla.
Army souvenirs and flags.
Donor: Harry C. Stallings, 2172 N. W. 20th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.

Pictures—

An album containing photographs of veterans in Army uniforms.
Donor: Harry C. Stallings, 2172 N. W. 20th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.

INDIAN ARCHIVES:

Blueprint of map showing selection by the Choctaw Coal & Raliway Co. of station grounds at South McAlester, I. T.
Donor: J. I. Gibson.
Extra Census Bulletin of Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory dated August 25, 1894.
Donor: Judge Redmond S. Cole, 1312 So. Owasso, Tulsa, Okla.
Fifteen printed copies of Constitution and By-Laws of various Indian tribes of Oklahoma: Caddo, Miami, Pawnee, Peoria, Seneca-Cayuga, Eastern Shawnee, Thlopthlocco Tribal Town, Wyandotte.
Donor: Miss Muriel Wright, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Okla.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS:

Phillips, Ted M.	Seminole, Okla.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS:

Pangburn, Samuel L.	Alva, Okla.
Burlite, Lorin	Ardmore, Okla.
Legate, Clark Henry	”
Williams, Floyd D.	Bixby, Okla.
Lawson, David LeRoy	Boise City, Okla.
Berry, Wilma M.	Claremore, Okla.
Moore, Leona M.	Clinton, Okla.
Owen, Mrs. Tom	Granite, Okla.
Earl, Mrs. Charles R.	Ft. Gibson, Okla.
Ford, Mrs. A. C.	”
Fansher, Loyd	Keys, Okla.
Noble, L. S.	Mangum, Okla.
McManus, Miss Patricia Elaine	Norman, Okla.
Chouteau, Ed	Nowata, Okla.
Arnold, Mrs. Louise Adel	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Dester, Miss Laura	”
Gasser, Ernest T.	”
McCan, Mrs. Rubye	”
Walker, Richard L.	”
Wilson, Florence O.	”
Duker, Mrs. W. F.	Pauls Valley, Okla.
Whipple, O. C.	Stillwater, Okla.
Good, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth	Tulsa, Okla.
Rhodes, Mrs. Joe D.	”
Suman, Conrad P.	”
Steitz, Alfred Jr.	”
Westhafre, F. V.	”
Phelps, Mrs. Clara	Highland, Calif.
Doak, James Throckmorton	Irvington, Calif.
Lowe, Mrs. Jessie	Port Hueneme, Calif.
Peithmann, Irvin	Carbondale, Ill.
Fisher, Mrs. Clyde (Te Ata)	New York, N. Y.
Minumum, Mrs. Arthur D.	Springfield, Oregon
Jordan, H. R.	Houston, Texas
Montgomery, A. H.	Carrouzett, Texas
Kemp, Peggy	Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL DATA FOR PRESERVATION
In The
RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY

THE APPLICANT WILL PLEASE FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING

Full name (including middle name or names, spelled out)

....

Scholastic degrees, if any: ....

Religious, Fraternal and Club affiliations: ....

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Military service: ....

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....

Present business, occupation, professional or official position:

....

....

Native state: ....

Date of settlement and place of location in Oklahoma: ....

....

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Date ....19............

To the Oklahoma Historical Society:

In accordance with an invitation received, hereby request that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society elect me to Annual, Life, membership in the Society. In order to expedite the transaction, I herewith send the required fee $...

(Signed) ....

P. O. Address ....

....

....

The historical quarterly magazine is sent free to all members.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP due (no entrance fee), three dollars in advance.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP fee (free from all dues thereafter), $50.00. Annual members may become life members at any time upon the payment of the fee of fifty dollars. This form of membership is recommended to those who are about to join the Society It is more economical in the long run and it obviates all trouble incident to the paying of annual dues

All checks or drafts for membership fees or dues should be made payable to the order of the Oklahoma Historical Society

Nominated by

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are $3.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership may be secured upon the payment of $50.00. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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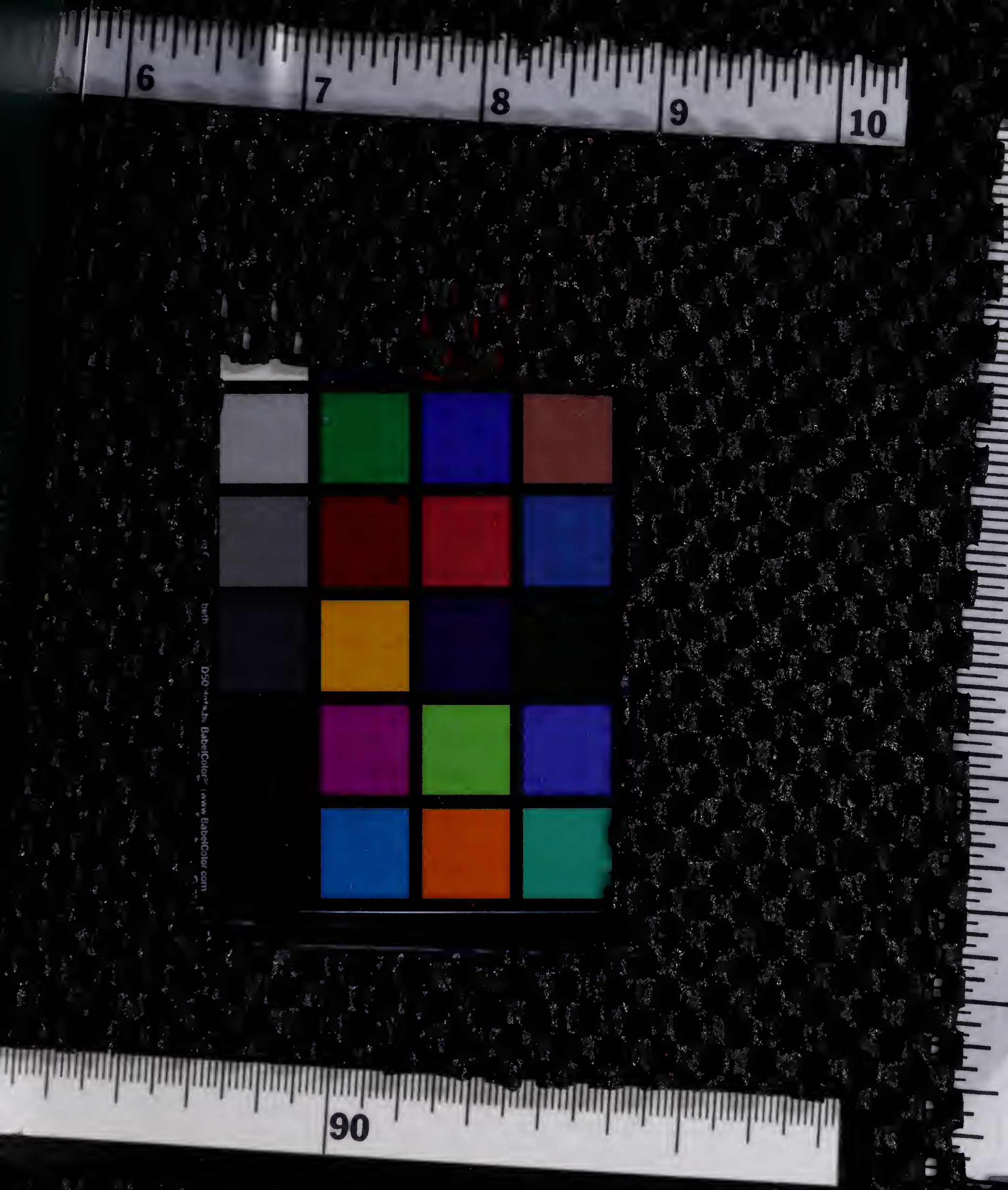
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